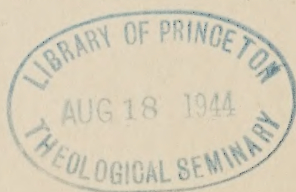


HISTORY OF THE
Archdiocese of Boston

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VOLUME III

1866 - 1943




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HISTORY OF THE
Archdiocese of Boston
1604 - 1943

IN THREE VOLUMES

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VOLUME III



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RT. REV. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
First Archbishop of Boston

HISTORY OF THE
Archdiocese of Boston

In the Various Stages of Its Development

1604 to 1943

IN THREE VOLUMES

By

ROBERT H. LORD

JOHN E. SEXTON

EDWARD T. HARRINGTON

With a Foreword by

HIS EMINENCE

WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL

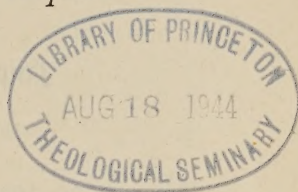
Archbishop of Boston

VOLUME III

New York

SHEED & WARD

1944



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WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL

Archbishop of Boston

February 29, 1944

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The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

CONTENTS

Part V

THE ARCHDIOCESE UNDER THE MOST REVEREND JOHN J. WILLIAMS (1866-1907)

I. THE EARLY LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS	3
II. AN EVENTFUL DECADE (1866-1875) — I	16
III. AN EVENTFUL DECADE (1866-1875) — II	35
IV. PROGRESS AND OPPOSITION (1876-1886) — I	56
V. PROGRESS AND OPPOSITION (1876-1886) — II	75
VI. THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — I	100
VII. THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — II	134
VIII. THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — III	160
IX. THE COMING OF THE NEWER CATHOLIC RACES (1866-1907)	189
X. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF SUFFOLK COUNTY (1866-1907)	239
XI. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF MIDDLESEX AND ESSEX COUNTIES (1866-1907)	268
XII. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF NORFOLK AND PLYMOUTH COUNTIES (1866-1907)	314
XIII. DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION. CATHOLIC EDUCATION	334
XIV. CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS	358
XV. SOME ASPECTS OF CATHOLIC LIFE	383
XVI. THE END OF AN ERA (1898-1907)	416

Part VI

THE ARCHDIOCESE UNDER HIS EMINENCE
WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL
(1907-1943)

I. THE FOUNDATIONS OF A GREAT CAREER	441
II. FROM RECTOR TO ARCHBISHOP	465
III. THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA (1907-1911)	499
IV. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE (1907-1911)	521
V. THE CARDINALATE (1911-1914)	551
VI. THE WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS — I (1914-1922)	581
VII. THE WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS — II (1914-1922)	609
VIII. RENEWED PROSPERITY (1922-1929)	634
IX. VIGOR IN ARDUIS (1929-1943)	656
X. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF SUFFOLK COUNTY (1907-1943)	680
XI. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF MIDDLE- SEX AND ESSEX COUNTIES (1907-1943)	691
XII. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF NORFOLK AND PLYMOUTH COUNTIES (1907-1943)	711
XIII. THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE CHURCHES (1907-1943)	725
XIV. EPILOGUE	747
INDEX	775

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

RT. REV. JOHN J. WILLIAMS
First Archbishop of Boston

Frontispiece

THE SECOND CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, BOSTON	<i>Facing page</i> 54
ST. JOHN'S SEMINARY, BRIGHTON, TODAY	62
INTERIOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, DORCHESTER, TODAY	252
HIS EMINENCE, WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL	442
BOSTON COLLEGE OF TODAY <i>From the Athletic Field</i>	528
REGIS COLLEGE, WESTON	642
MOST REV. JOSEPH G. ANDERSON, D.D.	664
MOST REV. JOHN B. PETERSON, D.D.	664
MOST REV. FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN, D.D.	664
MOST REV. RICHARD J. CUSHING, D.D.	664

PART V

THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON

UNDER

THE MOST REVEREND JOHN JOSEPH WILLIAMS
(1866-1907)

BY ROBERT H. LORD

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS

I

FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE at large and for New England in particular, the forty years following the Civil War were a period of immense growth, activity, and prosperity. That period saw the emergence of modern America. The enormous development of manufacturing, which is often said to have constituted a second Industrial Revolution, greater even than the first; the rise of Big Business; the rise of big cities, on a scale hitherto unparalleled; the steadily swelling deluge of immigrants, mounting at times to the rate of a million a year, and coming no longer from four or five nations only, but from every people of Europe and Western Asia; a series of inventions that transformed the conditions of everyday life, such as the telephone, the typewriter, wireless telegraphy, electric lights, electric street railways, automobiles, and skyscrapers — such were some of the changes that ushered in the world in which we live.

For the Catholic Church, and particularly for the Diocese of Boston, this was also a period of immense growth, activity, and prosperity. Spring might ‘come slowly up this way,’ but it had now, very definitely, arrived. This was, preëminently, the age of “the Second Colonization of New England” — a noiseless, almost imperceptible, but momentous process, carried through chiefly by Catholic immigrants; a process by which the Irish, the French-Canadians, the Italians, the Poles, and other newcomers gradually overflowed and repeopled the land of the Puritans, leaving the representatives of the older stock an ever-diminishing, though still very powerful, minority on the soil which their ancestors had first settled. While the very mixed character of this immigration reduced the likelihood that New England would be turned into “New Ireland,” as prophets had forecast

in the mid-nineteenth century, the general result was such as to lend point to the gibe that Massachusetts had become "a Roman conquest." The Catholics in this Commonwealth had been under Bishop Cheverus but an insignificant, and under Bishop Fenwick but a small, minority. Under Bishop Fitzpatrick they were already the largest among Christian denominations, and in the time of his successor they came to outnumber — and vastly to outnumber — all the Protestant sects combined.

It was natural, then, that the forty-one years' reign of this successor should prove epoch-making for the Diocese in many respects. Under him the increasing importance of Boston to the Church was recognized by its elevation to the rank of an archdiocese, a metropolitan see presiding over the new ecclesiastical Province of New England. At the same time, because of the teeming numbers of the faithful, the area of the Diocese was cut down to its present boundaries, embracing only five counties of Eastern Massachusetts. Even within these reduced limits the Diocese of 1907 had twice as many people and churches and over four times as many priests as the far larger Diocese of 1866.

This was an heroic age of church-building, when countless missions grew into parishes and small handfuls of the faithful into dense congregations; when at last an edifice of Catholic worship appeared in almost every town; when the humble little wooden churches of pioneer days very largely gave way to handsome structures of brick or stone; when many a temple was built in whose exceptional beauty or magnificence we take pride today; when the old Church of the Holy Cross on Franklin Street, so typical of the little Town of Boston of Bishop Cheverus' day, was replaced by an immense and stately Gothic Cathedral, fit to be the metropolitan church of a great archdiocese.

It was also a great era of foundations for educational and charitable purposes. At long last Boston obtained a seminary for the training of its future priests — the seminary for which Bishop Fenwick in his poverty had sighed in vain. Tardily,

too, but with ever-increasing vigor the Diocese set out to build up a system of parochial schools and to multiply schools of a higher character. A score of new institutions for the care of the sick and the sufferers from incurable diseases, for poor infants and poor children, for working boys, working girls, and working women, for the aged poor and for fallen women, attested the splendid generosity and the growing financial strength of the Catholic community. What made these and many another good work possible was the rapid multiplication within the Diocese of religious orders and congregations — noble bands of men and women whose lives of voluntary poverty were devoted to preaching or teaching or the myriad forms of charity.

Even in these halcyon years external opposition was by no means lacking. Mild as it was, compared with "Native American" or "Know-Nothing" days, the anti-Catholic sentiment always latent in part of the American public boiled forth from time to time, notably in the grand campaign against the Catholic schools in 1888 and 1889 and in the "A.P.A." movement of the '90's. The Catholic community weathered these attacks, save for one unfortunate episode, with the same patience and forbearance that their fathers had shown amid graver perils, buoyed up now with the thought that the days of persecution were almost ended and that their own ever-increasing numbers would soon place them beyond reach of attack. Very marked, indeed, in this period is the growth of self-confidence among the Catholic laity. The age of the Puritans was passing. Would not the future of this Commonwealth rest principally in Catholic hands? One token of the dawning day was that Catholics could now insist upon the actual realization of the complete religious liberty and equality of all denominations guaranteed by the State's Constitution by demanding their full rights in public institutions. Another token was that Catholics now began to be elected as mayors of large cities or to arrive frequently at other high political offices. A third was that a small but brilliant group of Catholic writers began to show that Catholics, too, had something to contribute to the culture of this "thinking centre of the continent." It was an

age, then, not only of great Catholic achievements, but also of great expectations. "It seems," said the President of the Charitable Irish Society even in 1874, "that the sceptre is to fall from the descendants of the Mayflower to unlineal hands, and the Celt to supersede the Saxon even on the Rock of Plymouth."¹

The immense progress made at that time by the Church and by the Catholic element was to some degree natural and inevitable. But, as a Catholic journal remarked in 1891, "the sagacity to foresee and anticipate this, to read aright the signs of the times; the wisdom to guide and guard, the prudence to restrain and refrain, the firmness to rule and control — these are the qualities by which a man directs great forces and brings through proper channels to a happy issue the stream of progress and growth. These qualities our Archbishop has."² Extraordinary credit, then, belongs to that wise, humble, consecrated, and holy bishop, the fourth in the unbroken chain of great men whom Providence has vouchsafed to place over the Diocese of Boston, that prelate whom the whole community looks back upon with deepest respect and whom many remember personally, with love and veneration, as "the old Archbishop," John Joseph Williams.

II

In the first small flurry of immigration that followed the Napoleonic Wars, in 1818 a ship bound from Ireland to Halifax was forced by bad weather to put into Boston, where some of the immigrants on board decided to land. Among them was Michael Williams, a sturdy blacksmith from the County Tipperary, aged twenty-six; and, if one may believe later tradition, a twenty-two-year-old girl from the Queen's County named Ann Egan.³ At any rate, on August 1st of the follow-

¹ Thomas J. Gargan, at the annual dinner of the Society (*Pilot*, March 28, 1874).

² *Sacred Heart Review*, V, no. 15 (March 7, 1891), 8.

³ Nearly all the data available as to the Archbishop's parents and early life come from very late in his career, from his own rare public statements, from

ing year these two young people were married at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross by Father Lariscy.⁴ To this couple were born three children: two daughters, who died in earliest infancy,⁵ and a son who lived to be eighty-five and to become Archbishop of Boston.

John Joseph Williams was born April 27, 1822, and baptized the following day by Father Patrick Byrne at the Cathedral. In later life he loved to recall that he first saw the light in the old Town of Boston (it was three days before the first City government was organized), when it was yet a "city of lanes, alleys, courts, and crooked streets,"⁶ and when Cheverus was still Bishop. His birthplace seems to have been in a house that backed on "the old canal" or "Mill Creek," which once separated the North End from the rest of Boston, and which, filled up a few years later, gave way to the present Blackstone Street.⁷

Of the home into which he was born very little information has come down to us. His father is described only as "an industrious and hard-working man, whose physique was of the kind developed at the forge"; his mother as of "more than portly proportions," but "honored . . . as the highest and best type of the Catholic women of Boston."⁸ After changing their residence very frequently in the early years, by 1824 the family had settled at 114½ Broad Street (near the present Rowe's Wharf), which was the real home of John Joseph's youth. Here

newspaper articles (usually resting, doubtless, on information gleaned from his entourage), or from a few books such as Bernard Corr (ed.), *Memorial of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, on Thursday, March 12, 1891* (Boston, 1891) — a work which did much to fix the tradition on these subjects. The Archbishop several times in public addresses related how his father had come to Boston, without referring to his mother's coming; but most other accounts, including Corr's, assert that both parents arrived on the same boat.

⁴ *Cathedral Marriage Register*.

⁵ Margaret, born Aug. 20, 1820; died Sept. 7, 1821.

Ellen, born Dec. 11, 1823; died Jan. 25, 1826.

⁶ Bernard Corr (ed.), *Souvenir of the Sacredotal Golden Jubilee of the Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, on Thursday and Friday, May 16 and 17, 1895* (Boston, 1895), p. 48.

⁷ While this seems to be the best accredited location of his birthplace, several divergent traditions on the subject are current.

⁸ *Sacred Heart Review*, XXXVIII, no. 11 (Sept. 7, 1907), 1; *Boston Post*, Nov. 8, 1903; *Pilot*, Oct. 26, 1907.

they conducted a boarding-house, and the father apparently kept up his smithy until failing health compelled him to turn to the grocery business. On September 24, 1830, Michael Williams died, of "brain fever."⁹ A year later (November 15, 1831), his widow married Michael Keyes, to whom she bore a number of children. While steadily maintaining the grocery, the Keyes family remained on Broad Street until 1836, when they removed to Endicott Street, in the North End, where the future Archbishop's mother died August 5, 1851.¹⁰

Almost the first recorded event of John Williams' life was that at the age of four and a half he was sent to a public school — Primary No. 5, kept by Miss Laura B. Newmarch, on Hamilton Street, near Fort Hill. A year later (September 30, 1827) Bishop Fenwick opened in the basement of the Cathedral his "Catholic Academy," consisting of two "pay schools" for boys and girls conducted by the young candidates for holy orders and the newly ordained priests residing in his house. John Williams seems to have been one of the first students to enter the Academy, and in it he remained six years.

From later reminiscences of his fellow pupils there we learn that

he gave evidence of an evenly balanced disposition, and although apparently not quite so quick of perception as some of his mates, his slow and sure method of thoroughly comprehending his studies early gave him a reputation for reliability and won the esteem of his preceptor. . . . He was a very quiet and thoughtful boy, and exhibited none of those roguish freaks so natural to most lads. There was little or no combativeness in his composition. And when his companions were prone to retaliate through physical force upon the authors of real or fancied wrongs, he sought retirement from strife and devoted himself to quiet and innocent amusements or to the task of storing his mind with useful knowledge.¹¹

⁹ *Registry of Deaths*, Boston City Hall.

¹⁰ She was buried beside her first husband in St. Augustine's Cemetery, South Boston. While Archbishop Williams seems to have kept up no close relations with his kinsmen by his mother's second marriage, his last will (April 1, 1907) left \$2,000 to the children and grandchildren of "my brother Michael Keyes" (*Boston Diocesan Archives*).

¹¹ *Boston Herald*, May 3, 1875. Further reminiscences of schoolmates in *Boston College Stylus*, May, 1895, and *Boston Post*, Nov. 8, 1903.

Serious beyond his years, retiring in manner, unwearied in application, dependable and thorough — in such traits the boy announced the coming man.

Conducive to high seriousness, and also, doubtless, to thoughts of a clerical vocation was the influence of his teachers. Among them were most of the members of that splendid band of pioneer priests who under Bishop Fenwick's guidance were to go out and lay the foundations for the upbuilding of the Church in New England. Among them were Fathers Fitton (whom Archbishop Williams seems always to have remembered as his principal instructor), Wiley, Tyler, O'Flaherty, Healy, Conway, McDermott, the Lynches, the Bradys. Intimate relations with all these young Levites were supplemented by other clerical contacts. Long afterwards the Archbishop recalled that while he was attending the Cathedral school, he loved to spend his leisure time at the house of Father Patrick Byrne, in Charlestown.¹² Bishop Fenwick also interested himself warmly in this earnest youth, in whom he noted character, piety, and intellectual promise, and in whom he probably discerned at a very early date a strong desire to dedicate his life to the priesthood. Especially after 1830 the Bishop appears to have acted as a quasi-guardian of the fatherless boy, directing his studies and, very likely, furnishing such financial aid as was needed for his education. Sixty years later the Archbishop declared: "Bishop Fenwick had charge of my youth and sent me to college. I considered his home as free to me as my own."¹³

In 1833 young Williams was dispatched to the Sulpician College of Montreal to begin his higher studies. For a boy of eleven, who had, perhaps, scarcely ever been outside of Boston, the three-and-a-half-day journey was an adventure, the excite-

¹² *Pilot*, May 17, 1879.

¹³ *Pilot*, Nov. 18, 1893. It has been stated that Michael Williams, shortly before his death, made Bishop Fenwick trustee of some property which he had acquired, the income from which was to be devoted to educating his son for the priesthood (*Pilot*, May 4, 1907; *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907). Even if this is true, it is probable that Bishop Fenwick had to pay largely for John J. Williams' twelve years of study in foreign institutions.

ment of which soon overcame the pangs of parting. As he afterwards sometimes related, he traveled to the Kennebec by steamboat; at Gardiner, Maine, he was put in charge of a thirteen-year-old lad, John Esmond, who was setting out for the same destination; and the two companions made the long trip through the woods by stagecoach, Master Williams always disdaining the comfort and security of an inside seat for a perilous perch on top near the driver.¹⁴

The College or Minor Seminary of Montreal, a long-established and highly reputed institution, then occupied a handsome building and extensive grounds on the Rue St.-Paul, in the lower part of the city, near the river. Here Williams was to remain eight years — the normal length of the course. To all appearances, it was a happy time for him. The disciplined and somewhat rigorous life of a seminary, the minutely regulated *horarium* (with the rising bell at 5:30 A.M.), the emphasis placed upon regularity, punctuality, industry, and self-control, the wealth of religious observances — all that was naturally congenial to him. He acquired a very competent knowledge of and a love for the ancient classics, an excellent command of French, a smattering of German and of Science, an introduction to Philosophy. Here, too, it is reported that while he was not so quick or brilliant as some of his fellow students, none of them excelled him in thoroughness. From his teachers he won golden opinions and hearty encouragement for the future. Among the students he was equally popular. The “manliness evinced in his physical prowess, his leadership, and fairness always led to the choice of John Williams to captain one of the rival teams in the sports on the college playground.”¹⁵ He is said to have been one of the best skaters, the best handball player, and one of the best singers in the college — and he played the clarinet in the college band. He came to be regarded as the mentor of the New Englanders in the institution;

¹⁴ *Pilot*, Oct. 27, 1906, Oct. 26, 1907.

¹⁵ This passage — and much else in this account — is borrowed from a very interesting memorial address by Rev. John B. Peterson (now the Most Reverend Bishop of Manchester) to the alumni of the Brighton Seminary, as reported in *The Pilot*, Oct. 26, 1907.

and with one of them, John Bernard Fitzpatrick, who had preceded him here by four years as a student and remained until 1837 as a teacher, he established a friendship that was to be of decisive importance for his own later life.¹⁶

Graduating at Montreal in 1841, without receiving a degree, for the College gave none, Williams was ready to begin his theological studies. For this purpose it was then the custom in Boston to send the most promising aspirants to the priesthood to the Seminary of St.-Sulpice in Paris. Thither, accordingly, in September of that year the Bishop sent Williams, along with one who was perhaps his closest friend at that time, Patrick Francis Lyndon. Sailing from New York by the packet *Elizabeth*, the two young men reached Havre only after a twenty-eight-day voyage, and after paying dearly for their apprenticeship as sailors. Going up to Paris, they feasted their curiosity for a day or two on the sights of that city and Versailles, and were gravely shocked to find "the demons Voltaire and Rousseau" buried in the Panthéon — and then the gates of the Seminary closed upon them.¹⁷

It was, perhaps, the novelty of living in this great, unknown European world that led to almost the only recorded instance of Williams' deviating even in the slightest from the path of strict attention to duty. The Abbé Carrière, S.S., reporting to Bishop Fenwick in 1842 on the conduct of the Boston students, wrote: "... We are not dissatisfied with Mr. Williams either. Towards the end of the year he had relaxed a little, as the result of distractions occasioned by the visits he had received and paid. But he has received well the counsels that have been given him, and has promised to profit by them."¹⁸ It is characteristic of the honesty and humility of the man that on the text of this report, still reposing in the Boston Diocesan Archives, a marginal note was added many years later: "True, J. J. W."

¹⁶ On Williams at Montreal see also *Boston Herald*, May 3, 1875; *Boston College Stylus*, May, 1895. The institution is well described in (Rev.) Olivier Maurault, *Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal* (*ibid.*, 1918).

¹⁷ Rev. Stephen Dubuison to Bishop Fenwick, Oct. 9, 1841; Lyndon to Fenwick, Oct. 29 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

¹⁸ Letter of Aug. 19, 1842.

Apart from this one episode, Williams appears to have made an admirable record at Paris. Among the helpful influences that played upon him there was that of the brilliant group of American fellow students, all considerably older than himself, with whom he was intimately associated. Among them were: from his own diocese the two converts, George F. Haskins and George J. Goodwin, Lyndon, and Nicholas J. O'Brien; and, from New York, James Roosevelt Bayley, another convert, one day to be Archbishop of Baltimore. These men were, as a group, so exceptionally strong in character and so earnest and intent in the pursuit of their vocation that they may well have done much to develop maturity, forcefulness, and self-reliance in their junior companion. After four fruitful years ordination came at last. On May 17, 1845, Williams was raised to the priesthood by Monsignor d'Affre, Archbishop of Paris, who three years later was to die a martyr's death before the barricades. After a trip to Ireland to visit the old homes of his parents, on October 10th the new priest arrived in Boston.

III

Father Williams was at once appointed to the care of the Chapel of the Holy Cross (the basement church of the Cathedral, which was intended primarily for children), the Sunday school, and the weekday catechism classes. In this work he continued for over ten years. Very quickly he became a great favorite with the children, to whose spiritual and physical welfare he showed himself devoted, and with the numerous adults who frequented the church. He was also for short periods charged successively with those two missions of the Cathedral: the Chapel of the Guardian Angels (1851-1852) and the Chapel of the Holy Family (1852-1853), out of which grew the Church of St. Joseph in the West End and the Church of St. James in the South End respectively. Throughout this decade there are copious indications that he enjoyed to an unusual degree the confidence and favor, first of his old mentor, Bishop Fenwick (at whose deathbed he assisted and at whose funeral he was

master of ceremonies), and then of his old Montreal associate, Bishop Fitzpatrick. In 1854, during the Bishop's six months' absence in Europe, Father Williams, though apparently without the title of Vicar-General, was left in charge of the affairs of the Diocese.

On January 20, 1856, he was promoted to be Rector of the Cathedral.¹⁹ From this post he was called away in July of the following year to become pastor of St. James' Church, Boston. The first rector of that parish, Rev. David Walsh, had built, on Harrison Avenue, what passed for one of the most magnificent churches in the Diocese, but he had thereby incurred a very heavy debt, with which he proved quite unable to cope. In this situation Williams had his first larger opportunity to show his remarkable capacity for administration. During his nine years' pastorate at St. James', he reduced the debt to small proportions and brought the affairs of the parish into excellent condition. He also displayed the same quiet, unselfish, and effective zeal as had marked his ministry at the Cathedral. He won completely the hearts of his parishioners by "his exact performance of his priestly duties, his earnestness, his charity, his paternal regard for the children of his flock, and his devotion to the sick and suffering."²⁰ Of his punctuality on sick calls one parishioner later declared: "We could set our watches by him, for you knew that if he said, 'I will be there at six o'clock,' the city clocks would begin to strike the hour as he ascended the stairs."²¹

Meanwhile, perhaps as the result of Bishop Fitzpatrick's first serious attack of illness, by the late summer of 1857 Father Williams had been raised to the rank of Vicar-General of the Diocese — a title which had not been given since Bishop Fenwick's time.²² His duties in this capacity must have been

¹⁹ *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*. Msgr. Byrne, in his chapter on "The Roman Catholic Church" in Justin Winsor (ed.), *The Memorial History of Boston*, III, 533 (Boston, 1881), gave the date as 1855, an error reproduced in most later accounts.

²⁰ *Sacred Heart Review*, New Series, I, no. 17 (April 27, 1895), 5.

²¹ *Boston College Stylus*, VIII (May, 1895), 9.

²² The precise date of this appointment is uncertain. It was at the beginning of July, 1857, that Bishop Fitzpatrick was first obliged through illness to give

onerous down to the end of 1858, while the Bishop was unable to do much work, though lighter during the next three years when Dr. Fitzpatrick's health seemed somewhat to revive. During the latter's long trip to Europe, however (May, 1862–September, 1864), Father Williams was Administrator of the Diocese;²³ and during the last sad year and a half when Bishop Fitzpatrick was slowly dying, his collaborator bore virtually the whole burden of official business. There can be no doubt that he acquitted himself of his task with distinction, with characteristic wisdom, foresight, moderation, and firmness. Speaking of this period before the Cathedral congregation some years later, Bishop De Goësbriand, of Burlington, declared: "You remember how his energy began to show itself in the number of churches he bought and caused to be erected. But something you know not was his entire obedience to, his veneration for, his unbounded devotion to, his venerable and suffering bishop."²⁴

That higher honors still were in store for him had long been evident. At least as early as 1854 Bishop Fitzpatrick had fixed his choice for his successor in the Diocese upon Father Williams.²⁵ Henceforth, as has been narrated in the preceding

up work; and the name of Williams as Vicar-General first begins to crop up in the records in the *Diocesan Archives* in September and October, 1857. The title is not given to him in the *Catholic Directory* until 1858. But what gives ground for perplexity about the matter is that Fitzpatrick, in a statement laid before his fellow Bishops of the New York Province Sept. 23, 1857, asserted about Williams: "He has had occasion at times to assume as Vicar General the government of the Diocese during the absence of the Bishop" (*New York Dioc. Arch.*, A 1)—a statement that seems to imply that the appointment dated back some time.

²³ So he is styled in the Chancery documents of that time, although I have seen no document signed by him in which he styled himself more than Vicar-General.

²⁴ *Pilot*, May 8, 1875.

²⁵ Preaching at the Month's Mind Requiem Mass for the late prelate, on March 13, 1866, Bishop De Goësbriand said: "His [Fitzpatrick's] solicitude extended to the future, and I hope I may now state . . . that as early as twelve years ago he had decided to ask for his successor the illustrious Prelate who now sits in his throne, and requested the Council of Bishops not to nominate him to another See" (*Pilot*, March 24, 1866). Presumably, this refers to some declaration made by Fitzpatrick to the Bishops assembled in the Provincial Council of New York in October, 1854—very likely an effort made to exclude Williams from the list, which they prepared for Rome on that occasion, of suitable candidates for the Diocese of Portland.

volume of this work, he firmly, and almost fiercely, opposed every proposal to nominate his Vicar-General to some other see; and when at last, very tardily, the appointment of a co-adjutor in Boston was formally taken up, he strenuously urged the selection of his favorite collaborator. It may be recalled here that Father Williams headed the list of three candidates agreed upon by the bishops of the Province on October 17, 1865; that in spite of the opposition of Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, he was chosen at Rome by the Congregation of the Propaganda at their meeting of December 4th; that at the Consistory of January 8, 1866, Pope Pius IX formally named him as titular Bishop of Tripoli and Coadjutor of Boston, with right of succession; and that on February 9th his bulls were duly received. The news brought consolation to the expiring Bishop.

Now, as *The Pilot* remarked, he "could die in peace." He had bequeathed to his spiritual children "a father, one after his own heart, and his own choice." ²⁶

²⁶ *Pilot*, Feb. 24, 1866.

CHAPTER II

AN EVENTFUL DECADE (1866-1875) — I

I

BISHOP FITZPATRICK died, it will be recalled, on the morning of February 13, 1866; and his Coadjutor, who had not yet had time to be consecrated as Bishop, automatically succeeded to the rule of the Diocese. His accession was greeted with general approbation. *The Pilot* was, doubtless, well expressing Catholic sentiment when it wrote:

The appointment, we are sure, will not only be received by the Clergy of the Diocese with great favor, but by the laity also. Father Williams is well known to the Catholics of Boston. He was born among them, has lived among them — and as a bosom friend of Bishop Fitzpatrick is worthy to be his successor.

We congratulate the Clergy and the laity of the Diocese upon the happy and judicious selection of Father Williams to preside over one of the most important dioceses of the United States.¹

On March 11th, in St. James' Church, Boston, John J. Williams was raised to the episcopal dignity, the consecrators being Archbishop McCloskey, of New York, and Bishops Bacon, of Portland, and Conroy, of Albany. Bishop McFarland, of Hartford, preached. It was symptomatic of the new position that the Church was coming to hold in the community that the impressive ceremony was attended by the Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, the Attorney-General, the President and many members of the State Senate, numerous Representatives, and members of the City government.²

Two days later the Month's Mind Requiem Mass for the late Bishop brought together again the bishops of the Province and

¹ Feb. 17, 1866.

² *Boston Transcript*, March 12, 1866.

a great part of the diocesan clergy. At an ensuing gathering the clergy presented to the new Bishop an address, promising their cordial coöperation, and a purse of \$8,000. This token of esteem, *The Pilot* remarked, "exceeds anything of the kind, to our knowledge."³

Shortly after, a series of appointments indicated those who were to be the principal collaborators of the new prelate. Rev. James A. Healy, who had been Rector of the Cathedral, Chancellor, and Secretary to Bishop Fitzpatrick, and who was to be for nearly forty years more a beloved friend of the new Bishop, replaced him as pastor of St. James', then considered to be the second most important church in the Diocese. Bishop Williams' old friend of St.-Sulpice days, Father Lyndon, became Rector of the Cathedral and Vicar-General. The office of Chancellor and Secretary passed to the Rev. William Byrne, an erudite Irish-born priest, who had come to the Diocese in 1865 and who was, throughout this episcopate, to be one of the foremost lieutenants of the Archbishop.

The new régime opened under highly favorable auspices. The industrial boom that had started in the later years of the Civil War, nourished by war prices and constantly rising protective tariffs, continued with increasing force down to the panic of 1873. Those fat years naturally brought in a renewed flood of Catholic immigrants. The Know-Nothing movement seemed dead, and the spirit of bigotry relatively quiescent. How could it be otherwise when in every Massachusetts city and village there were crowds of veterans who could not forget the gallantry of their Catholic comrades, or who had been nursed by those "angels of the battlefield," the Catholic nuns? The new Bishop, at the age of forty-four, was in the prime of life, a picture of manly beauty and episcopal dignity, endowed with perfect health, zeal, judgment, and unflagging energy, and familiar from a long experience, such as none of his predecessors had had, with the clergy, people, administration, and problems of the Diocese.

There was, indeed, plenty of work to be done. Under

³ March 31, 1866.

Bishop Fitzpatrick the Diocese of Boston had grown with amazing speed, as regards the number of the faithful, the churches, and the clergy. At his accession Bishop Williams found 116 priests and 109 churches.⁴ While the total Catholic population at that moment cannot be fixed with certainty, in a report to Rome in 1867 the Bishop estimated it at "about 300,000";⁵ and the *Catholic Directory* for 1868 placed it at "over 350,000." As this growth was to continue unabated, the primary problem of the new reign, as of the preceding one, was to build enough churches and find enough priests to meet the ever-mounting demand. Already, in point of numbers, Boston had become the second strongest diocese in the country, surpassed only by New York.

But in spite of this remarkable growth — or because of it — in almost every other respect Boston could ill stand comparison with other major dioceses. Outside the Province of New York, almost every important diocese had its seminary: Boston had none. There were here only two colleges for boys, three academies for girls, and eight parishes equipped with schools. Of charitable institutions there were but two inchoate hospitals, and three homes for orphaned or destitute children. The religious orders were represented only by the Jesuits, the Augustinians, the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Notre Dame, and the Sisters of Mercy. In such respects Boston made but a poor showing alongside Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia, and many other dioceses. To remedy these shortcomings was the second task to which the new Bishop applied himself with the vigor of youth.

The first ten years of his episcopate deserve to rank as one of the most eventful and fruitful periods in the history of the Diocese. Church-building was prosecuted as never before. In 1868 and again in 1871 the *Catholic Directory* could report no less than fifteen churches under construction. It was a rare year in which the Bishop did not dedicate eight to ten new ones.

⁴These were the figures given by Archbishop McCloskey in preaching at the funeral of Bishop Fitzpatrick (*Pilot*, Feb. 24, 1866). The *Catholic Directory* for 1866 gives 119 priests and 109 churches.

⁵"Status Dioeceseos Bostoniensis," in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*

The religious orders of the Diocese were signally augmented by the arrival of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1868), the Redemptorists (1869), the Franciscans (1873), the Brothers of Charity (1874), the Grey Nuns of Montreal (1866), the Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis (1868), the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (1869), the Little Sisters of the Poor (1870), the Sisters of St. Joseph (1873).

In close connection with the coming of these devoted auxiliaries went a veritable explosion of charitable foundations. Seldom, perhaps, in the history of any American diocese have so many new enterprises of this kind been started within ten years. The range and the rapidity of this crusade of charity appear in the following table:

- 1866 The Looby or City Orphan Asylum, Salem.
"St. Joseph's Hospital and Temporary Home for Females," Boston.
- 1867 St. John's Hospital, Lowell.
St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, Lowell.
- 1868 St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Boston.
The Protectory of Mary Immaculate, Lawrence.
- 1869 The House of the Good Shepherd, Boston.
- 1870 St. Ann's Infant Asylum, Boston.
- 1871 Dedication of the splendid new Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Boston.
- 1872 The Home for the Aged Poor, Roxbury.

Equally striking was another series of great events and transactions which occurred during these years and which render them particularly epoch-making in our history. This series included the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) and its sequels, the Second and Third Boston Diocesan Synods (1868, 1872); Bishop Williams' visit to Rome in 1867 and his participation in the Vatican Council (1869-1870); the relimitation of the Diocese in 1870 and 1872, by which it was reduced to its present area; the elevation of Boston to the rank of an archdiocese, in 1875, and the completion and the dedication in that same year of the new Cathedral.

While the growth of churches and of charitable institutions,

which has been alluded to, is to be traced in some detail in later chapters, the series of outstanding events just mentioned invites immediate attention.

II

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore — by far the most important assembly that had been held in the American Church down to that time — was preëminently the work of Archbishop Martin J. Spalding, the learned, zealous, and able prelate who then ruled over the oldest of our metropolitan sees. He first proposed the project and secured the approval of Rome. Appointed by Pius IX as Apostolic Delegate for the occasion, he prepared the Council, presided over it, and was more responsible than anyone else for its extraordinarily fruitful and many-sided work.

Great as had been the changes in the situation of the Church and in the life of the nation since the last similar gathering, in 1852, Archbishop Spalding desired to do much more than merely to adjust the legislation of earlier national and provincial councils to the new conditions. In his opinion previous conciliar legislation in this country had been decidedly meagre, as measured by European standards. "We have," he wrote, "very much to do to lay deeply and solidly the foundations of our canon law. Until now we seem not to have advanced far beyond the rudiments."⁶ Hence, he declared in another letter: "I have thought also of making [the decrees of] our approaching Council a complete repertory of our canon law, embracing, in systematic order, all our previous enactments in the Baltimore councils, together with such canons of provincial and diocesan synods as we may wish to make of general application. In a word, of making it a sort of *corpus juris* for the American Church. . . ."⁷ It speaks much for his powers of organization and leadership that in six months he was able to draft compre-

⁶ (Rt. Rev.) J. L. Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1873), p. 302.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

hensive, minute, and adequate plans for so great an enterprise, and then could carry them to fruition in sessions that lasted only two weeks.

The Council was formally opened October 7, 1866, and closed on the 21st. It was attended by 7 archbishops, 38 bishops, 3 mitred abbots, and over 120 theologians — forming, according to Bishop J. L. Spalding, “the largest conciliary assembly since the Council of Trent, with the exception of two or three meetings of the Bishops in Rome, which, however, were not councils in any proper sense of the word.”⁸ The splendid pageantry of the opening procession from the Archbishop’s house to the Cathedral and of the several solemn sessions attracted the keenest attention, not only in Baltimore but throughout the country. Upon a nation in which almost every other denomination, society, and organization had been weakened or rent asunder by the long quarrel over slavery and by four years of civil war, this demonstration of the unimpaired unity and ever-growing strength of the Catholic Church made a profound and grateful impression.

Bishop Williams came to the Council attended by his two theologians: the Rev. Alexander Sherwood Healy, the learned and talented younger brother of Father James A. Healy; and the Rev. William Blenkinsop, pastor of SS. Peter and Paul’s Church, South Boston. He lodged at Loyola College, where he was the only episcopal guest, for the metropolitans were gathered at the Archbishop’s residence, and most of the other prelates were at the Seminary. In this great assembly of the hierarchy he found himself the third from the bottom of the list in point of seniority. Both for that reason and because of his natural reticence, it is likely that he played but an effaced rôle in the proceedings of the Council. But if he said little, he doubtless listened, observed, and learned much. It was an invaluable education for a newly made bishop to hear all the problems of the American Church threshed out by veterans, and to watch a Spalding, a McCloskey, or a Purcell in action.

The assembly accomplished the task that had been marked

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

out for it. Its acts and decrees, divided into "titles," chapters, and numbered sections (534 of them!), fill a sizable volume.⁹ They begin — one decided innovation in American conciliar practice — with an eloquent exposition of the Catholic Faith and the condemnation of what the Fathers considered the most dangerous errors of the day in matters of religion. Thence they pass on to a systematic reconstruction of American canon law, in which all that seemed valuable in the older legislation was recapitulated and supplemented with many new enactments. In short, the American Church had received the code — the *Corpus Juris Canonici* — which Archbishop Spalding had desired.

While a detailed analysis of these decrees would be out of place here, mention may be made of a few of them that were of special importance to this Diocese. The Council ordained that henceforth an annual collection for the Holy Father should be taken up in all the churches of the United States, in order to make up for the usurpation of the best part of the Papal States by the Italian Government. It was strongly urged that diocesan synods should be held, if not annually according to the mind of the Council of Trent, at least immediately after each plenary or provincial council. To offset the lack of frequent synods, bishops were enjoined to gather their clergy for theological conferences at least twice a year. They were also exhorted to lighten their own grave burden of responsibility by appointing in each diocese a group of priests, to be called consultants, to assist them with wise counsel. The appointment of numerous other diocesan officials was recommended: archdeacons, rural deans, examiners of the clergy, ecclesiastical judges, censors of books, etc. No priest was to be promoted to be rector of a parish unless he had served in the diocese five years and had passed an examination before the bishop and two other examiners. The Council recalled the strong words of the First Plenary Council about the most burning problem of the

⁹ *Conciliū Plenariū Baltimorensis II. in Ecclesia Metropolitana Baltimorensi a die VII. ad diem XXI octobris A.D. MDCCCLXVI. habiti et a Sede Apostolica recogniti Acta et Decreta.* (Editio altera mendis expurgata. Excudebat Joannes Murphy . . . Baltimore. MDCCCLXVII.)

day: "We exhort the Bishops, and, in view of the very grave evils that are wont to follow from the improper instruction of youth, we adjure them by the bowels of mercy of God, to see to it that schools are established in connection with every parish in their dioceses." But mindful of the financial obstacles that so often stood in the way, the Fathers of 1866 ended on a somewhat weaker note: "We vehemently admonish the pastors of souls to do their utmost to build parochial schools *wherever it can be done.*"

One question came up at this Council which touched the Diocese of Boston very directly: the old project of making it a metropolitan see. This idea, as has been related in the preceding part of this work, had cropped up frequently since the early years of Bishop Fitzpatrick's reign, ever since it became apparent that Boston was to be one of the strongest dioceses of the country. It had been brought up at the Plenary Council of 1852 by Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick, of Baltimore, and Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati. It had been mooted in the Provincial Councils of New York. Two chief obstacles had hitherto stood in the way of it. First, at a time when the Church in this country was divided into seven very large metropolitan provinces, there were obvious objections to splitting the Province of New York in two without simultaneously and proportionately reducing other provinces. Secondly, the Bishops of Boston themselves had been opposed to such a promotion. Bishop Fitzpatrick could see "no substantial gain which would result from the measure."¹⁰ Bishop Williams — in general so averse to honors and display — shrank back from it with the plea that the time was not yet ripe.

At all events, the project was revived at the Second Plenary Council by Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick, of St. Louis. Both the Kenricks — the deceased Archbishop of Baltimore and his brother of St. Louis — during the many decades when they were a power in the American Church, seem always to have favored the policy of multiplying dioceses and archdioceses as rapidly as possible. Moreover, the Province of St. Louis was

¹⁰ Letter to Archbishop Purcell, Aug. 20, 1859 (*Notre Dame Arch.*).

then of quite unmanageable proportions, extending as it did from the Great Lakes to the Rockies, and from Dakota to the Arkansas line. Hence, at the meeting of the bishops on October 17th, Archbishop Kenrick presented motions for the erection of no less than four archiepiscopal sees: Milwaukee and Chicago (to be taken from his own province), Philadelphia (then in the Province of Baltimore), and Boston.

These proposals were, perhaps, unfortunate in their author. Archbishop Kenrick, although a learned and holy prelate, was not conspicuous for tact; and he was so much accustomed to play a lone hand that his colleagues jestingly called him "Peter the Hermit."¹¹ He had, on this occasion, announced his motions in advance, but he had failed to consult the other metropolitans concerned, either individually or collectively. The result was, apparently, a very lively debate. The bishops accepted without difficulty the proposed elevation of Milwaukee, since that was in the Province of St. Louis and had strong claims to such promotion anyway. A majority accepted the elevation of Philadelphia, in the absence through illness of Archbishop Spalding, who was strongly opposed to such a diminution of his province. But the Fathers rejected the proposal regarding Chicago. And the majority likewise declared against the elevation of Boston, Archbishop McCloskey being opposed — and, very likely, Bishop Williams.¹² The contest was later carried to Rome, Archbishop Kenrick going there in person while his opponents expressed their views vigorously by letter. The outcome was that the Holy See deferred indefinitely the creation of metropolitan sees at Milwaukee and Philadelphia, while showing no disposition to revive the question in the cases of Boston and Chicago.

¹¹ Archbishop Spalding to Archbishop Purcell, Aug. 15, 1868 (Spalding's *Letter Book*, *Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*).

¹² *Papers relating to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore* (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 39 A, D 4); Archbishop Spalding to Cardinal Barnabò, Feb. 23, 1867 (Spalding's *Letter Book*, *ibid.*).

III

In conformity with the injunctions of the Council, as soon as its decrees had been confirmed by Rome, Bishop Williams prepared to hold a diocesan synod. Boston had known but one previous assembly of this kind, that conducted by Bishop Fenwick in 1842. The Second Synod was held November 5, 1868, in the chapel of the House of the Angel Guardian. One hundred and forty priests were assembled — a contrast to the thirty priests present at the First Synod. After Mass had been celebrated, the Bishop announced his appointment of the first Diocesan Consultors.¹³ Their names may well be recorded as indicating who were the outstanding clergymen of the Diocese at the beginning of the Williams era. They were:

Rev. Patrick F. Lyndon, V.G.

Rev. James Fitton

Rev. Patrick O'Beirne

Rev. Manasses P. Dougherty

Rev. George F. Haskins

(All these veterans whose services began in
the age of Bishop Fenwick)

Rev. George A. Hamilton

Rev. William A. Blenkinsop

Rev. James A. Healy

Rev. John Bapst, S.J.

In accordance, likewise, with the decrees of the Baltimore Council, the Bishop proceeded to nominate from among the consultors the first examiners of the clergy and the first examiners of books. For the purposes of the Synod, Father Lyndon was named Promotor, Fathers Dougherty and Bapst Procurators of the Clergy, Father James A. Healy Secretary, and Father William Byrne Chancellor. Next the Bishop formally promulgated the decrees of the late Council in Baltimore, and confirmed once more those of the First and Third Provincial

¹³ He was really only giving a new name — that sanctioned by the Baltimore assembly — to the "Diocesan Council" (with the same list of members) which he had already set up in 1866.

Councils of New York and those of the First Synod of Boston. Then he laid before the clergy a series of carefully prepared "constitutions," which recapitulated the more essential enactments of the assemblies just mentioned and added others of practical importance. All these proposals, the record attests, were accepted without the slightest word of opposition, though various explanations were asked for and given.

The Diocesan Constitutions thus agreed upon form a landmark in our local ecclesiastical legislation. Obviously, they were closely modeled upon the Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. Like the latter, they begin with a title "On the Faith." The subsequent titles deal with "Doctrine and the Preaching of the Word" (II); "Zeal for Souls" (III); "The Sacraments in General" (IV); each Sacrament in particular (V-XI); "Divine Worship" (XII); "Cemeteries and Burials" (XIII); "Churches and Ecclesiastical Property" (XIV); "Clerical Life and Morals" (XV); "Pastors and their Affairs" (XVI); "Consultors" (XVII); "The Regular Clergy" (XVIII). All told, there were 228 decrees or constitutions, whereas the First Synod had put forth but 21.¹⁴ As compared with the work of other contemporary synods, e.g., with that of New York of 1868, it would seem that the Boston enactments of that year were a shining model of detailed and practical legislation. They were, indeed, so comprehensive, systematic, and specific that it might be said that Boston, too, had received its special *Corpus Juris Canonici*. The Constitutions of 1868 have furnished the ground plan and a great part of the substance of all our later synodal legislation.

Four years later, on May 21, 1872, Bishop Williams held the Third Diocesan Synod. A cloud of mystery surrounds this assembly. Its decrees seem never to have been published, and their text appears to have been lost. Nearly all historians have ignored this assembly, and that of 1879 has commonly been taken as the Third Diocesan Synod. But that this title belongs

¹⁴ *Constitutiones Dioecesanae, ab Ill^{mo} ac Rev^{mo} Domino Joanne Josepho Williams, Episcopo Bostoniensi, in Synodo Dioecesana Secunda habita Bostoniae A.D. 1868 latae et promulgatae* (n.pl., n.d.).

to the assembly of 1872 is attested both by the *Episcopal Register*, kept by Bishop Williams himself, and by his report on the state of the Diocese to Rome in 1877.¹⁵ The Diocesan Archives preserve, in the Bishop's handwriting, a set of "Agenda for the III Synod, 1872." If the subjects named in this document were actually those taken up in the synod, the latter would seem to have occupied itself with the correction of various minor abuses in church customs and clerical life.

IV

Bishop Williams' first closer contacts with Rome began in 1867, when, in response to the invitation addressed by the Holy Father to the entire Catholic world, he betook himself to the Eternal City to attend the celebration of the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. Sailing for Europe May 22nd, accompanied by his close friend, Bishop Conroy, of Albany, he arrived in Rome June 19th. On the following day he witnessed the ceremonies of Corpus Christi, with Pius IX carrying the Blessed Sacrament. On the 29th fifty thousand pilgrims of all nations thronged St. Peter's, which was sumptuously decorated and illuminated by tens of thousands of candles, while nearly five hundred bishops escorted the Pope, borne in the *sedia gestatoria*, as he came to conduct the principal ceremonies of the centenary. Such a numerous gathering of the episcopate Rome had seen but once before in its long history. Williams was one of the four hundred and ninety bishops there present who signed a fervent address of loyalty to the Pontiff, whose misfortunes and whose steadfastness in adversity had made him a hero to the whole Catholic world, an address in which, among other things, they joyfully welcomed the announcement he had made to them of his intention shortly to summon an oecumenical council. Not long after, Pius IX received the American bishops in a body, and addressed them so paternally and blessed them and their flocks so warmly that

¹⁵ Both the *Episcopal Register* and this report to Rome (June 1, 1877) are in the *Boston Diocesan Archives*.

they withdrew "with tears in every eye."¹⁶ Returned to Boston by the end of August, Bishop Williams on the following Sunday gave the congregation of the Cathedral Chapel a moving account of his visit to Rome and the profound happiness it had brought to him. He spoke of the Holy Father with wonder and enthusiasm, declaring that he had seen him as priest at Corpus Christi, as king on June 29th, and as father at the audience granted to the American bishops.¹⁷

V

One year after this great fête at Rome, on June 29, 1868, by the bull *Aeterni Patris* Pius IX convoked a General Council to meet at the Vatican December 8, 1869. Everyone knows that during the interval between the convocation and the meeting a vehement controversy arose, particularly in France and Germany, as to whether the future Council should define and promulgate the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Among the small but extremely vocal minority who opposed such action, relatively few doubted the truth of the doctrine, supported as that was by the age-long tradition of the Church. Most opponents simply doubted the expediency of such a definition at that time. In this they were swayed by various fears which, in the light of later events, seem almost wholly groundless and even fantastic. It was feared that if the doctrine were brought up for final definition, there would be such a division of opinion and such bitter struggles in the Council as would shock the Catholic world; or a schism might result; or the governments of Europe might intervene to avert a decision to which many of them were thought to be opposed. At any rate, such a definition would undoubtedly antagonize public opinion outside the Church: it would seem to go directly counter to "the spirit of the age." At a time when the Church was being attacked from so many sides, was it worth while to give still another handle to her opponents; was it wise to widen the breach and raise

¹⁶ *Pilot*, Sept. 14, 1867.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

higher the walls that separated her from the world of triumphant Liberalism?

It might have been expected that the American Church, at least, would be little troubled by divisions of opinion on this subject. Our tradition was thoroughly orthodox. Gallicanism, the chief source of the spirit of opposition to Rome, had never seriously penetrated here. The American Church was under special obligations to the fostering care and wise guidance of Rome, and had always prided itself on its warm loyalty to the Holy See. "Thank God," wrote Archbishop Spalding, in 1866, "we are Roman to the heart."¹⁸ Nevertheless, the spirit of extreme caution, not to say, timorousness, was then widespread in the American hierarchy. Catholics in this country could not forget that they were a minority, surrounded by a distrustful, and in great part hostile, Protestant population; they knew that the strongest ground of the opposition which they encountered was the charge that they were "subjects of a foreign power"; the days of persecution were still fresh in memory; and the relative quiet which now prevailed and hopes of making numerous conversions among Protestants were not lightly to be imperiled by accentuating a doctrine so likely to lead to misunderstandings and new attacks.

How far the agitation then going on in Europe was reflected here it is difficult to gauge. The American Catholic press said comparatively little about it, and we are most imperfectly informed as to the exchanges of opinions among the bishops. At all events, Archbishop Spalding at an early date decided to work for a policy of compromise. Holding that the coming Council could not avoid some pronouncement on a question that had been so prominently brought into the foreground, he also believed that a formal and explicit affirmation of Papal Infallibility would be unnecessary, difficult (because of divisions of opinion among theologians as to the precise limits to be assigned to it), extremely time-consuming, and for many reasons inopportune. Hence he preferred the method of "implicit" definition. By this plan the Council would go no fur-

¹⁸ *Life of Archbishop Spalding*, p. 383.

ther than specifically to condemn the chief teachings opposed to Papal Infallibility, thereby showing sufficiently both that the Church believed in the doctrine and that for all practical purposes she knew very well how it worked.¹⁹ On this platform he apparently endeavored, at first with some prospects of success, to induce the American episcopate to take a united stand.²⁰

Bishop Williams' views and feelings on the eve of the great assembly are reflected in the sermon which he delivered before the Cathedral congregation on the Sunday before his departure for Rome — a sermon which, it was said, moved many to tears. Because of the dramatic nature of the moment, and also because this is one of the few longer addresses by him that have been preserved to us, it may well be quoted *in extenso*:

Last year our Holy Father the Pope issued letters inviting the Bishops of the Christian world to assemble at Rome this year, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, in order to assist at the opening of a General Council. In accordance with this summons, I leave here this week to attend at the coming General Council. It is no slight reason that has determined our Holy Father to call this Council. It is no slight cause that has induced him to summon from the farthest ends of the world — from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West, from India and America — the Bishops of the world. The causes that bring so many Bishops to Rome, at risk to their health, at such great expense, and at the necessity of leaving their episcopate in the hands of others, withdrawing for a time their personal supervision of their flocks, have, you may be assured, been causes of vast importance. It is, indeed, a great cause that has gathered them together. And it is not, as has been the case in other Councils, and notably in that of Trent, that they are thus summoned on account of the necessity for the reform of the morals of the Church, or to crush any new and extensive heresy, or to heal up again divisions and disappointments in the Church. No, thank God, it is not for any such cause that they are summoned now. Never in the whole history of the Church was the condition of the Catholic world more satisfactory than at present — never was

¹⁹ *Life of Archbishop Spalding*, pp. 382-386.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

there a more extensive spirit of charity. At no other period in history can we see a greater unity than now fills the Church. She is everywhere at peace; there are no differences in doctrine among her children. Nowhere have the faithful rebelled against their pastors; nowhere have the priests opposed the Bishops; and nowhere have the Bishops opposed the Pope. Our Shepherd, watching over his flock, finds peace and harmony within the fold.

The Church regards keenly the errors of the world. She looks ahead, and beholds the human mind plunged in a sea of error. Five years ago the Pope in his Encyclical Letter called attention to these errors; and in a Syllabus attached to that letter collected the prevalent errors of the day and condemned them as subversive of faith and morals. This, however, has not stopped their dissemination, nor have they ceased to lead men's minds away from the truth. To place these errors before the world, again to make a protest against them, to condemn them anew, to stem their destructive effects, shall be the work of this Council. The Church, always vigilant for the safety of the souls of her children, never ceases to make the most stringent efforts in their behalf. And in the Council that great work shall engage her special attention.

The Bishops of the world will be present at this Council from dioceses rich and poor, distant or near; and what a universal, united body of Catholics will they not represent! Each Bishop represents the priests of his diocese, and the priests again the thousands of people forming their parishes. What a noble spectacle! What a sublime assemblage! Even considered in a physical point of view, what spectacle on earth is like to it? Where could there be found a more perfect representation of the thoughts and desires of the faithful in the world? Where could there be found such an extensive constituency? What king or what number of kings could bring together such a representation of the peoples of the world? Where, naturally speaking, could representatives for so many millions of people be brought together, except in the bosom of the Catholic Church, except at the General Council of Rome? This assembly will represent even more space than any other can possibly do in the whole world.

In presence of this Council, the world is excited; in face of

this gathering all orders of men are disturbed. Some look forward to it with fear as likely to destroy their cherished opinions and to condemn their favorite errors. Others regard it with astonishment, and can scarcely grasp the immensity of such a work. Others again await its coming with calm serenity and peaceful anticipation; they recognize the action of the Holy Spirit; they see by it the fulfillment of Christ's promises to His Church; they distinguish a beauty and a harmony in the Church, of which this forms one more example, unseen by unbelieving eyes, and unknown to those outside the true fold. Catholics have no fears, no doubts; they await the advent in calm certainty of the greatness of the works which it will achieve, and the importance of the truths which it will again make known—again recall to the minds of forgetful and negligent men. And the cry is now-a-days, Let the Church give us progress—but to inculcate liberal ideas. Yes, the Church does give these. The Church can progress and become more liberal, by her children becoming more pious, by having an ever-present and abounding charity. But if by progress you mean change, then it is impossible to progress. As God gave the truth, so we continue to teach it. As it was when Christ taught upon earth, so it is now. If we could change this truth, it would be truth no longer, it would be worthless, it would be of no value. None of the fixed principles can be changed. It is the material world only that changes. Can we change the air we breathe? Can we have a new air made up of different component parts in different relations and in new proportions, and breathe it with lungs such as we now have, and live? Have we changed the water we drink? So it is with truth. It is fixed, immovable, incapable of change or variation, indestructible and eternal. God gave it. He gave it to be the support of man, and it will continue forever. Can men change the truths of natural science? Can they, by any possibility, by any change, make 2 and 2 = 5? No, my brethren: neither can they change truth. When we are out of the Church, when we have nothing fixed, nothing certain, we may wish for progress because we desire light and certainty and we have it not. But the truths which God has given to His Church need not that progress. The principle which He has implanted in her, saves her from changes of that order. This Council will give nothing

new. If it gives us new articles of Faith, it will only give us what has been believed from the beginning. We expect nothing new. The Holy Father shall rise and speak in the name of the Holy Ghost, and declare the belief of the Church. God will speak through him, and deliver to His people His eternal truths.

This Council meets — the first for three hundred years — and nothing will be said in it but what has been already said in other Councils, and by other means, as letters apostolical. The duty of the faithful in this great work is to offer up their prayers, that the world may be enlightened by this Council, that its decisions may be accepted by men, and the Holy Father may be spared to see the happy termination. Pray also that the Holy Ghost may enlighten the minds of those separated from us; that it may conduct into the way of truth those who wander in the paths of error; that it may strengthen those who are wavering in the faith; and that it may be an occasion of blessing and an opportunity of salvation. Pray also that it may dispel the errors which are fixed in the minds of so many people — people who are indifferent to religion, believing that moral guidance is sufficient, but who forget that a knowledge of the truth is necessary to know what are and what are not the designs of morality. Although, perhaps, you may now regret the departure of your Bishops, you shall rejoice at their return. Pray for them, and especially for the Holy Father, the head of the Council. Ask God to allow his gray hairs to go down in peace to the grave, and that he may live, not only to see the Council finished, but after.

I recommend myself to your prayers. At Rome I shall not forget you at the tomb of the Holy Apostle, St. Peter. I leave you without fear, I leave behind me one in whom I have every confidence, who will minister to your wants in my absence, and I shall often think of you and pray for you.²¹

This address illustrates the general character of Archbishop Williams' public speaking. He was clear, straightforward, forceful, at times moving, but without pretensions to literary perfection or to higher flights of eloquence. The address also outlines admirably the situation at that moment — the common

²¹ Sermon preached Oct. 17, 1869 (*Pilot*, Oct. 30, 1869).

expectation that this would be a very long Council, which the Pope might not live through, and that it would concern itself principally with condemning the prevalent errors of the age, continuing the work of the Syllabus; the illusions, the anxiety, and the fears with which many misguided people within or without the fold viewed the assembly, imagining either that the Church might sacrifice her doctrines to "the spirit of the age" or that dangerous innovations might be foisted upon her by the "Ultramontane" party; the calm security and rock-like faith with which the Bishop himself looked forward to the outcome; his deep attachment to the Holy See and to the person of Christ's often outraged Vicar, Pius IX.

Leaving Vicar-General Lyndon as administrator of the Diocese, on October 19, 1869, Bishop Williams set forth to assist in what was doubtless the greatest transaction in which any Bishop of Boston had yet participated. He was accompanied by his theologian of the Baltimore Council, Father A. Sherwood Healy. After a slow journey across Europe, stopping, notably, at London, Paris, Munich, Florence, and Assisi, on November 27th he reached Rome, and installed himself, like most of the American bishops, at the American College.

CHAPTER III

AN EVENTFUL DECADE (1866-1875) — II

I

ON DECEMBER 8th the Council was formally opened, in the presence of more than seven hundred bishops, abbots, and generals of religious orders. The right transept of St. Peter's, transformed and elaborately fitted up, served as the hall of sessions. There can be little need to emphasize here how brilliant, cosmopolitan, and truly oecumenical was this august assembly; how replete it was with men distinguished for their talents, their learning, their eloquence, their virtues, or their services to the Church; how majestic were its ceremonies, and how dramatic its debates; or how completely for eight months it held the fascinated attention of the world.

While other questions in plenty had been proposed for the Council's consideration, and did for many months fill up its agenda, nevertheless from the outset *the* question that overshadowed all others in men's minds was that of Papal Infallibility. Around that question the lines were drawn and combat loomed. From the very beginning of the Council Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, and the Cardinal Archbishops Schwarzenberg, of Prague, and Rauscher, of Vienna, were organizing the opponents of a definition into national groups, directed by a kind of international steering committee; while Archbishop Manning, of Westminster, Archbishop Dechamps, of Malines, and others were striving to build up a solid "Infallibilist" block.¹

¹For these maneuvers and, in general, for quite the best-documented and most informative account of the inner history of the Council, see Theodor Granderath, S.J., *Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils, von seiner ersten Ankündigung bis zu seiner Vertagung* (3 vols.: Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1903-1906), especially II, 68 ff. Cf. also the valuable study by Rev. Raymond J. Clancy, C.S.C., "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," U.S. Cath. Hist. Soc., *Records and Studies*, XXVIII (1937), 7-135.

It was with some dismay, perhaps, that bishops coming from the calmer atmosphere of the United States first viewed the agitation and excitement pervading Rome about this question. But the Americans quickly fell in with their environment. Whatever may have been their original intention about acting together, whatever efforts were made at the start to hold them together by common meetings, unity among them was soon lost. A half dozen of them, including Archbishops Alemany, of San Francisco, Odin, of New Orleans, and Blanchet, of Oregon City, and Bishop De Goës Briand, of Burlington, went over to the Infallibilist camp. The large majority, including Archbishops Purcell, of Cincinnati, Kenrick, of St. Louis, and McCloskey, of New York, joined the party commonly called the "Inopportunist" or "the Opposition." Only a small group, which included Bishop Williams, remained loyal to the leadership of Archbishop Spalding and to his program for a compromise solution. This cleavage came to light as early as December 14th, at the first elections held in the Council (for the members of the Deputation on Faith), when Kenrick's name was on the losing ticket presented by the Opposition, and Spalding and Alemany were among the successful candidates nominated by the other side.

On December 30th Archbishop Manning and his allies began circulating among the Fathers a petition and a draft for the definition of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. Within little more than a month over four hundred signatures were secured for this petition — a clear majority of the Council. The Opposition, in alarm, had meantime organized a counter-demonstration in the shape of five concurrent petitions (or "*postulata*") against defining the doctrine. All told, they rallied only 136 signatures. Among the five, that from the English-speaking group bore the names of nineteen American prelates, including Purcell, Kenrick, McCloskey, Bayley (of Newark), McFarland (of Hartford), Bacon (of Portland), McQuaid (of Rochester), Mullen (of Erie), and many another close friend of Bishop Williams.²

² These petitions and signatures are printed in *Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Con-*

With the two parties thus locking horns in what might prove a very serious contest, Archbishop Spalding felt the more impelled to bring forward his mediating proposals. Not long after arriving in Rome he had embodied his plan of solving the problem by an "implicit" definition in a *Postulatum* entitled "A Schema for the clear and logical definition of the Infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, in accordance with the principles already received by the Church." He felt a delicacy, however, about presenting this proposal himself, since on December 10th he had been named as one of the Congregation that was to pass upon all new matters to be laid before the Council. Hence, when towards the end of January, in the thick of the battle for signatures to petition and counter-petition, the Spalding *Postulatum* was presented, it was signed, not by its indubitable author, but by five loyal followers. These were Bishops Wood, of Philadelphia, Quinlan, of Mobile, Conroy, Williams, and Elder, of Natchez.³

For a time this document, which soon got into the newspapers, attracted large attention. It was recognized as the work of a very skillful theologian. It led to much talk in the press about the emergence of a "Third Party," which might hold the balance of power between the other two. It also led to a courteous but vigorous controversy, fought out in a Paris newspaper, between Spalding, on the one side, and Dupanloup, supported by Purcell and Kenrick, on the other.⁴

Nevertheless, the prospects for a third party evaporated very quickly. On February 9th the Congregation charged to consider new business, after receiving all the petitions concerning Papal Infallibility, decided in favor of that petition which had received a great majority of signatures — the one in favor of an explicit definition. This, in effect, buried the Spalding *Postulatum*. And, as the struggle between the more extreme posi-

ciliorum Recentiorum. Collectio Lacensis. Auctoribus Presbyteris Societatis Jesu e Domo B.V.M. sine Labe Conceptae ad Lacum, VII (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1890), 923 ff., 944 ff. This work will henceforth be cited here as Collectio Lacensis.

³ The text in *Collectio Lacensis*, pp. 938-940; also (in Latin and English) in *Life of Archbishop Spalding*, pp. 387-394.

⁴ Cf. *Collectio Lacensis*, pp. 1319 ff.

tions waxed ever hotter, Spalding convinced himself that the time for compromise was past. "Today," he wrote on April 4th, "we have only two courses to take: either to range ourselves completely on the side of the Pope, or to put ourselves on the side opposed to his."⁵ He chose — without qualifications henceforth — the Pope's side, and in this Bishop Williams again followed him.

The affair of the Spalding *Postulatum* was the one instance in which the Bishop of Boston took an initiative in the Council. As a very junior bishop, it is not surprising that he made no speeches — there were few, indeed, of the Americans who risked an appearance on the rostrum in this gathering of giants. On the other hand, he never missed a session, and he was a most attentive listener.

His *Diary of the Vatican Council*, now preserved in the Diocesan Archives, reveals little of what went on in the assembly, but much as to his own occupations during that time. Daily he took a walk of three to six miles, usually dropping in at some of the innumerable churches, galleries, or museums of Rome; or in bad weather he drove about the city. He had frequent contacts with the Holy Father and with the officials of the Propaganda. From time to time he dined out amid a group of bishops, or visited members of the American colony. On days when there were no sessions of the Council, he often made excursions to the country, in company with American prelates of his own age, such as Bishops Conroy, Bayley, Gibbons (then of Richmond), O'Hara (of Scranton), and Shanahan (of Harrisburg). Loretto, Frascati, Tusculum, Albano, Tivoli, and Monte Cassino were among the goals of these expeditions, made sometimes in carriage, and sometimes by riding on donkeys, after the custom of the country. As the warm weather drew on, there were trips to the seashore for bathing, on one of which, according to tradition, the future Cardinal Gibbons, venturing out too far, narrowly escaped drowning.

By the latter part of April the Council had finished the labors which had hitherto occupied it, on doctrinal and disciplinary

⁵ Letter to Dupanloup (*Collectio Lacensis*, p. 1365).

matters, and had voted the magnificent exposition of the Catholic Faith contained in the Constitution *Dei Filius*. The way was thus cleared for the discussion of "the great question." The debates on that during the next three months were the dramatic climax of this assembly, sometimes rising almost to feverish excitement, but always kept within the bounds of strict parliamentary decorum and of fraternal charity. Looking back upon those scenes many years later, Cardinal Gibbons wrote:

The number of Prelates who questioned the claim of Papal Infallibility could be counted on the fingers of a single hand. Many of the speakers, indeed, impugned the dogma, not because they did not personally accept it, but with a view to pointing out the difficulties with which the teaching body of the Church would have to contend in vindicating it before the world. I have listened in the council-chamber to far more subtle, more plausible, and more searching objections against this prerogative of the Pope than I have ever read or heard from the tongue of the most learned and formidable Protestant antagonist. But all the objections were triumphantly answered.*

On July 13th the decisive vote took place in a "general congregation" (committee of the whole) on the draft decree that had been worked out. Of the 601 Fathers present, 451 voted *Placet* (Aye), among whom were Spalding, Williams, and a very large part of the American bishops. Only 88 prelates voted *Non Placet* (Nay), including Kenrick, McQuaid, Domenec (of Pittsburgh), and some other Americans. But 62 of the Fathers voted *Placet juxta Modum* (Yes, with reservations) — among them Archbishops McCloskey and Blanchet. With that the die was cast. As it was generally recognized that in the final formal vote unanimity was desirable, nearly all the members of the minority whose "Inopportunist" convictions were still unshaken, decided, with the Pope's permission, to absent themselves. Hence, at the fourth solemn session of the Council, on July 18th, while 533 Fathers signified *Placet*, only 2 die-hards voted *Non Placet*. Among the two was Bishop Fitzgerald, of

*"Personal Reminiscences of the Vatican Council," *North American Review*, CLVIII (April, 1894), 394.

Little Rock, Arkansas, who thereby gave ground for jests about the contest between the Little Rock and the Big Rock. The voting had taken place while a terrific storm raged over the city, amid rolling thunder and with flashes of lightning visible at all the windows of the council chamber. Then, it is said, the tempest suddenly ceased, and sunlight broke through to illumine the face of Pius IX as he signed the Constitution embodying the memorable decision of that day. "It was," it has been remarked, "the symbol of the whole work of the Council, which began and continued amid so many storms, and ended in light and peace."⁷

Scarcely peace for the world, however! The next day France declared war upon Prussia. As it was feared that a general conflagration might result, the Council virtually came to an end, the great majority of the Fathers departing for their homes with the Pope's consent.

Bishops Williams and Conroy left Rome on July 19th. Traveling slowly northward, with short sojourns at the Italian Lakes, and in Paris and London, they sailed from Liverpool August 6th, and reached New York ten days later. Rejecting any such triumphal public reception as marked the return of many an American bishop from the Council, Dr. Williams dropped down in Boston unobtrusively on the morning of the 17th, with no more ceremony than to jot down in his diary a hearty "*Te Deum laudamus*."

The following Sunday his people with great joy saw him appear once more in the Cathedral Chapel and heard from his lips a brief account of the great gathering in Rome. He assured them that all that the Council had done was to reaffirm the old landmarks, lost sight of by some of the Church's children, and to define more exactly what had been believed from the beginning. "Of what has been decreed as a matter of faith in the Council of 1870," he said, "not one word can be changed forever, because they are words inspired by Almighty God!" And he continued:

The Council declared no new principle in declaring that the

⁷ Fernand Mourret, *Histoire générale de l'Église*, VIII (Paris, 1928), 573.

Holy Father had command over all the Church, over the sheep as well as the lambs, over the Bishops as well as over the simplest of the faithful. The Church declares with unanimous voice that it has been handed down from Jesus Christ, that the Holy Father, in speaking of faith and morals, is infallible; that Pius the Ninth, in matters of faith and morals, holds precisely the same authority as St. Peter, the same authority as if it were given to him by our Divine Savior, as He gave it to the Apostle. And we should have the same faith in his words, when speaking by that authority. Were he to speak to me in this way, I should have no more faith in the words of that Divine Savior, than in the words of him whom He has sent. . . .⁸

Bishop Williams was far too little given to speaking about himself to permit us to do more than speculate on the effects produced upon him by his unforgettable experiences at the Council. But it seems a reasonable surmise that of all the lessons he had learned the most vivid was an enhanced appreciation of the divinely willed rôle of Rome in the economy of the Church and a redoubled devotion and confidence towards the Holy See.

That spirit came out in the demonstration which he organized in the following winter to protest against the seizure of all that was left of the Papal States by the Italian Government. On January 1, 1871, a letter of protest, drafted by the Bishop, was read in every church of the Diocese, accepted by the people, and signed by the pastor and twelve representative laymen. On the 6th, Music Hall in Boston was the scene of what *The Pilot* called "perhaps the largest, most spontaneous and impressive meeting ever held in this city," when thousands of Catholics, under the leadership of their Bishop, gathered to protest against the same outrage and to cheer the name of Pius IX.⁹

II

The Diocese of Boston, which at first included all New England, had been reduced through the cutting off of Connecticut

⁸ *Pilot*, Sept. 3, 1870. ⁹ *Pilot*, Jan. 14, 21, 1871.

and Rhode Island in 1843 and of the three northern States in 1853 to embrace only the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Through further changes now to be narrated two more blocks of territory were to be taken from it: the first including the central and western parts, and the other the southeastern portion, of the State.

In both these areas the Church made notable progress during the few years that they were under Bishop Williams. In the central and western parts of the State a dozen new parishes were created. Fifteen new churches were dedicated: at Pittsfield and Webster (1866); North Brookfield, Heydenville, Holden (1868); North Adams, Cheshire, Rochdale, Easthampton, South Hadley, Hinsdale, Stoneville, and Turner's Falls (1869); and at Westboro and Leicester (early in 1870). Eleven more churches in 1870 were building or were in use though not dedicated: namely, those of South Adams, Amherst, Clinton, Fitchburg, Greenfield, Holyoke, Milford, Southbridge, Webster (French church), and Worcester (two churches). Outstanding among the new edifices were the stately granite pile of the new St. Joseph's, Pittsfield; the beautiful and costly St. Michael's, Springfield, built and paid for under the excellent Father Michael P. Galligher — the first church in all New England to be consecrated (September 30, 1866), and now the cathedral of a diocese; and the handsome Gothic Church of the Holy Name of Jesus, at Chicopee, which was likewise consecrated on June 27, 1869.

In the southeastern part of the State four new parishes and six new missions were created. Three new churches were dedicated: St. Patrick's, Wareham (1868), St. Anne's, Fall River (1870), and St. Lawrence's, New Bedford (1871). Particularly notable was the development in the last-named city. Here, where forty years before a handful of Catholics had worshiped in a miserable little shack "among rocks," "in the least desirable spot in the town," there now arose, through the efforts of Father Lawrence S. McMahon, later to be Bishop of Hartford, a sumptuous church, which is said to have cost \$150,000, and which passed as one of the finest in New England.

The rapidity of this growth in the outlying sections made it natural that the Diocese, which had, according to the standards of that time, an exceptionally large Catholic population, should again be divided. Such changes were then very much in the air. Early in 1868, in response to the request of the Second Council of Baltimore, Rome announced the erection of no less than nine new dioceses and four new vicariates apostolic — wellnigh the largest batch of new creations of that sort in our history — and the great Dioceses of Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee found themselves very much diminished. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bishop Williams about that same time concluded that his sphere of jurisdiction was unduly extended.

The first indication of such a conviction comes in a letter which he wrote to the Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda late in 1868, in which, *à propos* of some troubles in a parish in the Berkshires, he said:

I shall take occasion of this letter to inform you that I find my diocese too large to give it the necessary care. There are in it nearly 400,000 Catholics, nearly 150 priests, and more than 50 students in the Seminary. I shall be very glad to see it cut in two as soon as possible.¹⁰

Cardinal Barnabò replied by advising him to initiate the matter in the usual way by laying it before a meeting of the bishops of the Province. The next meeting of that kind was held at Archbishop McCloskey's house in New York June 16, 1869. Here Bishop Williams formally proposed that all Central and Western Massachusetts — namely, Berkshire, Franklin, Hampshire, Hampden, and Worcester Counties — should be formed into a new diocese, with Springfield as the see city. His colleagues readily accepted these proposals. They also put first upon their list of candidates for Bishop of the new see the man of Dr. Williams' choice, the Rev. Patrick T. O'Reilly. The latter, an Irish-born priest, ordained in Boston in 1857, had served as curate at St. John's, Worcester, first pastor of St. Joseph's,

¹⁰ To Cardinal Barnabò, Oct. 15, 1868 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

Boston, and then as pastor of his old church in Worcester, and, although extremely young for episcopal honors, was amply to prove the wisdom of his nomination.

Other important changes in the Province were also discussed at this meeting, including the erection of a new see at Ogdensburg and the division of the Diocese of Hartford. The latter, the second oldest diocese of New England, had seen its Catholic population grow in less than thirty years from 10,000 to about 200,000, of whom Connecticut contained about 120,000 and Rhode Island 80,000.¹¹ Bishop Francis P. McFarland, because of persistent ill health, felt himself unequal to the tasks of so large a see, and had begun to consider lightening his burdens either by resigning, or by obtaining a coadjutor, or by seeking a division of his diocese. At the meeting of June 16th this third plan seems to have been urged upon him by his confrères, but as he preferred one of the other alternatives, no decision was reached.¹²

Archbishop McCloskey also seized the occasion to revive the question of making Boston an archbishopric. Once more, however, Bishop Williams begged off from that honor, presumably on the plea that he still had no cathedral nor even a proper residence in which to entertain his guests. Hence, as the record of the meeting runs: "The question of the erection of a Metropolitan See at Boston was postponed until the Bishop of Boston felt that he was better prepared for such a dignity."¹³

During the gathering of the prelates in Rome for the Council, the discussion of the Hartford problem continued, without definite results, but the Springfield project was easily put through. On June 14, 1870, Pius IX signed the bull creating the new Diocese,¹⁴ and two weeks later named Patrick T.

¹¹ These estimates are based on the *Catholic Directories* and on data to be found in *The Pilot*, Aug. 12, 1871, and March 9, 1872.

¹² Cf. Archbishop McCloskey to Archbishop Spalding, June 21, 1869, reporting the results of this meeting: "Albany and Hartford will most probably be divided likewise, but the matter will not be determined upon, so far as we are concerned, until we meet in Rome" (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 36 A, IV 14).

¹³ *New York Dioc. Arch.*, A 30 A; McCloskey to Spalding, June 21, 1869, *loc. cit.*; *Pilot*, May 8, 1875.

¹⁴ Rev. Donald C. Shearer, *Pontificia Americana: a Documentary History of*

O'Reilly as its first Bishop. One of Dr. Williams' first cares, on his return to America bringing the pertinent official documents, was to install the Bishop-elect in his see (August 30th). On September 25, 1870, in St. Michael's Cathedral, Springfield, Bishop O'Reilly was consecrated by Archbishop McCloskey, assisted by Bishops Williams and Conroy, in the presence of seven other bishops.

Through the creation of the Diocese of Springfield, the Diocese of Boston lost about 100,000 Catholic people, approximately fifty-two churches, and over forty priests.¹⁵

At the next meeting of the bishops of the Province (April 19, 1871), the Hartford question also approached a solution. Bishop McFarland agreed to retain his see on condition that its area should be cut down. One chief obstacle to such a plan had been the fact that, while the obvious way to divide the diocese was to erect a new see at Providence for the State of Rhode Island, that exiguous commonwealth was regarded as too small to form a diocese by itself. This difficulty was removed, apparently on this occasion, when Bishop Williams spontaneously offered to enlarge the projected diocese by turning over to it most of Southeastern Massachusetts. Namely, he proposed to surrender Bristol County (including Fall River, Taunton, and New Bedford), Barnstable County (the "Cape" region), Dukes County (Martha's Vineyard), Nantucket, and, in order to build a bridge between these otherwise sundered areas, three towns in Plymouth County, along Buzzard's Bay — Wareham, Marion, and Mattapoisett. On this basis the Bishops agreed to recommend the creation of the Diocese of Providence to Rome.¹⁶

Ten months later the Holy See gave its assent, through bulls of February 16, 1872, erecting the Dioceses of Providence and Ogdensburg.¹⁷ As its first bishop Providence received the Rev.

the Catholic Church in the United States (1784-1884) (Washington, 1933), pp. 351 f.

¹⁵ These estimates are based on a comparison of the data in the *Catholic Directories*, Williams' letter to McCloskey, June 25, 1869 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*), and *The Pilot*, June 4, 1872.

¹⁶ *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*, March 20, 1872 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*); Bishop McFarland's address to the Cathedral congregation at Providence on Feb. 25, 1872 (*Pilot*, March 9); *Pilot*, May 8, 1875, March 14, 1891.

¹⁷ Shearer, *op.cit.*, pp. 354-357.

Thomas F. Hendricks, who had been an extremely successful pastor in Waterbury, Connecticut, and who was consecrated to the episcopate on April 28th.

Through these arrangements the Diocese of Boston lost another 30,000 of its Catholic population, fifteen churches, and fifteen of its clergy.¹⁸ There is a bit of humor in the fact that while these sacrifices were deemed necessary in order to make the Diocese of Providence large enough to maintain itself, within thirty years it was felt to be too large, with the result that its Massachusetts portion was detached in 1904 to form the Diocese of Fall River. As this new creation in its turn seemed rather small in area, in Archbishop Williams' last years he was occasionally approached with the suggestion of turning over to it the whole of Plymouth County — but to this he refused to accede. For over seventy years now Boston has kept the limits fixed in 1870 and 1872.

Although through the changes of those years the Diocese surrendered seventy per cent of its previous area, so rapid was the growth of that decade that by 1875 its losses had in most respects been more than repaired. The shrunken Diocese in that year had about as many Catholic people as the large one of 1866; 120 churches as against 109, and 189 priests as against 116 at the time of Bishop Williams' accession.

III

By the early 1870's, it must have been plain that a diocese growing so rapidly could not much longer be denied metropolitan status. The new Cathedral was approaching completion. The erection of a whole group of new archdioceses such as Archbishop Kenrick had proposed in 1866, was again under discussion. Archbishop Spalding, the chief opponent of that plan on that occasion, had died in 1872, and his successor, Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, had other ideas on the matter. Who first suggested the action that was now initiated remains an obscure question — pretty certainly it was not

¹⁸ Bishop Williams' own statement, *Memoranda*, March 20, 1872.

Bishop Williams. At all events, early in 1874 Archbishop Bayley convoked the other metropolitans to meet at Cincinnati to consider the elevation of Philadelphia and Boston to the rank of archdioceses. On May 4th the Archbishops of Baltimore, New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis assembled for this purpose, with Bishops Wood and Williams, who had likewise been invited. The upshot of this discussion was the sending of petitions to Rome to create four new archdioceses: Philadelphia, Boston, Milwaukee, and Santa Fe.¹⁹ It was proposed that the Province of Boston should include all New England.

On February 12, 1875, Pius IX issued briefs erecting the four metropolitan sees requested.²⁰ The news, although by no means unexpected, was greeted with jubilation by the Catholics of Boston. It was hailed as a richly deserved honor to their Bishop, of whom it was already commonly said that there was no more beloved Catholic prelate in the United States.²¹ It was also welcome as a recognition of the wonderful progress made by the Church in New England. In this region where scarcely thirty years before there had been but 68,000 Catholics, one bishop, and a few score of priests and churches, there were now an archbishop, five suffragan bishops, over four hundred priests and churches, and about 863,000 Catholics.²²

On April 27th the Archbishop-elect was in New York to assist at the conferring of the red hat upon Archbishop McCloskey, the first American to be made a Cardinal. Four days later His Eminence of New York, along with Monsignor Cesare Roncetti, the Papal Ablegate, who had come to the United States to bring honors of many kinds, arrived in Boston for the conferring of the pallium upon Archbishop Williams.

The great ceremony took place on Sunday, May 2nd. The not quite completed Cathedral, with temporary installations in the sanctuary, was used for the occasion — and wisely enough, for the demand for tickets had been immense, and not even

¹⁹ *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*, May 4, 1874; *Pilot*, May 16, 1874; Kenrick to Bayley, March 18, 1874 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 41 Y 23).

²⁰ Shearer, *op.cit.*, pp. 360-361, 363-365.

²¹ *Boston Post*, Feb. 10, 1875; *Pilot*, March 13, 1875.

²² *Pilot*, Feb. 13, May 8, 1875.

this vast edifice could contain half of the throng that sought admission. Among the four thousand persons within the church were thirteen bishops, about two hundred priests, Governor Gaston, Mayor Cobb, members of the Legislature and of the City Government, the French and British Consuls, and many other distinguished guests. The ceremonies were elaborate and stately beyond anything that had yet been seen in Boston. Bishop McNeirny, Coadjutor of Albany, celebrated the Solemn High Mass. Bishop De Goësbriand, of Burlington, the senior Bishop of New England, preached the sermon with characteristic eloquence and fervor. After the Rev. Sherwood Healy had read the Papal brief erecting the new Archdiocese, and had welcomed the Ablegate, Monsignor Roncetti saluted the new Metropolitan with a graceful address, to which the latter replied in Latin. Finally, the Cardinal of New York, seated at the altar, imposed the pallium — symbol of archiepiscopal authority — upon the shoulders of the new Archbishop, who, kneeling, took the customary oath of fidelity to the Holy See, and then rising, with crozier in hand, imparted the Apostolic Benediction. The *Te Deum* was sung — and that memorable solemnity was over.

For a day and a half there followed a round of receptions and dinners for Boston's distinguished guests and for the clergy generally, with an abundance of speeches filled with congratulations for everybody. Typical of the spirit of the hour were the remarks of Cardinal McCloskey at the dinner on May 3rd, when, turning to Archbishop Williams, he declared: "I almost envy you for having under your charge so zealous, able, and efficient a clergy," and then, turning to the clergy, added: "I almost envy you, gentlemen, for the possession of a bishop so eminently fitted for the dignity which has been conferred upon him." ²³

IV

Catholic Boston had still another great joy reserved for it that year — the dedication of the new Cathedral.

²³ *Pilot*, May 8, 1875.

The genesis of this great enterprise has been narrated in an earlier part of this work. As the reader will recall, Bishop Fitzpatrick in 1860, yielding to the pressure of business and traffic, had sold the Old Cathedral on Franklin Street, and had bought land on Washington Street, in the South End, where he hoped to erect a larger and more splendid new Cathedral, worthy of the rank to which the Diocese had now attained. Pending this, services had been held for the Cathedral congregation, first at the Melodeon Theatre, and then, from 1862 on, at the Pro-Cathedral or "Cathedral Chapel," a church purchased from the Unitarians, at the corner of Washington and Castle Streets. The Civil War and the collapse of his own health had prevented Bishop Fitzpatrick from ever beginning the construction of the new edifice. But he had, as early as 1861, engaged the services of the foremost Catholic church-architect of the time, Patrick C. Keeley, of Brooklyn, the designer of over six hundred churches in this country, and of many cathedrals, including those of Providence, Hartford, and Chicago.²⁴ And it was, apparently, the plans agreed upon between him and Bishop Fitzpatrick that were ultimately, with a few changes, carried out.

The section of Boston chosen for the location of the new Cathedral has had a curious history, and one which helps to explain the reasons for its selection and the subsequent fortunes of the Cathedral parish. Throughout the colonial period and down to early in the nineteenth century most of the site now occupied by the Cathedral was still under water. The shore line, at low tide, was only 120 feet east of the old highway (since 1789 called Washington Street) which connected Boston, across "the Neck," with Roxbury. A little north of the site of the Cathedral were the fortifications of colonial days: a little to the south was the town gallows, where many a pirate was hanged down to the early nineteenth century. As late as 1800 "the Neck" was a desolate and forbidding region: a narrow peninsula, flanked by the South Cove, the Back Bay, and marshes which were the sportsman's delight and the terror of nocturnal travelers, with scarcely a house from what is now Dover Street down to the Roxbury line.

²⁴ Obituary notice in *The Pilot*, Aug. 22, 1896.

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century this forlorn section began to improve and expand. Buildings sprang up here and there along the causeway, notably the John D. Williams stores, on the site of the present Cathedral — the “Green Stores” as they were called, because of the predilection of their owner for that color. Between 1826 and 1835 the Neck was widened by filling-in operations to extend from the present Harrison Avenue to Tremont Street, and many cross-streets were marked out. But it was only in 1847 that the City took up the development of the new South End in earnest. Then began great activity in the reclamation of land from the sea on both sides of the peninsula; and in the large area thus reclaimed city engineers laid out broad avenues, squares, and parks, according to plans designed to create a very handsome new section.

The moment was auspicious. In the older Boston the spread of the business district was driving the fashionable residents around Summer Street and the poorer denizens along the water-front to seek new homes. After a brief period of hesitation — to South Boston? or where? — the tide began to set very definitely toward the new South End. From about 1855 on, that section was for a time the most rapidly growing part, and one of the most fashionable parts, of Boston. Union Park and Chester Park, Franklin, Worcester, and Rutland Squares, with many intervening streets, were then the abodes of the wealthy. The in-flooding Catholics kept more to the eastern rim of the district, with that curious predilection which they so long displayed for clinging close to the water's edge. In the late '50's and throughout the '60's Protestant churches were being built on every side here. It was natural enough, then, that Bishop Fitzpatrick should have chosen to locate the new Cathedral in a section to which population was streaming and which then bade fair to be the handsomest part of the city.

But the glory of the South End was short-lived. The filling-in of the Back Bay began in 1857, starting within a few years a powerful current in that direction. By 1870 it was plain that this district, and not the South End, was to be the fashionable,

the ornamental, the "show" part of Boston, the site of nearly all the important new public buildings. Since then the history of the South End, as far as wealth and fashion are concerned, has been one of slow but inexorable decline. But there were, and have ever since been, many Catholics in that section, while it was long before there were many Catholics in the Back Bay; and both the Bishop who planned the Cathedral in the South End and the Bishop who built it there would doubtless have preferred with much reason that it should stand where it would serve a great number of the faithful rather than where it would merely be conspicuous and convenient for tourists.

It was, at any rate, at the time when it was still believed that the South End was to be the centre of the future Boston that Bishop Williams succeeded to the episcopate. Almost his first official act was to take vigorously in hand the task of building the new Cathedral. On April 26, 1866, Keeley, the architect, came to Boston, and in a few hours' conference with the Bishop the plan was agreed upon. On June 25th the digging of the foundations began.

Meanwhile, at a meeting of all the pastors of the Diocese, held on June 20th, the Bishop announced his plans, and his desire that an annual collection for this purpose should be taken up in every church until the building was completed. Responding with great goodwill and enthusiasm, the pastors not only promised their coöperation, but voluntarily pledged as their personal offering the sum of \$63,000.²⁵ Equal zeal was shown by a small gathering of the leading Catholic laymen on July 29th, at which \$30,000 was subscribed. Joseph Iasigi headed the list of donors with \$5,000; Thomas Dwight gave \$2,000; and seventeen gentlemen pledged \$1,000 each.²⁶ The collections in the churches were vigorously started that summer, and were to remain for many years a fixture on the calendar of each church. But the supreme device of that day for raising money was a fair, with tables groaning under all the elegant gadgets and bric-à-

²⁵ *Memoranda*, June 20, 1866: *Diary of Rev. Hilary Tucker*, June 21 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

²⁶ The list of subscribers is printed in *The Pilot*, Aug. 11, 1866.

brac dear to the heart of the Victorian age. Accordingly, three great Cathedral Fairs were held, in 1871, 1874, and 1879 respectively. At the last one, which quite eclipsed its predecessors, the articles on sale included such rarities as an album presented by the Emperor of Austria, a turquoise ring given by the King of Italy, and a medallion and gold brooch from Pius IX.²⁷

While it had originally been hoped that the Cathedral could be built in three or four years, it actually required nine. Even to have completed the task in nine years seems a notable achievement, in view of the fact that the Philadelphia Cathedral was eighteen years in building and the new St. Patrick's in New York twenty-one.²⁸ Much of the credit for Boston's comparative celerity belongs to Father Lyndon, who, both as Rector of the Pro-Cathedral until 1870, and then as pastor of St. Joseph's in the West End, supervised the work with remarkable energy and efficiency.

The cornerstone of the edifice was blessed on September 15, 1867, with elaborate ceremony. Archbishop McCloskey delivered the sermon before 25,000 persons gathered in the open air. By September 28, 1870, Bishop Williams could celebrate the first Mass in the side-chapel (of the Blessed Sacrament), which henceforth was in constant use. By the following year the exterior of the huge structure was substantially completed, so that during the Fair of 1871 two great concerts were held under its roof. By 1875, save for one or two tasks that could be left for the future, the immense enterprise was finished. During this year, moreover, there was erected, in the rear of the church, a commodious and dignified residence for the Archbishop and the members of the Cathedral staff—a residence which was a gift of the clergy of the Diocese.

²⁷ *Pilot*, Nov. 8, 1879. During each of these fairs there was published a weekly called *The Cathedral*, which is now something of a bibliographical rarity, and which contained two series of articles of much historical value. The first series, entitled "A Sketch of the Progress of Catholicity in the City and Diocese of Boston," presumably written by Rev. James A. Healy, ran through the issues of 1871; and the second series, "The History of the Cathedral of Boston," by Rev. A. Sherwood Healy, was published in the 1874 issues and reprinted in those of 1879.

²⁸ The dates of these enterprises were 1846-1864 and 1858-1879 respectively.

Towards the end of 1875, then, *The Pilot* could relate what it called

the greatest religious event for the Catholics of this generation in New England. The dedication of the new Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston, the finest ecclesiastical structure yet finished in this country, took place on Wednesday, December 8th, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, with impressive solemnity worthy of the edifice itself and of this Patronal Feast of the Church in the United States. In the splendor of the ceremonies, the beauty of the music, vestments, and decorations, and the whole significance of the occasion, it has never been surpassed.²⁹

Once more Bishops and priests from far and near, the Governor, the Mayor, and a congregation that packed every available foot of space, were gathered here: in the unavoidable absence of Cardinal McCloskey, Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, preached an eloquent sermon, filled with the exultation of the hour, and Archbishop Williams blessed the church and pontificated at the Solemn High Mass.

The first Boston Cathedral had cost little more than \$19,000. The second is said to have cost about \$1,500,000.³⁰ Even with the immense increase of the Catholic community in numbers and wealth, the raising of so vast a sum was a formidable undertaking. How Archbishop Williams was able to procure the bulk of that sum within nine years is something of a mystery.

At any rate, after the dedication of the Cathedral there remained a considerable debt, which was estimated in 1879 at \$250,000. In that year, in a meeting called by the Archbishop, the clergy of the Diocese proposed a plan, which was adopted, whereby the Cathedral parish would assume sole responsibility for paying two fifths of this debt, while the remaining three fifths were to be assumed by the other parishes on a pro-rata

²⁹ Dec. 18, 1875.

³⁰ So it was constantly said by the newspapers, doubtless on the basis of statements coming from the Archbishop's household. Cf. *Boston Post*, Sept. 16, 1867, Dec. 30, 1879; *Pilot*, Sept. 16, 1867, Nov. 11, 1871. The financial records left by the Archbishop in the Diocesan Archives are too incomplete to settle this question.

basis.³¹ This plan ultimately yielded the desired results, although if some parishes were quick, others were very slow in discharging their obligations. By 1895, at any rate, it could be announced, as the crowning event of the Archbishop's Golden Jubilee, that the debt for the building of the Cathedral had been entirely extinguished.³²

The erection of this magnificent metropolitan church was the greatest single achievement of Archbishop Williams. The Boston Cathedral is, undoubtedly, one of the noblest religious edifices of America.

It impresses, first of all, by its size, its immensity. Covering an area of 45,000 square feet, it is almost as large as Notre Dame in Paris, St. John Lateran in Rome, or St. Sophia in Constantinople; and it is larger than many of the famous cathedrals of Europe, such as Strasbourg, Salisbury, Pisa, Vienna, or Venice.

Cruciform in shape, the Cathedral is built in the English Gothic style of the early thirteenth century. The walls are of Roxbury pudding stone, trimmed with granite and sandstone — a combination which gives them unusual warmth and variety of color.

According to the original plans, the façade was to have been adorned with two towers crowned by spires of imposing height, the one on the left rising to two hundred feet and that on the right to three hundred feet — eighty feet higher than the Bunker Hill Monument. So great were the financial difficulties, however, and so keen the desire about 1875 to put the edifice into use at once, that it was decided to roof over the towers and postpone the erection of the spires until some later time. In fact, the latter have never been added.

While this omission detracts from the grandeur of the Cathedral as it is portrayed in the plans first published, and while the building has lacked sufficient free space in front of it to enable its lines to appear to perfect advantage, nevertheless, the total impression produced by the exterior is that of simplicity, harmony, and majesty.

The interior is even more beautiful. Here, too, one is first

³¹ *Pilot*, Feb. 1, 1879.

³² *Ibid.*, July 13, 1895.



THE SECOND CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, BOSTON

struck by the spaciousness of this vast edifice, which can seat thirty-five hundred persons and can hold twice as many. Freedom of view is but slightly impeded by the two rows of clustered columns supporting the central roof — columns in which the stone called for by the original plans was, unfortunately perhaps, replaced by iron, for reasons of economy. But this is the only flaw in a total effect otherwise magnificent. The graceful and unobtrusive decorations of walls and ceiling, the rich wood-work and the delicate wood carving, the stained glass of the windows in nave, clerestory, transepts, and apse, the beauty and spaciousness of the sanctuary, the gleaming marble altars, the exquisite Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament — an architectural gem — all this is as satisfying to the aesthetic as to the religious sense.

In the basement of the church is a large chapel, containing the old high altar brought from the Franklin Street Cathedral. In the rear of this is the crypt in which now repose the remains of Bishop Fitzpatrick, who planned this edifice, of Archbishop Williams, who built it, and of Father Lyndon, under whose supervision the work was done.

In a message read to the congregation at the last High Mass in the Old Cathedral, Bishop Fitzpatrick had exhorted his people henceforth to labor with all their might "for the erection of the new Cathedral of the Holy Cross, which may promote for ages to come the glory of God and the salvation of souls, set before the world the splendor and majesty of Catholic worship, and be to us, and to all who may come after us, a just reason of pious exultation and holy pride." Quoting these words in 1874, Father Sherwood Healy could add: "The wish and prayer of the great and beloved Bishop have been answered; the new Cathedral of Boston is worthy of its name and its place, and will bear testimony forever to the faith and generosity of the community who erected it." ³³

³³ In the journal *The Cathedral*, Dec. 9, 1874.

CHAPTER IV

PROGRESS AND OPPOSITION (1876-1886) — I

I

THE ELEVEN YEARS following the red-letter year 1875 saw the Archdiocese advancing at a somewhat slower rate of progress than during the first decade of the episcopate or during either of the two decades that were to follow. This diminished tempo was, undoubtedly, due chiefly to hard times. The Panic of 1873 was followed by six years of business demoralization, unemployment, widespread suffering among the working classes, and sharply reduced immigration. The new wave of prosperity that set in in 1880, lasted four years, and then came the Panic of 1884 and another depression, which continued through 1885 and 1886.

In spite of these adverse conditions, the Church made very substantial progress. Each year the Archbishop dedicated three to nine new churches. Among them were an extraordinary number of large and imposing edifices which still rank among the finest churches of the Diocese. St. Joseph's, Somerville, and St. Joseph's, Amesbury (dedicated in 1876); the new Holy Trinity and the new St. Mary's, Boston, and the Immaculate Conception, Lowell (1877); the Mission Church, Roxbury (1878); the Church of the Sacred Heart, East Cambridge (1883); St. Peter's, Dorchester (1884); and St. Joseph's, Lynn (1885), are among the majestic structures which we owe to that trying period.

New religious congregations continued to swarm into the Diocese. The Marist Fathers, who devoted themselves to the care of the French-Canadians, were, indeed, the only new order of men introduced at this time (1882); but the new congregations of women were represented by the Religious of the Sacred Heart and the Grey Nuns of Ottawa (1880); the School Sisters

of Notre Dame (1881); the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic (1882); the School Sisters of the Good Shepherd and the Sisters of St. Anne (1886).

Alongside various enterprises which have not lasted, the chief new charitable foundation of the period was the Working Boys' Home, Boston, started in 1883. The Academy of the Sacred Heart, Boston (1880), St. Joseph's Academy for girls, established in Cambridge in 1885 (now in Brighton), and St. Thomas Aquinas' College, Cambridgeport (1881), were among the important new educational undertakings, along with the greatly multiplied parochial schools.

Outstanding among the developments of this period were: the establishment of Boston's Diocesan Seminary; the battle for Catholic rights against a revived and growing opposition, in respect to such matters as religious liberty in public institutions, the school question, and the admission of Catholics to public office; the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, in 1884, and its aftermath, the Fourth Boston Diocesan Synod, of 1886.

II

The question of a diocesan seminary had been to the fore for half a century, and had gone through not a few vicissitudes. Bishop Fenwick, it will be remembered, had first planned to create such an institution in the heart of Boston, and then in the woods of Maine, and had ended by putting the savings of a lifetime into his foundation at Worcester, in the fallacious hope that Holy Cross would serve as a seminary, as well as a college. Bishop Fitzpatrick, convinced, doubtless, that the building of a new Cathedral should take precedence over every other diocesan enterprise, had gladly joined with his fellow Bishops to found the Provincial Seminary of St. Joseph, at Troy, New York (1864). For a score of years this excellent institution furnished this Diocese with a stalwart breed of priests and pastors — those famous "Trojans" — of whom nearly all the last survivors have now disappeared. But Troy, obliged, with its limited facilities, to serve so many dioceses, was never able

to receive more than a part of Boston's clerical students.¹ The rest, perforce, must still be sent to Baltimore, Montreal, and elsewhere. Moreover, once Boston had been detached from the Province of New York, in 1875, the appropriateness and, indeed, the necessity of its having its own seminary became clearly apparent. Not long afterwards Rome began to send urgent admonitions to erect such an institution as quickly as possible.²

That Archbishop Williams had long recognized this need is shown by the fact that as early as 1872 he had bought an estate of forty-eight acres, in the Oak Hill section of Newton, as the site for his future seminary. This is the land now occupied by the Working Boys' Home.³ Before beginning the construction of a seminary, however, the Archbishop, presumably, felt it necessary to complete the Cathedral and to make definitive arrangements for the extinction of the Cathedral debt; and this latter task was disposed of, as we have seen, only in 1879. About that time his attention was drawn to a more attractive site for a seminary: the Stanwood estate in Brighton.

Brighton, whose pleasant hills are now covered with so many Catholic institutions that it is sometimes called a "little Rome," had been one of the last parts of the present-day Boston to take on any large development. Throughout the Colonial period it was but a forlorn appendage of Cambridge — commonly called "the South Precinct" or "Little Cambridge" — with a straggling population of farmers which as late as 1800 hardly surpassed four hundred souls. After becoming a separate town in 1807, Brighton began to grow slowly and to acquire a certain celebrity both as the greatest cattle market and slaughterhouse centre of New England, and because of the fine nurseries, gardens, and homes that were scattered upon a fertile soil among its hills, lakes, and woods. Who has not heard of the Brighton Cattle

¹ During the thirty years of its existence the Troy Seminary had only 93 students from the Diocese of Boston. See Rt. Rev. Arthur J. Scanlan, *St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, 1896-1921* (New York, 1922), p. 34 (U.S. Cath. Hist. Soc., Monograph Series, VII).

² Cardinal Franchi to Archbishop Williams, Aug. 22, 1877 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*). Cardinal Simeoni wrote to the same effect in 1878, as appears from the *Episcopal Register*, Oct. 20, 1880.

³ *Middlesex Deeds*, vol. 1235, p. 70; *Pilot*, Nov. 16, 1872.

Fairs, the glories of the Cattle Fair Hotel in Market Square, the annual gatherings at Agricultural Hall (off Dighton Place), the marvels of the Winship Gardens, especially of the "Moss House," the Faneuil family's country-seat, and so many other splendors of "Brighthelmstone's" past? In 1874 the town, nevertheless, voluntarily annexed itself to Boston. By 1880 it had about six thousand inhabitants.

During all this time the southwestern part of Brighton had remained very sparsely inhabited. Lake Street was put through only in 1856; the Chestnut Hill Reservoirs were commenced in 1865. At any rate, on the hill dominating Lake Street from the east there was in the early nineteenth century a farm called the Hildreth estate, which, after various changes of ownership, passed in 1864 into the hands of Jacob Stanwood, a wealthy Boston merchant, who was the brother-in-law of James G. Blaine, and whose chief clerk, James Mulligan, attained national celebrity in 1876 through those "Mulligan letters" which were so largely instrumental in ruining Blaine's chances for the Presidency that year. After Jacob Stanwood's death, his heirs, victims, apparently, of the business depression, found themselves obliged to sell the Brighton estate; and in March, 1880, Archbishop Williams purchased its twenty-six acres for \$18,500.⁴

Impressed, perhaps, with the picturesque, sylvan, and secluded character of the spot, coupled with its greater accessibility to Boston, the Archbishop decided to place his seminary here, though still holding on to the Newton property, where he hoped in time to build a school for the younger seminarians (the "Philosophers") and a retreat for the seminary faculty.⁵ With the site thus fixed, his next care was to assure himself of a staff of teachers. These it would have been natural for him to take from among his own diocesan clergy, as was being done already at that time by most of the American bishops who maintained seminaries. Convinced, however, that Boston did

⁴ *Episcopal Register*, March 22, 1880 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

⁵ Archbishop Williams to Rev. John B. Hogan, S.S., March 26, 1884 (*Seminary Archives*).

not yet possess a sufficient number of diocesan priests properly trained for such work, and that all the priests he had were badly needed for parochial duty, he turned to those who had been the teachers of his own youth, the Society of St.-Sulpice, Paris. In the summer of 1880, therefore, he made a flying visit to France, and obtained from Father Icard, the Superior General, the assurance that the Sulpicians would do their best to supply teachers for the seminary whenever it was ready to open.⁶

The work of constructing what is now called Theology House was started in April, 1881, and continued for three years. The material used was Brighton pudding-stone, quarried on the premises, and trimmed with brick and sandstone. The plans adopted called for a large building in the form of a hollow quadrangle, which was to be capable of housing two hundred students and was expected to cost \$500,000. With his customary caution, however, the Archbishop soon decided to content himself for the present with carrying out only about half of this plan. What was actually finished in 1884 was an L-shaped structure, including the central pavilion and the left half of the front and the left or east side of the proposed quadrangle, with a small, temporary chapel projecting at right angles from the western wall of this east wing. Thus reduced, the building could accommodate about one hundred students, and cost around \$150,000.⁷ Of Norman style, simple, and dignified, this structure represented an adequate, though perhaps a rigorously economical, solution of a long-standing problem. The Archbishop himself is said to have planned every detail of the work, and personally to have supervised the execution.⁸ The financing of the enterprise was well launched by a voluntary donation of \$36,000 from the pastors of the Diocese,⁹ and continued — without resorting to any very special exertions — through an annual collection in all the churches.

A charter had been obtained from the General Court in 1883

⁶ *Episcopal Register*, July 14, Sept. 4, 18, 19, 1880.

⁷ Cf. *Boston Post*, May 5, 1882; *Boston Globe*, May 20, 1883; *Pilot*, Aug. 16, 1884, Aug. 1, 8, 1885.

⁸ *Pilot*, Aug. 1, 1885.

⁹ *Episcopal Register*, Oct. 20, 1880.

for "The Boston Ecclesiastical Seminary," which was, *inter alia*, authorized to confer degrees in "Divinity and Philosophy."¹⁰ The Archbishop, who was at first inclined to call the new institution "the Seminary of the Holy Cross," as Bishop Fenwick had intended, was ultimately prevailed upon to name it "St. John's," in honor of his own patron saint.

In the summer of 1884 a group of Sulpicians arrived from Paris and from Maryland, bringing with them a large stock of books as a foundation for the seminary library, and among various works of art, the beautiful statue of the Virgin and Child which now adorns the courtyard of Theology House — a replica of a famous work by Pigalle in the Church of St. Sulpice, Paris. The man already designated to be the first President of the Seminary was the Abbé John Baptist Hogan, an Irish-born priest of wide scholarly attainments, who for over thirty years had taught in the Seminary of St. Sulpice, and who during the Paris Commune of 1871 had repeatedly faced imprisonment and the threat of death with imperturbable courage.¹¹

On September 18, 1884, the Archbishop blessed the house and chapel of the Seminary, after which he dined there with 125 of the clergy. On the 22nd the new institution opened its doors for the first academic year to thirty-two aspirants to the priesthood, twenty-eight of whom had already studied at other similar schools. In December the first group of ten young men from Brighton were ordained to the priesthood.

The remaining problem of finding a suitable location for a separate establishment for the students in Philosophy was happily solved in October, 1885, when Archbishop Williams succeeded in buying the Plummer estate, of eighteen acres, which lay just to the south of the former Stanwood property, on the corner of Lake Street and South Street (now Commonwealth Avenue).¹² Here, in 1889, he began the construction of

¹⁰ *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, 1883, Chapter 115.

¹¹ On him see the little volume published by the Alumni of St. John's Seminary, *A Garland of Affectionate Tributes to the Memory of the Very Rev. John Baptist Hogan, D.D., S.S.* (Boston, 1906).

¹² *Episcopal Register*, Nov. 2, 1885. The price was \$13,000.

"Philosophy House," which was dedicated October 23, 1890. The new building, crowning a high elevation, was a long, quadrangular structure, facing west, with a ground story in stone and the three upper ones in brick, a cupola surmounting the middle of the pitched roof, a stone chapel projecting from the rear wall, and wooden balconies along the southern and eastern sides. It was designed by J. H. Besarick, the architect of Theology House.

Archbishop Williams' last work for the adornment of the Seminary was the erection of the beautiful chapel at Theology House, designed by Messrs. Maginnis and Walsh, in the years 1898 and 1899. Built near the centre of the courtyard, in Romanesque style, of yellow and gray Brighton stone with limestone trimmings, this stately edifice is a jewel of ecclesiastical architecture. While this chapel was put into use as early as August, 1899, and the marble altars of the sanctuary and the vestibule oratories were installed in 1902, the task of carrying out the appropriate decoration of the interior was left to Archbishop Williams' successor.

Father Hogan remained President of the Seminary until 1889, when he was invited to head the Divinity College of the new Catholic University at Washington. Father Charles Rex, a young priest of exceptional talents and charming personality, succeeded him at Brighton for five years, until called away to preside over St. Charles' College, in Maryland. Father Hogan returned in 1894 to direct the Seminary until old age and failing health obliged him to retire in the summer of 1901. He died in France a few months later. The handsome Celtic cross which stands on the Seminary grounds today was erected to his memory by the Alumni in 1904. The later Presidents of the Seminary in Archbishop Williams' time were Rev. Daniel Maher, S.S. (1901-1906), and Rev. Francis P. Havey, S.S. (1906-1911). The faculty during this period were predominantly Sulpicians, but from the outset it proved necessary to add some diocesan priests; and the latter tended to approximate and in some years exceeded the number of the Sulpicians. The number of students grew from 70 in 1885-1886 to 132 in the



ST. JOHN'S SEMINARY, BRIGHTON, TODAY

years 1895-1899, but then, for various reasons, declined to 83 in 1906-1907. While this was never a provincial seminary, it was open to students from the other dioceses of New England; and until the later years of the Williams period it usually had a considerable contingent of students from these dioceses and others more remote.

Of all his creations, the Seminary was the object of Archbishop Williams' greatest interest, pride, and joy. He visited it very frequently, sojourned at times in the suite reserved for him, presided each year at the final exercises, when essays were read, prizes awarded, and degrees of Bachelor of Philosophy conferred. And, as a distinguished priest of the Archdiocese has written:

As the years went by and His Grace advanced in age, there was one time each year when his cup of happiness seemed full indeed, and that was on the Feast of the Priesthood, when, in the midst of all his priests gathered at the Seminary, he with them, before the tabernacle of the Lord, renewed his ordination promises.¹³

He spoke his feelings with unusual openness when at a large gathering in 1895 he declared:

No assurance was needed to convince them that the Seminary was the object of his warmest affections, and that there was nothing within his power that he was not prepared to do for an institution built by himself to be the very foundation of the clergy of the Archdiocese of Boston.¹⁴

III

The first half of the Williams era witnessed a resurgence, although in milder forms than previously, of the difficulties between Catholics and Protestants.

For a few years after the Civil War the Catholics of the North, justly proud of their record during the late struggle, had

¹³ Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, *A Brief History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1908), p. 50.

¹⁴ *Pilot*, June 1, 1895.

indulged the hope that the old discords were buried and that the days of "No Popery" crusades were over. Commenting on the decline of prejudice, *The Pilot* declared in 1870:

The gallant Ninth Massachusetts dashed the vile barrier aside at Yorktown, Hanover Court House, and Gaines' Mills; they . . . stamped it into the earth forever at Gettysburg, Malvern Hill, and Fredericksburg. Two enemies were before them through the war — the iron strength of the South and the bitter prejudice of their own State. With the wild fervor of their race they sprang at both, and the result was seen when the Ninth Massachusetts, "Irish from the Colonel to the drummer boy," returned to their native city, with thinned ranks, strange faces, tattered banners, and one of the noblest fighting records of the war . . .¹⁵

Encouraged by such memories and hopes, Catholics, it seemed, might now at last dream of enjoying in fact the full liberty and equality promised them by the letter of American laws. Not, surely, through any concerted action of the hierarchy, but quite spontaneously it came about that in the late '60's in many parts of the country Catholics began to strive to obtain real religious liberty for their coreligionists in public institutions; to secure for their own charitable institutions some share in the State subsidies so generously meted out at that time to non-Catholic private establishments; to effect a solution of the school question that would not do violence to the Catholic conscience nor impose upon them forever the burden of double taxation; and to end the situation in which the fact that a man was a Catholic sufficed to exclude him from public office.

Such aspirations, however, as was soon demonstrated, were, in part, altogether premature, or, in part, not to be realized without a struggle. Weakened as it might be through the growth of liberalism and religious indifference and by the decline of Evangelicalism, anti-Catholic sentiment was still strong enough to flare up vehemently at the first attempts to vindicate Catholic rights — attempts that were, of course, construed to be

¹⁵ June 25, 1870.

another Papal campaign to conquer America. Around the end of the '60's and the beginning of the 1870's there were many signs that, stimulated by all the excitement over the Vatican Council, a new "Protestant crusade" was on, with armies recruited from the same elements and employing much the same modes of fighting as in the brave days of yore.

Once more a large number of Evangelical pulpits and much of the Evangelical press rang with charges, misrepresentations, and excoriation worthy of the sixteenth century. How fierce and tenacious inherited prejudice can be is shown by the fact that almost down to the end of the nineteenth century one of the most eminent Baptist ministers of Boston was still denouncing the Church of Rome as Anti-Christ, and his son, in justifying his father's views, wrote:

So if it is true that the papacy is the only portent in Christian history wicked and forbidding enough to answer to the prophecy of Anti-Christ, it is conversely true that no theory can explain this grotesque satanophany, this incredible perversion of early Christianity, except that which considered it a predicted and mysteriously predestined device for turning the truth into a lie.¹⁶

The ministerial phalanx, here and elsewhere, was solidified by the formation in 1867 of the American branch of the British-born Evangelical Alliance, which took for one of its chief tasks to fight every legislative measure favorable to the Catholic Church and to champion amendments to the Federal and State Constitutions forbidding money grants in favor of "sectarian" schools and charitable institutions. For several decades it was to be a great power in the land.

Naturally there sprang up a new crop of ex-priests and escaped nuns, real or pretended, who found it a lucrative business to tour the country handing out to crowds of prurient bigots the hair-raising stories and obscene lies that such audiences wanted to hear. Among the flood of anti-Catholic books of the period, probably the two worst — and certainly the most pop-

¹⁶ *Adoniram Judson Gordon: a Biography. By His Son Ernest B. Gordon* (New York, 1896), p. 325.

ular — emanated from these circles. One was *Convent Life Unveiled* by the ex-nun Edith O'Gorman (Hartford, 1875); the other *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* by the apostate priest, Charles Chiniquy (Chicago, 1885). The latter work was undoubtedly a kind of epic masterpiece in this literature of hate and lurid, unscrupulous mendacity.

Naturally, too, the anti-Catholic secret societies — “the patriotic orders,” as they called themselves, or “the dark-lantern boys,” as *The Pilot* usually styled them — again made their appearance. Five of these societies, which had once coalesced into the Know-Nothing party, survived its downfall, and after the Civil War resumed their activities. One of them, the Order of United American Mechanics, became so conspicuous here by 1873 that *The Pilot* reported that it entirely controlled the Boston Police Department and that City Hall was “a nest of these conspirators.”¹⁷ Another of them, the American Protestant Association, which seems to have been merely an imported form of Orangeism, from 1870 to 1877 published at Boston its national weekly, *The American Protestant*. These revived older organizations were reënforced by a flock of new ones. Among them were the Order of the American Phoenix (very active in local politics here in 1869-1870); the Order of the American Union, founded in 1873, which soon proved the most important of the newcomers; the Crescents (1875), the Templars of Liberty (1881), the Patriotic League of the Revolution (1882), the Order of American Freedom (1884), and the National Order of Videttes (1886). All these societies professed substantially the same aims: to maintain the public school system intact, to keep the Bible in the public schools, to oppose Catholic schools and any grants of public money to sectarian institutions, to oppose the election or appointment of Catholics to any public office, and, in general, to “resist the aggression” and reduce the influence of the Church of Rome.

This wave of No Popery excitement reached its crest in 1875 and 1876. President Grant, who in general lent his aid to the cause of bigotry as no President of the United States before or

¹⁷ May 24, 1873.

since, made a famous speech at Des Moines in September, 1875, warning the country that if there was ever to be another civil war, he predicted that it would be "between patriotism and intelligence on one side, and superstition, ambition, and ignorance on the other"; and that the best hope of averting this lay in maintaining the public schools as they were and in granting not a dollar of public money to sectarian institutions.¹⁸ An anti-sectarian amendment to the Federal Constitution, recommended by Grant to Congress, formally proposed by Senator Blaine, and approved by the Republican National Convention in June, 1876, narrowly missed passing, being accepted by the House of Representatives, but falling slightly short of the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate (August, 1876). The foremost cartoonist of the country, Thomas Nast, of *Harper's Weekly*, was then pouring forth perhaps the worst of his venomous lampoons against the Catholic Church. In May, 1876, a convention of anti-Catholic societies, held at Philadelphia, established a super-organization called the American Alliance, in the fond hope that the time was ripe for a new Know-Nothing party. This latter project soon evaporated, however, squelched, probably, by the Republican leaders, who might well have pointed out that they were already doing about all that a Know-Nothing party could have done.

For the next ten years anti-Catholic agitation, though by no means ceasing, was somewhat less tumultuous. Quite regularly it was revived just before national or state elections, usually to the profit of the Republican party, although, as is well known, the famous phrase of a New York minister about "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" cost Blaine the presidential election of 1884.

In retrospect, the campaign conducted against the Church during the twenty years following the Civil War was feebler than those of the *ante-bellum* period. There had, at least in this vicinity, been no riots, no church burnings, no physical violence. But the era of good feeling expected at the close of the War had all too quickly turned into an era of bad feeling.

¹⁸ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 1, 1875.

The Catholics of the United States had been forced to recognize that, as John Gilmary Shea wrote in 1881, the old prejudice against them was not dead, but would be revived again and again, and that the public opinion of the country was overwhelmingly against them.¹⁹ And on several great questions the Protestant majority had during these years adopted an attitude that has substantially been maintained ever since, which spelled the end of most of the hopes that Catholics had formed at the beginning of that period.

IV

The first of these hopes to be frustrated, as far as this Commonwealth was concerned, was that relating to State aid for Catholic charitable institutions. Ever since 1816 Massachusetts had been accustomed to make annual grants to various privately owned benevolent institutions that were deemed to be of public utility; and, with the growing interest in charity, the number of establishments so favored increased rapidly. In 1869 a Catholic institution, the House of the Angel Guardian, for the first time applied for assistance. In view of the obvious usefulness and excellent management of this home for orphaned, destitute, or wayward boys, after repeated inspections the Legislature granted it \$2,000 that year, and \$3,500 in both the two succeeding years. In 1870 the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, whose unique services to the community no one could deny, obtained a grant of \$10,000 in order to help them to erect their present buildings, though with the understanding that such aid would not again be asked for. In all, during the years 1869-1871 the Commonwealth appropriated \$333,100 for the benefit of private institutions, out of which Catholic institutions received the very modest sum of \$19,000.

But even this was too much to suit their ill wishers. The Board of State Charities — a body of prominent citizens among whom there was not a Catholic — had found nothing repre-

¹⁹ "The Anti-Catholic Issue in the Late Election," *Amer. Cath. Quart. Review*, VI (1881), 48.

hensible about public grants to private institutions, as long as these were Protestant or non-sectarian establishments. But in the first year that Catholics obtained something, the Board took alarm; and in 1871 and 1872 their annual reports to the Legislature contained strong warnings about the impropriety of granting aid to private institutions, especially to such as were under the exclusive control of one denomination.²⁰ Various religious journals took up the cry.²¹ Constitutional amendments for the purpose of preventing such grants were being pressed in many States at that time, especially in New York. Hence in 1872 Massachusetts made a sharp change in its practice. At the opening of the General Court that year the House of the Angel Guardian and the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, along with nearly a dozen Protestant or non-sectarian institutions, put in requests for State aid. The Committee on Public Charitable Institutions reported adversely on all these petitions, being, as we are told, "strenuous against any grant where it could be construed as aiding any one religious faith more than another."²² The Legislature accepted the report. So clear was the change in public sentiment that for many years it was but rarely that any private charitable institution (except for three or four recognized as unique in their fields) applied for State aid, and still more rarely that any one received it. Massachusetts thus broke with the practice of many decades in this respect almost as soon as, and, one can scarcely doubt, because of the fact that, Catholics had begun to seek some share in the bounties of the Commonwealth.

A Catholic claim which it did not prove so easy to set aside was that which related to religious liberty in public charitable and penal institutions. The conditions prevailing in these establishments as late as 1872 were described in a speech of that year by State Senator Patrick A. Collins as follows:

This Commonwealth has been free some ninety years; re-

²⁰ Cf. the *Reports* for 1869, p. 99; for 1870, pp. 163 f.; for 1871, pp. xxxii f. (Boston, 1870, 1871, 1872, respectively).

²¹ Cf. *Boston Watchman and Reflector*, Jan. 25, Feb. 22, 1872; *Pilot*, March 30, May 25, 1872.

²² *Report of the Board of State Charities for 1872* (Boston, 1873), pp. 128 ff.

ligious equality is a theory coeval with its existence; yet never in all these years has a Catholic clergyman been appointed as chaplain in any of these institutions. Services are held weekly in all of them by Protestant chaplains, and every inmate *must* attend. The prisoner or the pauper, whichever he may be, who was early instructed in the Catholic creed, must, Sunday after Sunday, listen to a strange creed, and perhaps to abuse of his own. . . . At all events, there is no bar against it. The whole matter is in the hands of the Trustees or Directors and the Superintendents or Masters of these institutions. Catholic services at rare intervals — once a year — are permitted on the School-ship and elsewhere, perhaps; and Catholic clergymen are permitted to visit the sick and sometimes the well inmates, under certain restrictions. But the system is irregular, and these visits and services are regarded as favors, and not as a matter of right. On the School-ship, at the State Prison, and at Bridgewater, the authorities are governed by a liberal, Christian spirit; while at Tewksbury and Westboro the bigots who have charge declare that they would resign rather than permit the Mass to be said within the walls. . . . I can cite numerous instances in which bigotry has cropped out in the management of our institutions.²³

This was, perhaps, an all too moderate portrayal. Not only were the Catholic inmates of these institutions — who were frequently in the majority — obliged to attend one and sometimes two Protestant services each Sunday, and sometimes each weekday, but they were often practically compelled to attend a Protestant Sunday school, overwhelmed with Protestant books, tracts, and journals, and forced to receive the personal spiritual direction of Protestant chaplains. All this was usually defended on two grounds. It was said that “discipline” required that all inmates of an institution should attend one common religious service. And it was maintained that the religious instruction given was “non-sectarian,” confined to “fundamental Christianity,” and to “the broad truths shared by all Christians.” In reality, the Evangelical sects, which still ruled Massachusetts, had made up for themselves a least-common-denominator kind of

²³ *Pilot*, June 25, 1870.

Christianity, which was still thoroughly Protestant in all its pre-suppositions, implications, and forms of worship, and which utterly failed to supply much that Catholics regarded as of the heart of religion; and these sects were then determined to present this hodgepodge as all the spiritual nutriment required by the State's wards and as a kind of established religion of the Commonwealth. Freedom of conscience and of worship was a boast of Massachusetts, but for the Catholic inmates of her public institutions at that time it simply did not exist. And if the lot of such adults was hard, still worse was that of Catholic children who had become the wards of the State. These were commonly "put out" for upbringing, usually in Protestant families in the country districts or in Northern New England, with no guarantee that they would be reared in the religion of their parents, but rather with the quasi-certainty that they would be brought up as Protestants.

A first attempt to remedy these conditions was made in 1870. Several proposals were then brought before the General Court — supported by dozens of Catholic petitions and thousands of signatures from all over the State — looking to the appointment of Catholic chaplains, guarantees that inmates of public institutions should not be obliged to attend services conducted in a way contrary to their religious principles, and provision that children dependent upon the State should not be educated in a faith to which their parents or guardians objected. All these proposals, so consonant with the professed principles of Massachusetts, were rejected unceremoniously, and almost without debate.

The next attempt was made in Boston, where the Catholics now had sufficient political influence to assert their rights. Early in 1873 the question was opened up by a petition from Bishop Williams, requesting that regular religious services be secured to the Catholics in the City's penal and charitable institutions through the appointment of a Catholic chaplain. In spite of the valiant efforts of Patrick Donahoe, a member of the Board of Directors, for a year his colleagues squirmed, equivocated, and procrastinated. But public opinion became aroused.

The City Council, the Grand Jury of Suffolk County, the newspapers took up the question. In 1874 a new petition was presented by the Catholic Union of Boston, demanding that freedom of conscience be guaranteed to all inmates of the City institutions, and that Catholic inmates should enjoy the regular services of a Catholic clergyman. This time the Board yielded, to the extent of conceding that at Deer Island (where the chief City institutions were then gathered) Catholic services should be held on "Sabbath mornings, for such of the inmates as may desire to attend voluntarily, provided the said services do not interfere with the present religious exercises nor with the discipline of the institutions."²⁴ From July, 1874, onward, then, Mass was said weekly at Deer Island, and before long also in the other institutions of Boston.

Encouraged by this victory in the City, in 1875 the Catholics renewed their campaign in the State Legislature, but with only very partial success. A bill, sponsored chiefly by Senator M. J. Flatley, was passed, but in a much amended and almost travestied form. First of all, its scope was restricted to the purely penal institutions of the State. Then, while Section 1 — as a presumed satisfaction to Catholics — did provide that "No inmate of any prison, jail, or house of correction in this Commonwealth shall be denied the free exercise of his religious belief and liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. . . , " Section 2 — added to please the other side — opened the door to every kind of arbitrariness by enacting that "Nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to impair the discipline of any prison so far as may be needful for the good government and safe custody of its inmates."²⁵

Four years later an effort was made to remedy the defects of this act through a bill introduced by a broad-minded Protestant, Representative Mellen, of Worcester. But again the Great and General Court produced a marvel of facing-both-ways legislation. The Act of 1879 did extend the religious liberty guaran-

²⁴ *Boston Post*, June 22, 1874; *Pilot*, June 27, 1874. There is a large amount of material bearing upon this episode in the archives of City Hall, and the contemporary newspapers are full of it.

²⁵ *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1875*, Chapter 126.

ted by the Act of 1875 to the State's charitable and reformatory institutions. But a second section, even worse than that of 1875, was tacked on, providing that "Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the assembly of all the inmates of any State or other public institutions in the chapel thereof, for general religious instruction, including the reading of the Bible, as the board having charge of the institution may deem wise or expedient."²⁶ That compulsory assembling of all inmates for Protestant worship which had hitherto rested only on custom and Board rules, was now explicitly sanctioned by State law.

The situation thus established marked a considerable gain for the Catholics — and for the good name of Massachusetts. Regular Catholic services were now conducted in all the public charitable, reformatory, and penal institutions, and priests could now claim entrance to minister to Catholic inmates as a matter of right and not as an exceptional favor. But conditions were still far from ideal. None but Protestant chaplains could yet be appointed or paid by the State or the City of Boston. Catholic priests serving in public institutions were only unpaid volunteers from outside. Catholic inmates might attend Catholic services if they wished, but they still *had* to attend the general assembly for Protestant worship, maintained as a matter of "discipline." Only in Boston was this violation of religious freedom ruled out, after an adverse opinion handed down by the Corporation Counsel in 1883.²⁷ Another difficulty arose from the stubborn resistance to the exercise of Catholic rights put up by many a bigoted Board or official. One curious example of this spirit was an incident that happened at Marlboro in 1876.

Father Peter McKenna, curate of the church there, was summoned to the State Almshouse to administer the Sacraments to a very sick woman, Mrs. Sarah Hogan. Mrs. Rebecca Cooper, the wife of the Keeper, being in charge in her husband's absence, at first refused to admit him, on the ground that she did not know him. Only after he had fetched a policeman, Patrick

²⁶ *Acts and Resolves*, 1879, Chapter 148.

²⁷ *Pilot*, Sept. 15, 1883.

Harris, a Catholic, who could identify him, was the priest allowed to cross the threshold. But when he then wished to hear the sick woman's confession and asked Mrs. Cooper to leave the room, that discerning lady, who had doubtless delved deeply into the literature about "Popery," refused to budge, determined not to run the hazards of leaving a female in her charge alone with a priest. Convinced that it was imperative that Mrs. Hogan, in her condition, should receive the Sacraments, Father McKenna finally had, with the aid of the policeman, to put Mrs. Cooper out of the room. Great was the outcry among the Protestants of Marlboro. Mrs. Cooper brought suit for assault against the priest and the policeman, and the case, after being carried up to the Supreme Judicial Court, was decided in her favor, Father McKenna being condemned to pay, not the three thousand dollars demanded, but over three hundred dollars for damages and costs.²⁸ So little did the rights of conscience avail at that time as against the dignity of a tyrannical and narrow-minded petty official.

A final problem was that of protecting the faith of Catholic children who had become the wards of the State. For their rights such outstanding laymen as Senator Flatley, Charles F. Donnelly, and Dr. Thomas Dwight, as members of various Boards, during the early 1880's conducted a long battle. But in the face of the Protestant majority on every State Board, and, the Republican Governors and Legislatures, little could be accomplished. This problem had still to wait twenty years for its proper solution.

²⁸ *Pilot*, Feb. 5, 1876, Aug. 17, 1878; *Records of the Superior Court, Middlesex County*, 1878.

CHAPTER V

PROGRESS AND OPPOSITION (1876-1886) — II

I

NO OTHER QUESTION of the time occasioned so much friction and ill feeling between Catholics and Protestants as the School Question. Throughout the last decades of the century, but especially between the years 1869 and 1876, that was the subject of incessant and vehement debates.

That no reflecting Catholic could accept the public school system, as it then was, as satisfactory, needs little explanation. Whether or not these schools kept up their Protestant Bible-reading, hymns and prayers and their instruction in morality and "fundamental Christianity," as the Evangelicals insisted must be done, or whether all religious and moral training was banished, as the growing party of "Secularists" and Freethinkers demanded, their atmosphere was usually Protestant, and in any case thoroughly un-Catholic. The difficulty lay largely in the teachers and textbooks. *The Pilot* remarked in a very moderate editorial:

We venture to say there is hardly one Catholic child educated in the public schools who has not heard a teacher sneer at "Romanists" and their priests. This is habitually done by a large percentage of teachers. In very few places can Catholics get teachers of their own faith appointed, and never can they get them in anything like fair proportion to their numbers. It is quite impossible for a Protestant teacher to instruct a class in history without giving *his* version of events and persons, and this must always be an outrage on the Catholic pupils.¹

Moreover — what was still more important — Catholics could be satisfied only with schools which not merely refrained from insulting their faith, but which made the teaching of the Catho-

¹ Sept. 11, 1875.

lic religion and Catholic ideas of morality an integral and principal part of education. This ideal involved a system of schools under Catholic direction for Catholic pupils.

But how was this ideal to be realized? While in many parts of the country there had already been established a large number of parochial schools supported only by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, very many American Catholics in the years immediately following the Civil War shrank back from the thought of universalizing that system. The enormous expense involved in supporting a school alongside every church was appalling; and so was the prospect of permanently saddling the Catholic population with the burden of double taxation for school purposes. All would be simple and easy, on the other hand, if the American people could be brought to accept the principle of an equitable division of the funds raised by public taxation for education, whereby Catholics would be assisted to maintain, under State supervision, the only kind of schools that they could in conscience approve. Such a system, long successfully practiced in England, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria, and, at our very doors, in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario — practiced here for the benefit of Catholics, and there for Protestants — such a system, it seemed, might be established here if only the question could be weighed dispassionately and settled on its merits. This solution of the School Question was urged by numerous Catholic spokesmen around the country in the great debate that began in 1869. In Boston it was put forward notably in a speech made by Father Hecker, Superior General of the Paulists, on April 4, 1869,² and, still more eloquently, in a great address delivered by Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester, before the Free Religious Association, on February 13, 1876.³

But of all modern nations of mixed religion, the American people were to show themselves the most callous to the demands

² *Boston Advertiser*, April 5, 1869.

³ *The Public School Question, as Understood by a Catholic American Citizen, and by a Liberal American Citizen: Two Lectures before the Free Religious Association, in Horticultural Hall, Boston, by Bishop McQuaid and Francis E. Abbot* (Boston, 1876).

of justice and the rights of conscience, so far as the School Question was concerned. On no other matter have the claims of Catholics encountered such a unanimous, vehement, and unyielding resistance. Of calm and dispassionate weighing of the question there was, in the decisive period of the 1870's, little possibility. The dominant Evangelicals did, indeed, as Bishop McQuaid attested, believe in the need of religious education in the schools, but, he added, they were "frightened and bewildered by the bugbear of 'Popery.' And," he continued,

It is but fair to state that the mention of any system of schools under which common justice might be meted out to Catholic parents, suffices to drive the whole body of Methodist preachers and hearers frantic, crazy. The Baptists are not less intolerant. . . . There is small hope that justice, or even patient and unbiased hearing of our grievances, will be accorded when, as soon as a voice is raised in behalf of God-given rights, forty thousand pulpits ring with bitter invectives, gross misrepresentations, and appeals to the lowest passions of those who gather around them; when politicians (not statesmen) catch up the cry, and trading away all principle, if they ever had any, ride into office in the fury and madness of the hour. Secret societies, that have so often proved political sepulchres for demagogues, lend their help. . . .⁴

Evangelicals and Secularists combined, then, to excoriate every Catholic thesis. Catholic criticism of the public schools — which, it must be admitted, was sometimes tactless and exaggerated — was resented as an attempt to "destroy our public school system" and as an "attack upon American institutions." Catholic parochial schools were denounced as hopelessly inferior to the public schools, breeding-places of bigotry and intolerance, and a menace to the necessary unity and solidarity of the American people. The rights of the Catholic conscience were ridiculed. "The conscience of the Romanist," declared one Evangelical divine, "is not entitled to consideration, because his conscience is founded not on his own reason or on the Bible, but on the traditions of men, decisions of Councils, and

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

the will of the Popes, and no more entitled to respect than that of pagans and idolators.”⁵ Or, as a Liberal put it, “The Catholic conscience is only the conscience of the Pope enforced on all Catholics.”⁶ The question of a division of the school funds was usually dismissed as “absurd on the face of it,” or something which “it would be a waste of time to discuss.” When Protestant writers did condescend to discuss it, they vehemently rejected the idea, either on the ground that it would be incompatible with the American system of the separation of Church and State, or with the argument that if all denominations were to share in the school funds, that would mean the total disintegration of the public school system, the bulwark of the Republic.

The example of Canada alone might have shown that such dangers were mere chimeras. A compromise arrangement such as the Catholics proposed, whereby, with public support and public supervision in both cases, Catholicism should be taught in the schools intended for Catholics and Protestantism in those intended for Protestants, would seem to have accorded best both with the oft-proclaimed belief of the Evangelicals in the importance of religious education and with their own interest in keeping their hold on the rising generations. Instead, driven on by fear and hatred of “Popery,” the Evangelicals joined hands with the Secularists to defeat every Catholic claim, and — the better to ensure that defeat — assented to the ever more complete elimination of any effective religious instruction in the public schools. The results are apparent today — with half of the American people “unchurched” and with the almost desperate efforts now being made in Protestant circles to find a proper solution for the problem of religious education. It is difficult to resist the conviction that, as regards the public schools, that problem was wrongly solved by the American people in the late nineteenth century, and so settled chiefly as the result of bigotry — to the serious detriment, finan-

⁵ Rev. Rufus W. Clark, *The Question of the Hour: the Bible and the School Fund* (Boston, 1870), pp. 32 f.

⁶ Francis E. Abbot, in *The Public School Question* (Boston, 1876), p. 99.

cial and otherwise, of Catholics, and to the vastly greater detriment of the Protestant churches.

II

That the question had been decided against them must have been clear to most Catholics during the explosion of No Popery feeling and anti-sectarian amendments in 1875 and 1876. For them the one remaining course was to set to work to establish and pay for their own schools. Rome had already drawn this conclusion. In a famous Instruction, of November 24, 1875, the Congregation of the Propaganda had emphasized the perils to faith resulting from the American public school system, had urged the Bishops to establish Catholic schools in every locality, and had warned Catholic parents that they could in conscience send their children to public schools only for sufficient cause (such as the lack of an adequate parochial school at hand), to be referred in each case to the judgment of the bishop, and only if there were no serious danger of the children's perversion.⁷

The Archdiocese of Boston was somewhat slow in adapting itself to this policy. Indeed, Boston had long had an unhappy reputation for inactivity — some people said “apathy” — in the matter of Catholic schools. The number of parishes having some kind of school had, indeed, increased from eight in 1866 to fourteen in 1875 and to sixteen by 1879. But most of the other archdioceses of the country had three to six times as many. And in Boston's meagre list there were, as late as 1879, only five parishes having schools for boys.

The reasons for this retarded development are not altogether clear. It is true, of course, that this Diocese had, since the days of the Great Famine, had to face a seldom paralleled influx of mostly poor Catholic immigrants, and therefore, more than most dioceses perhaps, had had to concentrate its energies upon the building of churches and — what poor immigrants valued

⁷Text in Rev. Donald C. Shearer, *Pontificia Americana* . . . (Washington, 1933), pp. 367-371.

next to churches — homes for orphaned or destitute children and for the aged. It is also true that the German element which, with its tradition of Catholic schools at home, did so much for their upbuilding in the Middle West, was almost totally lacking in New England, while the Irish, less accustomed to parochial schools at home, were at first on the whole less interested in them here.

That Archbishop Williams believed in and desired such schools can scarcely be questioned, although impatient advocates of more rapid progress were sometimes inclined to raise doubts about it. In opening a new school in 1872, the Archbishop declared: "No one can be interested in Catholic children without desiring for them Catholic education. If we have not hitherto had Catholic schools, it was not because we did not recognize their value, but because the first work to be done was to build our churches. By degrees the schools were commenced and increased; and he hoped that before many years every parish in the diocese would have its Catholic school for boys and girls."⁸ What John J. Williams said he meant. But he was also a very cautious and conservative man, who preferred the slow but sure kind of progress, and was little inclined to press his pastors into what might prove perilous undertakings.

His clergy, too, were in the main disposed to be cautious and conservative on this question. Some doubted whether most parishes would be able to stand such a burden for a long time to come. Some still clung to the hope that if Catholics waited patiently, the Protestant majority would change its mind and consent to a division of the school funds. Some are said to have feared that a systematic attempt to build up Catholic schools would be "too radical for Massachusetts" and would seriously endanger peaceful relations with their Yankee neighbors.⁹ Many of the laity, likewise, at that time displayed considerable lukewarmness or even opposition to the establishment of paro-

⁸ *Pilot*, June 8, 1872.

⁹ Rev. Thomas Scully to Bishop McQuaid, Feb. 24, 1876 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*); speech by Father Scully quoted in the *Boston Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1879.

chial schools. The financial obligations involved were probably the chief consideration, but there was also the fact that to immigrants, eager to Americanize themselves and their children as quickly as possible, the public schools offered many attractions.

There was, on the other hand, a group of priests — sometimes nicknamed “the Schoolmen” — who were enthusiasts for the cause of Catholic education. Their leader was the Rev. Thomas Scully, pastor since 1867 of St. Mary’s, Cambridgeport. Irish by birth and in his warm, genial, and ardent temperament, a soldier in bearing and outlook — he had made a splendid record during the Civil War as chaplain of the Ninth Massachusetts — a zealous, indefatigable, and self-sacrificing priest, Father Scully was a volcano of energy and a born leader, pioneer, and fighter. Colonel Thomas W. Higginson once described him as “a healthy hornet” in all questions of reform, and as a man “afraid of nobody in the world except possibly the Pope.”¹⁰ Aided by a curate, Rev. John F. Mundy, who was for nearly three decades his *fidus Achates* and his *alter ego*, Father Scully had undertaken, in a newly created parish, in the face of at first almost universal skepticism, a breathless succession of bold and novel enterprises which made St. Mary’s, Cambridge, famous throughout the land. Scarcely had he completed his large and beautiful church, when he opened, in 1870, a school for girls, followed in 1875 by one for boys. Both were divided into primary, grammar school, and high school departments. By 1881 he could add what would be called today a Junior College — St. Thomas Aquinas’. These schools were elaborately organized as, probably, no other Catholic schools in the country. The Boys’ Battalion, the drum corps, the smartly uniformed band, the baseball nines, the crews on the river, the summer camps in the country or at the shore, the handsome gymnasium for boys and young men donated by the pastor to the parish in 1886 (it was said that none in the country could equal it save those of Harvard College and the New York Athletic Club), and the gymnasium for girls — in nearly all these things St. Mary’s was prob-

¹⁰ *Boston Journal*, April 16, 1889.

ably a pioneer among Catholic parishes. Besides, there were the school library, the billiard room, the active debating and dramatic societies, and the large hall for parish gatherings erected in 1883. It is not strange that the loyal people of St. Mary's exulted in the consciousness of having the best-equipped parish in the Diocese, if not in the country, and of being leaders in the cause of Catholic education, and that they and their descendants have cherished an intense devotion to the name of Father Scully. It was unfortunate, on the other hand, that at the beginning of the school experiment a part of the parishioners stood out in opposition to it, and that Father Scully resorted to measures of extreme severity against them. Those who persistently sent their children to the public schools were denounced from the altar, denied absolution, rejected at the Communion rail, refused even the Last Sacraments.

In the autumn of 1879 there began a series of incidents which for several years focused the attention of the Diocese upon the School Question. The malcontents in St. Mary's parish, having collected a large number of sworn affidavits as to Father Scully's alleged acts of tyranny, sent a committee to the Archbishop to present their grievances and to ask for the removal of their pastor. As Archbishop Williams refused to receive such a body of mutineers, they poured forth their story in the newspapers.¹¹ Father Scully retorted by organizing demonstrations to show that the great majority of his people were with him, and by a fiery speech in which he castigated the opposition, the public schools, and his fellow clergy, so delinquent about Catholic schools, who were now, he said, going to get "the greatest shaking up that they ever got in their lives."¹² For some weeks the situation in St. Mary's parish and the whole problem of parochial versus public schools were topics of universal discussion.

In order to allay the storm, at the semi-annual Clergy Conferences of November 19-20th, the Archbishop delivered a lengthy and carefully measured address upon the School Ques-

¹¹ See especially *Boston Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1879; *Boston Herald*, Nov. 10; *Cambridge Press*, Nov. 15.

¹² *Boston Advertiser*, *loc. cit.*

tion. He reviewed the whole Catholic teaching upon that subject, in the light, especially, of Propaganda's Instruction of 1875. More emphatically, perhaps, than ever before, he urged that, as soon as practicable, schools should be established in every parish, and made, as far as possible, equal to the public schools. He explained the exceptional cases in which Catholic parents might be justified in sending their children to the public schools, and made clear that if persistent differences of opinion arose between pastor and parent over such questions, the matter was to be referred to the decision of the Bishop. Most strongly of all, he forbade individual pastors to excommunicate on their own authority, and urged prudence, charity, and gentleness in dealing with the misguided, rather than ill-timed severity and vexatious measures of coercion.¹³

The excitement would not, however, die down. Father Scully prolonged it by ever and anon delivering a characteristically vigorous pronouncement. So did his ally, James A. McMaster, the editor of *The Freeman's Journal* — a kind of American George Ward or Louis Veuillot — who was never tired of berating the slackness of Boston Catholics about schools. The most conspicuous object of his attacks was Father Scully's neighbor, Rev. John O'Brien, pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart, East Cambridge. A man of zeal, activity, and personality equal to Father Scully's, Father O'Brien represented a different temperament and a different approach to the school problem. To his mind the best hope lay in promoting better relations and fuller understanding between Catholics and Protestants, mutual coöperation in all lawful ways, and frank but temperate discussion, which might ultimately convince the Protestant majority of the justice of Catholic claims. He was at this time serving with distinction as a member of the Cambridge School Committee. But the fate of the moderate is to be attacked from both sides, as Father O'Brien experienced during that year 1880. On the one hand some expression of his fundamental views before the School Committee involved

¹³ *Episcopal Register*, Nov. 20, 1879; *Pilot*, Dec. 6 (giving an official version of the address, to correct the very garbled versions that had filled the secular press).

him in a long public controversy with a combative Unitarian minister, the Rev. J. P. Bland — perhaps the most conspicuous debate between a Catholic and a Protestant divine that this community had seen since the days of Bishop Fenwick.¹⁴ On the other hand, the Catholic attacks upon him reached their climax when at a hearing in City Hall Father O'Brien made the incautious declaration: "I hope the time will never come when I shall be obliged to build a Catholic school." What he meant, as he subsequently explained, was that he believed "the time was fast approaching when our present system would be so changed as to render the establishment of a parochial school unnecessary."¹⁵ But the harm was done — and McMaster fairly roared at this "Protestant priest" in Massachusetts, "where Satan's seat is."¹⁶

Rome, meantime, was being kept fully informed of these controversies — by someone of the "Schoolmen" party. Rome for a time was seriously disturbed over the allegations received: that Boston had almost no Catholic schools, that many priests of the Diocese were opposed to them, that Father O'Brien and others were openly speaking out against them, etc.¹⁷ Five times within a relatively short period the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda wrote to Archbishop Williams to urge him to remedy these conditions, to call to order these recreant priests — if such there were — and to exert himself to the utmost to build up an adequate school system.¹⁸ The Archbishop's replies seem ultimately to have calmed these apprehensions, and towards the close of 1881 the agitation here over the School Question died away.

These years of somewhat acrimonious discussions, painful as

¹⁴ Both sides published their versions of this controversy. Father O'Brien's version was *The Catholic Church in Its Relations to Civil and Religious Liberty: the Complete Discussion between Rev. J. P. Bland, B.D., and Rev. John O'Brien, of Cambridge, Mass.* (Boston, 1880).

¹⁵ *Cambridge Press*, Sept. 18, 1880; *Boston Herald*, Oct. 24.

¹⁶ Quoted from *The Pilot*, Oct. 9, 1880.

¹⁷ Bishop De Goësbriand to Archbishop Williams, from Rome, Dec. 7, 1879; and the letters referred to in the next footnote.

¹⁸ Cardinal Simeoni's letters of Aug. 16, 1878, Aug. 17 and Dec. 17, 1880, March 18 and June 12, 1881 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

they may have been, appear to have had highly beneficial results. The problem had been threshed out as never before; the mind of the Church had been made clear to clergy and laity alike; the Archbishop had explicitly defined his position; Rome had manifested its will emphatically; the period of hesitation and divided counsels was drawing to a close. The effects were visible in the outburst of school building that marked the early 1880's. The number of parishes with schools increased from sixteen in 1879 to thirty-five by the time of the Third Council of Baltimore, in 1884. While it has been customary to take that Council as the starting point of the large development of the Boston parochial school system, it might well be maintained that the decisive impetus was given by the events of the years 1879-1881.

III

Catholics might be defeated on the question of getting public aid for their charitable institutions or for parochial schools; they might have won but a partial victory as regards religious liberty in public institutions; but there was one matter in which, if only through sheer weight of numbers, their claims could not be denied. This was the right to hold public office. That was, of course, not a question that directly concerned the Church, and Archbishop Williams, always so averse to intervening in politics, was the last man in the world who would have done anything about it. But it was a question that greatly interested the rank and file of his flock, eager to end the political proscription that had so long hung over their creed and race.

Although Catholics formed, probably, two fifths of the population of Boston by the early 1850's, and over half of it by the end of the '70's, they were but slowly and grudgingly admitted to any official position. The first Catholic member of the Common Council was elected in 1857, the first Alderman in 1870, the first Representative of the Boston district in Congress in 1882. While the Catholics were over fifty per cent of the pop-

ulation of Marlboro, down to 1867 there had never been a Catholic town officer or a Catholic on the jury list.¹⁹ At Lowell, where they formed at least half the population, they held in 1872 only two political offices.²⁰ Although Irish Catholics had long made up the great bulk of the Democratic voters of the State, as late as 1874 the State ticket and State Committee of that party showed scarcely one Irish name.²¹

Before the inexorably rising tide, however, these conditions began to break down during the '70's. Boston, long the stronghold of the Whigs and then of the Republicans, was becoming normally a Democratic city, and Irishmen were now appearing in ever-increasing numbers in the police and fire departments, the City Councils, the School Committee. In 1878, by a kind of uprising led by Benjamin F. Butler (himself a Protestant, of course), they captured control of the Democratic organization of the State from the long dominant "Yankee aristocrats." And the early '80's saw them making unprecedented political gains. New York having for the first time elected an Irish Catholic as Mayor in 1880 (William R. Grace), that example was widely followed around the country. Lawrence chose its first Catholic Mayor (John Breen) in 1881; Lowell its first — and a very admirable one — John J. Donovan, in 1882. And in 1883 the Democratic City Committee for the first time had the courage to nominate an Irish Catholic for Mayor of Boston.

The candidate, Hugh O'Brien, was one of the finest exemplars of the Catholic laity of that day. Born in Ireland in 1827, brought to this country at the age of five, and obliged through poverty to leave school at twelve in order to earn a living, he had very early worked his way to a respected and influential position in the community, particularly as the creator and publisher of *The Shipping and Commercial List*, a paper indispensable to business circles. As a member, almost continuously since 1875, of the Board of Aldermen and for four years its Chairman, he had gained a thorough acquaintance with municipal affairs, while by his efforts on behalf of laboring men, the park system, improvements in the City's water supply and sani-

¹⁹ *Pilot*, April 27, 1867²⁰ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1872²¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1874.

tation, and economy in administration, he had built up a high reputation. A man of such unusual competence, sterling integrity, and forceful personality would long before have been Mayor, the *Boston Post* declared, if only he had been a Protestant.²²

His nomination excited the outcry that was to be expected. There were "ringing discourses from the Protestant pulpits in all parts of the city" against him;²³ and, principally over the issue of race and religion, he was defeated by General A. P. Martin by the slim margin of fifteen hundred votes. In 1884, however, he was renominated, and, after one of the most exciting and closely contested elections in Boston's history, he triumphed over his antagonist of the previous year by a majority of over three thousand. "Hugh O'Brien, Mayor of Boston!" cried *The Pilot* in jubilation. "Shade of Cotton Mather, what a change!"²⁴

So successful was the administration of our first Catholic Mayor that in 1885 he was reelected by what was said to have been the largest majority yet given in a City election,²⁵ many of those who had formerly regarded his candidacy as a joke or a menace now coming out in his support; and he was to be twice more reelected. General Charles H. Taylor attested of him: "Boston's history thus far does not record that this City has had a more efficient or more honest Mayor than the present Chief Magistrate."²⁶ When at the beginning of 1887 the City government was organized with Irish Catholics in the position not only of Mayor but of Chairman of the Board of Aldermen, President of the Common Council, City Clerk, and Chairman of the School Committee, it was evident, indeed, that times had changed.

IV

In the general affairs of the American Church, Archbishop Williams played an increasingly important rôle. Since 1871

²² Nov. 12, 1883.

²³ *Boston Post*, Dec. 17, 1883.

²⁴ Dec. 13, 1884.

²⁵ *Pilot*, Dec. 19, 1885.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1885.

he had become — and was to be for the rest of his life — a member of the committee of the hierarchy charged with the supervision of the North American College at Rome, an institution in which he took a warm interest, and which he had a part in saving from confiscation by the Italian Government in 1884. In 1877 he again visited Rome both to make his *Ad limina* report and to attend the Golden Jubilee of Pius IX. That which did most to establish his reputation as one of the foremost statesmen of the Church in the United States was the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884.

The idea of holding another such assembly had been put forward by some of the Western bishops as early as 1881. The Eastern prelates, Williams included, when first consulted, expressed themselves as opposed, holding that there was no pressing necessity or that the time was not yet ripe. But Rome took up the project. The Holy See was, in the first place, concerned about discipline in the American Church, beset as it was by an ever-increasing number of complaints of priests against their bishops, and commonly left by the bishops without an adequate presentation of their side of the case, and sometimes even without any reply to letters. Rome also desired to bring the law and custom of the American Church much more into conformity with European norms than was yet the case. And there had long existed the idea of establishing in the United States a permanent Papal representative, in order that the Holy See might “see with its own eyes” into American conditions and have a more expeditious way both of correcting abuses and of settling disputes. In order to prepare for a Plenary Council, it was decided to hold a preliminary gathering of the American hierarchy at Rome, to thresh out the more important matters to be brought up at the assembly. Hence, in May, 1883, the archbishops of the United States were instructed to present themselves, in person or through their representatives, in the Eternal City in November of that year.

The group of prelates who gathered on that occasion included most of those who were to be the leaders of the hierarchy in the next generation, such as Archbishop Gibbons, of

Baltimore, Archbishop Corrigan, then Coadjutor of New York, Archbishop P. J. Ryan, then Coadjutor of St. Louis but soon to be raised to the See of Philadelphia, and Archbishop Feehan, of Chicago. Among them all, Archbishop Williams was well-nigh the senior in date of consecration and the most experienced.

The conferences lasted from November 13th to December 13th. The Roman authorities were represented by a committee which included Cardinals Simeoni, Jacobini, and Franzelin and Monsignor Seppiacci, a learned Augustinian, who had recently specialized upon American affairs, and whom it was planned to send over to preside in the future Council and, perhaps, to become the first permanent Apostolic Delegate in the United States. As the basis of the discussions the Congregation of the Propaganda had prepared a Schema in thirteen chapters, which included very much of what went later into the decrees of the Third Plenary Council, but which was very differently arranged. With the best of goodwill on both sides, on many points agreement did not prove easy. In general, the tendency of the Romans was to bring the legislation of this still "missionary country" into line with that of Catholic Europe, while the Americans often felt bound to insist that their special conditions required special rules. In the end, each side made concessions in many matters. The Americans successfully resisted the establishment of Chapters of Canons — which would have imposed considerable restrictions upon episcopal authority — agreeing, instead, that each bishop should be assisted by a board of diocesan consultors for certain more important transactions. They also opposed giving to the missions of this country the full legal status of European parishes, with the resulting fixity of tenure for all pastors, while agreeing that in each diocese a number of the clergy (those in charge of the more firmly established parishes) should be raised to the dignity of Irremovable Rectors. Deferring to the unanimous opinion of the Americans, Rome renounced the idea of sending any foreign prelate to preside over the Council, and conferred that appointment upon Archbishop Gibbons. On the other hand, the

bishops accepted the large majority of the proposals laid before them by the Cardinals, including many suggestions for improving seminaries, a new plan for making nominations for vacant bishoprics, which would give pastors a voice in that matter, the institution of more elaborately organized episcopal curiae, a new system of conducting clerical trials, etc.

The official protocol of the conferences ²⁷ records a number, but not a large number, of interventions by Archbishop Williams in the debates. From other sources, particularly the newspapers of that moment, one would gather that his rôle was outstanding. Thus the Roman correspondent of *The Pilot* reported:

The impression made by the Archbishop of Boston on the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and the officials of that institution with whom he has come into contact during the conferences held there, has been of a most high and favorable character. The well-considered judgment, the thoughtful remarks, and the calm and forcible manner in which the results of a long and wide experience have been put before the members of the Conference by Archbishop Williams have awakened the surprised admiration of the Roman prelates. While Cardinal Simeoni has taken occasion to express the highest opinion of the pastoral gifts of the American bishops assembled here, he has been specially warm in the terms he employed to convey his particular appreciation of the qualities of the Archbishop of Boston. But what confirms still more strongly the justness of this impression of Propaganda is the fact that the American bishops with whom he is associated are unanimous in yielding to Archbishop Williams' judgment and in recognizing him as the leader and guide of them all.²⁸

In similar strain it was reported by the Associated Press: "Archbishop Williams seems to be the leading spirit of the Congress. He is looked upon by his American colleagues as

²⁷ A copy of this document, drawn up in Latin by the secretary of the Congregation of the Propaganda, is to be found in the *Baltimore Diocesan Archives*, 77 L 20.

²⁸ Roman letter of Nov. 28, in *The Pilot* of Dec. 22, 1883.

their Nestor and has already won the respect of the Vatican.”²⁹ This gathering at Rome for the first time brought Archbishop Williams into personal and frequent contacts with Leo XIII, who henceforth always spoke of him with very special marks of esteem and affection.

After the return home of the American prelates, Archbishop Gibbons, as Apostolic Delegate for the coming Council, was for many months engaged in a work of preparation even more elaborate than that of 1866. The Schema agreed upon at the preliminary gathering in Rome was distributed among the metropolitans, each of whom was asked, after consulting his suffragans, to report upon a particular part of it. When these reports had been received, along with various suggestions of new matters, a large committee of theologians proceeded, in the light of them and under Archbishop Gibbons' direction, to rearrange and recast the proposals to be brought forward and to put them into the form of a series of tentative acts and decrees. Every detail that could be planned in advance had been provided for when early in November, 1884, the prelates began to gather for the greatest Council in the history of the American Church.

Archbishop Williams arrived attended by his two theologians, Father Hogan, of the Seminary, and the Rev. Matthew Harkins, pastor of St. James' Church, Boston. After several preliminary gatherings of the bishops, which settled the appointment of committees and the general *modus procedendi*, on Sunday, the 9th, the opening solemn session was held, with ceremonies the most impressive yet seen in America. The participants included fourteen archbishops, fifty-seven bishops, six abbots, thirty-one superiors of religious Orders, eleven presidents of seminaries, and eighty-eight theologians. Of the forty-six bishops who had taken part in the Second Plenary Council in 1866, only sixteen survived, and Archbishop Williams found himself the fourth in seniority among the metropolitans.

The Third Plenary Council³⁰ lasted four weeks, down to

²⁹ Cablegram from Rome of Dec. 1, quoted from *The Pilot* of Dec. 8, 1883.

³⁰ On the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore see: *Acta et Decreta Concilii*

December 7th. Its Acts and Decrees, divided into twelve titles and 319 numbered paragraphs, were somewhat less voluminous than those of the Second Council and less detailed on certain matters, such as the Sacraments; but they were, perhaps, more comprehensive in scope and of even greater practical importance. Their greatest significance lies in their contributions to the upbuilding of the institutional side of the Church and to the cause of Catholic education.

With respect to the first point — the new method for the nomination of bishops, as proposed in the conferences of the previous winter, was accepted by the Council, with some improvements in matters of detail. The provisions of the Roman Schema as to diocesan consultors, after long debates, were very substantially modified. The consultors were to be appointed for three-year terms, not for life; the cases in which the bishop must consult them were carefully defined; and, above all, at every place in the Schema where it had been said that the bishop must seek the “consent” of the consultors, that word was replaced by “advice.” It was agreed that within three years one tenth of the missions of each diocese, if possible, should be raised to a quasi-parochial status, in which they would receive henceforth only irremovable rectors, as in England; but in order that any

Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, A.D. MDCCCLXXXIV, Baltimore, MDCCC-LXXXVI (the official, public record of the decisions of the Council, as confirmed by Rome); *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii in Ecclesia Metropolitana Baltimorensi habita a die IX. Novembris usque ad diem VII. Decembris A.D. MDCCCLXXXIV . . .* Baltimore, MDCCCLXXXIV (the edition printed for private circulation immediately after the close of the Council, and which contains the minutes of the private Congregations — referred to here as “*Acta et Decreta*, Private edition”); *The Memorial Volume: a History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, November 9 — December 7, 1884*, Baltimore, 1885 (a record of the external history of the Council, reprinting, especially, the eloquent and valuable sermons delivered there); (Rt. Rev.) Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)*, New York, 1932, pp. 220-249 (an excellent brief résumé of the legislation of the Council); and (Rev.) Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1926), II, 289-359 (the fullest account of the “inside history” of the Council that has yet appeared). While the Baltimore Diocesan Archives contain a vast amount of material concerning the preparation of the Council and its confirmation by Rome, they have preserved very little as to the proceedings during the Council, for which the “*Acta et Decreta*, Private edition,” remains virtually the only source.

mission should attain this rank, it must have a suitable church, rectory, and schools for both sexes, and revenues sufficient to ensure their support. Diocesan examiners were to be appointed by the bishops, in synod or (with faculties from Rome) outside a synod, whose functions would be to examine candidates for irremovable rectorships, for ordination, or for admission to a major seminary, and also to conduct the examinations which the junior clergy were to undergo annually during their first five years in the priesthood. Provision was also made for the appointment of deans or vicars forane to exercise a certain supervision over the several districts of each diocese, and for the establishment of diocesan courts for clerical and for matrimonial causes.

Almost one fourth of the decrees of the Council related to Catholic education.³¹ Very detailed regulations were laid down for improving clerical education in major and minor seminaries. It was provided that the basis of instruction should be the system of St. Thomas Aquinas, which Leo XIII was then restoring to its proper place in the Church, and that in major seminaries the course should last six years (two years of Philosophy and four of Theology). Of capital importance was the decision of the Council to appoint a commission to take in hand the immediate establishment of a "Principal Seminary" for the United States, to which priests and other clerics might resort for advanced studies. Out of this project grew the Catholic University of America, opened in Washington five years later. No less memorable was the action taken with regard to parochial schools. On this subject previous Councils had exhorted, but that of 1884 laid down precise *commands*. It commanded that in connection with every church that did not yet possess one, a parish school should be erected within two years after the promulgation of these decrees, unless the bishop deemed that because of unusual difficulties some delay should be conceded. It commanded Catholic parents to send their children to the parish schools, unless they were clearly able to provide for the Christian education of their offspring at home

³¹ Guilday, *op. cit.*, p. 238, note.

or in other Catholic schools, or unless, for a sufficient reason, approved by the bishop, and with all necessary safeguards supplied, it should prove licit for them to send their children to non-Catholic schools. Among other measures intended to put parochial schools fully on a level with the public ones, the Council urged the appointment in each diocese of a board of examiners, to test all candidates for teaching positions, and of one or more school commissions, which should periodically visit and inspect each parish school. This group of decrees has universally been recognized as epoch-making for the development of Catholic education in the United States.

Scores of other decrees of interest might be mentioned. The Council successfully petitioned the Holy See that the holy days of obligation might be made uniform throughout the country and reduced to the number of six (the six that we now have). It made the Roman collar obligatory upon clergymen (one decree to which Archbishop Williams himself proved somewhat refractory!). To one of its commissions we owe the *Baltimore Catechism*, to another the familiar *Manual of Prayers*. It established a permanent Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians, and an annual collection in all churches to support this good cause. It urged the establishment in every diocese of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith. In brief, it took wise and fruitful action with regard to every branch of Catholic life. Its decrees have ever been regarded as a model of conciliar legislation, and have aroused not only admiration but imitation in many parts of the Catholic world.

In this great work Archbishop Williams undoubtedly took a notable part. He headed one of the three deputations (committees) of bishops, that which passed on new matters to be laid before the Council. He presided over the deputation, made up of bishops and theologians, which studied and reported upon the exceptionally important Title II of the Schema (on "Ecclesiastical Persons"). The minutes of the Council ³² record many of his interpositions in the debates. He did not, in-

³² As published in the "*Acta et Decreta*, Private edition."

deed, speak as frequently as many of his colleagues, and he seldom led off in the discussion of a subject. But when his moment had come, he spoke out, in his characteristic, laconic style, in a way that almost invariably carried the majority with him. Indeed, a writer of a few years later went so far as to declare that Archbishop Williams' colleagues in this assembly "deferred to his wisdom and judgment on all doubtful and difficult questions."³³ However that may be, it seems clear that by the end of the Council and, in large part as a result of the Council, his position was established as one of the two or three most revered and most influential members of the American hierarchy.

The confirmation of the Baltimore decrees by Rome did not pass off without something of a struggle. Bishops Dwenger, of Fort Wayne, Moore, of St. Augustine, and Gilmour, of Cleveland, who had been sent over to defend the work of the Council, encountered strong opposition in the Congregation of the Propaganda on certain matters, especially over the substitution of "advice" for "consent" in the provisions about diocesan consultors. Finally, by carrying the matter over the heads of the Congregation to Leo XIII himself, the American bishops achieved a fairly complete triumph (September, 1885).

The confirmation of the decrees of the Council was naturally followed by an outburst of synodal activity in this country. Archbishop Williams had already held, on January 22, 1879, an assembly of the clergy which should properly have been called the Fourth Boston Diocesan Synod, but which for some reason has not been so designated. This brief gathering served to enable the Archbishop to make certain appointments in accordance with a recent instruction from Rome, to put through a minor change in a statute of the Second Synod, and, when the formal session was over, to consult the clergy about the liquidation of the Cathedral debt.³⁴ On June 28, 1886, he then held the much more important gathering which is conventionally called the Fourth Synod. Here the decrees of the Third Plenary

³³ *Sacred Heart Review*, V, no. 15 (March 17, 1891), 3.

³⁴ *Episcopal Register*, Jan. 22, 1879; *Pilot*, Feb. 1.

Council were formally accepted and promulgated for the Diocese. In addition, this Synod, unlike those of 1872 and 1879, brought forth a new set of Diocesan Constitutions, grouped under 19 titles, with 275 numbered paragraphs—the most voluminous collection of statutes that any Boston Synod has yet enacted. Both in arrangement and in substance these Constitutions follow very closely those of the Second Synod, of 1868, but with numerous intercalations from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council. One quite new title, on the “Education of Youth,” was added, which incorporated and supplemented the Baltimore legislation and which ought to have convinced the last skeptic as to the Archbishop’s zeal for Catholic schools.³⁵

V

The year or two following the Plenary Council brought forth not a few rumors that higher honors were in store for Boston’s Metropolitan. The American bishops had long been aware that the Holy See desired to establish a permanent representative in this country, whether under the name of Nuncio or of Apostolic Delegate, and they were almost unanimously opposed to such a project. This was chiefly because of what later turned out to be the quite mistaken fear that the presence of a Papal representative here would be an encouragement to malcontents and trouble-makers to multiply complaints against their ordinaries. This opposition, clearly manifested during the gathering of American bishops at Rome in 1883, had sufficed to avert the sending of an Italian prelate, which had previously, it seems, been decided upon. But in 1885 it was reported that the Holy See was considering appointing an American prelate as its first permanent Delegate, and that Archbishop Williams was likely to be the man selected.³⁶ As a matter of fact, in July

³⁵ *Constitutiones Dioecesanae, ab Ill^{mo} ac Rev^{mo} Domino Jōanne Josepho Williams, Archiepiscopo Bostoniensi, A.D. 1886 latae et promulgatae. Bostoniae, MDCCCLXXXVI.*

³⁶ Letters from Rome to Archbishop Gibbons, written by Msgr. Denis J. O’Connell, May 18, 1885, and by Bishop Moore July 2, July 6, 1885 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 79 L 15, 79 O 2 and 5).

the Archbishop was delegated by the Holy Father to decide a dispute long pending between the Bishop of Brooklyn and the Rev. John Crimmins,³⁷ but we have no real knowledge that any wider commission was then in contemplation for him. At the end of the year, when Cardinal Simeoni again sounded out the American archbishops about establishing a Nuncio here, the latter, with one exception, once more advised strongly against it.³⁸

More persistent were the rumors that Boston's Archbishop was to be raised to the Sacred College. Such stories—always likely to be circulated, it is true, about any eminent prelate, and often with slight foundation—were current at least as early as 1880.³⁹ After the Third Plenary Council, and especially after the long-expected death of Cardinal McCloskey, on October 10, 1885, it seemed certain that America would soon receive a new representative in the Senate of the Church, and during the winter of 1885-1886 speculation ran riot in the press as to who it would be. While Archbishop Gibbons was usually considered most likely to receive the honor, there were many prophecies that Boston, instead, would carry off the prize. The *Catholic Herald*, of Philadelphia, for instance, claimed to have it on the best of authority that "Archbishop Williams . . . will undoubtedly be the next Cardinal. His work at the Baltimore Council . . . marked him for that honor. His course was the most consistent with the directions and counsel of the Propaganda, and much of the good to arise from the Plenary Council may be ascribed to his suggestions there."⁴⁰ The Archbishop himself, of course, professed to laugh at such reports, and jestingly promised his friend Bishop McQuaid: "I shan't forget to invite you when the red Beretta comes. In the meantime you can call at Baltimore."⁴¹ His forecast was fulfilled when at the Consistory

³⁷ Cardinal Simeoni to Archbishop Williams, July 29, 1885 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

³⁸ Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1922), I, 458 f.

³⁹ *Boston Post*, June 21, 1880.

⁴⁰ Quoted from the *Boston Post*, Feb. 1, 1886.

⁴¹ Letter of Feb. 12, 1886 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

of June 7, 1886, Archbishop Gibbons was created a Cardinal.

It seems probable that this dénouement was influenced by a direct and characteristic intervention of Archbishop Williams. In later years it was very often related that Leo XIII would undoubtedly have raised him to the Sacred College, but that he, having learned that this was under serious consideration, wrote to the Holy Father begging to be spared an honor which he felt himself unfitted to bear. This story crops up in so many places and was attested by so many men well able to know the facts that its substantial veracity can scarcely be called into question. It was attested, for instance, by Cardinal Satolli, by Monsignor D. J. O'Connell, long Rector of the American College at Rome, by Vicar-General Byrne, and by P. L. Connellan, the veteran correspondent of *The Pilot* at Rome, who added the statement that Leo XIII was so deeply touched by this letter of the Archbishop that he frequently referred to it during his reception of Americans.⁴² It is true that most of these statements say nothing as to the date of the episode, and there was more than one occasion when Archbishop Williams was, as he might have said, threatened with the red hat. But there is considerable evidence to show that the incident should be placed in the winter of 1885-1886, during the stir that followed the death of Cardinal McCloskey. So it was explicitly dated in various newspaper accounts.⁴³ Furthermore, on January 20, 1886, Miss Edes, who was Archbishop Corrigan's confidential correspondent and agent at Rome and in very close relations with the Propaganda, dispatched to New York a letter, regarding which Archbishop Corrigan then wrote to Archbishop Gibbons:

Another thing I may mention in *strict confidence* to you, and please do not repeat it to *anyone*, the letter of January 20 also said that Archbishop Williams had written requesting that the cardinalitial honor should go to Baltimore. . . . Please do not breathe this last bit of news about Archbishop Williams,

⁴² *Pilot*, Sept. 7, 1907 (Satolli's statement); *Sacred Heart Review*, V, no. 15 (March 17, 1891), 3 (Msgr. O'Connell); *Pilot*, May 10, 1902 (Byrne); Oct. 5, 1907 (Connellan).

⁴³ *Pilot*, May 4, 1907; *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907; *Boston Herald*, of the same date.

as it would offend him to know that his letter had been made public.⁴⁴

This is quite in line with a later narrative, which states that:

When Dr. Williams learned that this sentiment on behalf of making him a Cardinal had the support of the Pope himself, he promptly moved to have the red hat go to Baltimore; and thither in response to his plea, it did go. He urged, first, that his own disposition was not in accord with the public prominence into which the cardinalate would thrust him, and, secondly, that the honor would better befit the oldest see, Baltimore, which was also nearer the governmental centre of the country.⁴⁵

A tradition has it that Leo XIII, describing the episode, commented:

Archbishop Williams must be a great man. He writes me not to make him a Cardinal. I never got a letter of that kind from anybody else.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Corrigan to Gibbons, Feb. 23, 1886 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 80 M 10).

⁴⁵ *Pilot*, May 4, 1907. Cf. *Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907.

⁴⁶ *Sacred Heart Review*, *loc. cit.*; *Boston Herald*, Aug. 31, 1907.

CHAPTER VI

THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — I

I

LIKE HIS PREDECESSORS in the See of Boston, Archbishop Williams was not to escape one prolonged season of grave trials and troubles. This storm and stress period coincided roughly with the third decade of his episcopate.

During this time the Church was exposed to a new explosion of anti-Catholic bigotry and to almost continual assaults from without: first, in the form of a campaign against the Catholic schools, and then in the "A.P.A." movement. Meanwhile, within, the Catholic Church in the United States was disturbed by a series of controversies, dissensions, and antagonisms graver than anything she had known since the days of Archbishop Maréchal, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Even within his own relatively peaceful and well-ordered diocese Archbishop Williams experienced at this time his greatest tribulations. He encountered his one serious contest with a congregation — the Italians in the North End of Boston — of which more will be said in a later chapter. He had more trouble than at any other time with unworthy priests. In January, 1887, he was dragged into court and obliged to appear day after day in the witness stand in a disgusting suit brought against him by a fallen priest, who had been dismissed from his pastorate and suspended, for abundant cause, and who now sued him for being illegally removed and for being slandered, before the Superior Judicial Court of Massachusetts. When finally defeated in this suit, after pretending to make his submission and extorting a large sum of money from the Archbishop's charity, the same priest — who was probably insane — immediately launched a new suit before the United States Court, which

dragged on until 1906. Although ending at last in the Archbishop's favor, this protracted litigation has commonly been rated among the great sorrows of Archbishop Williams' life.

II

The anti-Catholic movement, which had been relatively quiet since 1876, revived in the late 1880's, and developed in the next decade into what was, in all respects save physical violence, one of the fiercest assaults that American Catholics have had to endure. Three general causes have been adduced to explain this recrudescence of bigotry. One was the vast increase in immigration, once the nation had passed out of the depression of the 1870's, with the resulting competition for jobs between incoming Catholics and Protestant natives. Another was the alarm felt by hosts of the native-born over the success of the Irish Catholics in the early '80's in gaining control of the municipal government of New York, Boston, and numerous other American cities. Surely the Pope could be expected to appear almost any dark night now to take possession of America! A third cause was the rapid development of the Catholic parochial schools as a result of the Third Council of Baltimore. This was, of course, distorted into a "Papal aggression against American institutions," an attempt to wreck the public school system by withdrawing from it a great part of the nation's children and building up a rival system of "priest-controlled" schools, which would then demand a major part of the public school funds.

In Massachusetts, which had the dubious honor of leading off in the new Protestant Crusade, the storm signals began flying in 1887. The first of them was the appearance on the political scene of the British-Americans. Ever since the Civil War there had been a large influx of Protestant immigrants from Canada, particularly from the Maritime Provinces, and also from Great Britain. By 1887 there were thought to be over 40,000 of them in Boston.¹ Largely Scotch-Irish in blood, and

¹ *Boston Herald*, Nov. 7, 1887.

bred amid the religious and race conflicts that dominated the political life of Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Ulster, many of these people brought with them the bitter, arrogant, and truculent spirit of the Orange lodges, to which they commonly belonged. Accustomed to harass and lord it over the Catholic Irish, they found it exasperating and almost intolerable that Boston should be under the domination of that race. While few of them had hitherto bothered to become naturalized citizens of so degraded a commonwealth, in 1887 events occurred that led them to a change of attitude. For June 21st the local British and British-Canadian societies had arranged to have a banquet in Faneuil Hall to celebrate the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria. Probably it would have been better if those who disapproved of this project had simply ignored it. Many Irish-Americans, however, felt that it would be a desecration of "the cradle of Liberty," that it should be used for the glorification of a reign that had meant for the Irish people only servitude, suffering, famine, and repression. Failing in all attempts to induce the Irish-born Mayor and the Board of Aldermen to revoke the permit, the opponents of the celebration held a "protest meeting" in Faneuil Hall on June 20th, at which John Boyle O'Reilly, the chairman, declared that he would never speak again in this sanctuary of liberty, thus violated and polluted. On the following evening the banquet was, indeed, held, but guests attending it were jeered and hooted by the dense crowds that gathered in the neighborhood, and extraordinary police precautions were deemed necessary in order to prevent a riot.

Stung by this "insult of Faneuil Hall," the British-Americans burst into excited activity. Conscious that only a few thousand votes could decide a Boston election and eager to drive the Irish from City Hall, they organized a British-American Association for the purpose of inducing all residents of British origin to become naturalized and to assert themselves in the political life of their adopted country. Their platform, adopted at another meeting in Faneuil Hall on September 15th, contained an emphatic profession of faith in the public school system, "unfettered by any denominational or religious restric-

tions," and a but slightly veiled declaration of war on parochial schools. Branches of this association or similar organizations were soon being formed far and wide around New England and the Middle West. October 29, 1887, there appeared in Boston the first number of the *British-American Citizen*, a journal which continued down to 1900 and whose stock in trade consisted of little more than weekly tirades against the Irish and the Catholic Church.

Next to appear on the stage after Queen Victoria's former subjects was the band of fighting parsons — the great captains of the war, at least in its early stages. Foremost among them was the Rev. Justin Dewey Fulton, whose name still evokes piquant memories among the older Catholics of Boston. Brought up in a small town of up-state New York, and possessed of but the smattering of a theological education, this self-styled Doctor of Divinity had for over thirty years filled a series of Baptist pulpits, in St. Louis, Sandusky, Albany, Boston (Tremont Temple), and Brooklyn, keeping himself continually in the public eye by the eccentricities of his conduct, views, and language, by sensationalism and self-advertisement, and by the controversies and quarrels that sprang up wherever he passed. Undoubtedly he possessed astonishing activity, unshakable self-assurance, and a talent for swaying audiences by torrents of violent declamation uttered at white heat. "There is but one Niagara and but one Fulton," a brother minister said of him.² Throughout his ministry he had been chiefly engaged in denouncing things — slavery, rum, the theatre, woman suffrage, etc. But his favorite and consuming aversion, ever since he began preaching in the Know-Nothing days, was "Popery." Against that monster he had poured forth, and to the end of his life was to continue, a stream of books and pamphlets as ludicrous in their extravagance as they were abominable in their untruthfulness. Gradually he came to believe — or professed to believe — that "he had been selected by God to rid this planet of Popery."³ This was

² Quoted by Rev. Robert S. MacArthur, in his sketch of Fulton's life, in the latter's book *How to Win Romanists* (Somerville, Mass., 1898), p. 82.

³ *Boston Herald*, April 23, 1888.

to be done by arousing the Protestant public to a realization of the awful menace, and by opening the eyes of "Romanists" themselves to the frightful bondage and the danger of eternal perdition in which they languished. Responding to this inner call, as one "bound in the spirit," in March, 1887, he resigned his pastorate in Brooklyn in order to give his whole time to this great work. Soon after, he organized his "Pauline Propaganda," a society with paying members and, apparently, large financial backing — from those who saw the possibilities of this business.⁴ Its avowed purpose was "to preach the gospel to those shrouded in the darkness of papal night."

While the Vatican was still, presumably, reeling under the shock of these announcements, Fulton came to Boston to make that city the headquarters of his crusade. In August, 1887, he began to hold weekly meetings, on Sunday afternoons, first at Tremont Temple, then at Music Hall, on Winter Street. His success, as measured by crowds and publicity, was enormous. Boston bigots had never had quite such a show served up to them. Absolutely reckless as to truth or facts, ready to make the wildest assertions and the foulest insinuations, colloquial, picturesque, and dramatic in style, Fulton, above all, knew how to mingle piety, patriotism, humor, horror, and obscenity in just the proportions his audiences desired. His favorite themes, which were to become the *Leitmotifs* of the A.P.A. movement, were: the Papal plot to subjugate America, which was almost ripe for execution, and the horrible immorality alleged to result from vows of celibacy, the confessional, and other Catholic practices. From time to time the menu was varied by presenting to the audience real or bogus ex-priests, who had been "converted to Christianity," and who were obligingly willing to reveal the closely guarded secrets of the Church of Rome and their own awful past.

⁴The *Boston Herald*, Jan. 20, 1888, contains a statement by Fulton that his work was supported by "one of the strongest syndicates, both socially and financially, ever gotten together in this country," and certain sworn affidavits that mention "the Syndicate which has entire control of the Crusade of Rev. Justin D. Fulton" — a syndicate which was evidently putting up the money and presumably sharing in the profits.

While few of the newspapers and fewer still of the Protestant pulpits ventured to condemn this charlatanry, some voices (apart from *The Pilot*) were raised to express the indignation of the better elements in the community. The *Advertiser* wrote:

We condemn the performances in Music Hall as slanderous and indecent. No self-respecting newspaper would condescend to print, even for the purpose of censuring, the filth that was uttered by one who, we believe, misrepresents the Protestant clergy as grossly as he does the general Christian sentiment of Boston.⁵

And a Unitarian journal commented:

We confess to our Catholic contemporary the deep sense of humiliation which Mr. Fulton's course awakes. We assure it that his blatant sensationalism, his arrant bigotry, and his coarse attacks upon the Little Sisters of the Poor are as thoroughly distasteful to a large number of Protestants as they are to Catholics. Indeed, there is no disgrace which Mr. Fulton can inflict upon Catholicism which is quite so bad as that which Protestantism must suffer from his advocacy.⁶

Towards the end of the year the Pauline Apostle and the financial syndicate behind him proposed to publish the most lurid of his lectures as a book, entitled *Why Priests Should Wed*. The old and respectable publishing house of Rand, Avery, and Company, after contracting to print it on the strength of Fulton's reputation as a popular preacher, revolted when they discovered the true character of the work. The officers of the company declared in a public statement that they found the book "obscene and indecent" and "unfit for any establishment in America to print."⁷ Nevertheless, as Fulton and his backers insisted on holding them to their contract, they finally yielded "under legal compulsion." Many of the worst passages were blacked out, and in order to avoid trouble with the officers of the law, it was arranged that the book should not be sold, but should be given away to all those who bought

⁵ Dec. 12, 1887.

⁶ Quoted from *Donahoe's Magazine*, XIX (1888), 289.

⁷ *Boston Herald*, Dec. 14, 1887.

tickets to two lectures to be given by Dr. Fulton in Mechanics' Hall, the largest auditorium in Boston.

The work in question is, perhaps, the most indecent to which any clergyman in America has ever set his signature. Pieced together largely from quotations from Hogan (of Philadelphia fame), Maria Monk, Chiniquy, and all the other worst sources, it is as conspicuous for perfect indifference to veracity as to decency. In order to whet public curiosity, the book was exhibited, in an iron cage, in the windows of the drugstore, at the corner of Washington and Winter Streets, kept by Benjamin F. Bradbury, a deacon of Tremont Temple and one of Fulton's foremost collaborators. A Catholic historian may recall with no great regrets that more than one brick was hurled by indignant Catholics through the windows of that drugstore. At all events, the lectures in Mechanics' Hall on January 23-24, 1888, with over one hundred policemen present, passed off without incident; and with six thousand to seven thousand men, women, boys and girls attending, to hear perhaps the worst of Fulton's obscenities, at one dollar a ticket, it was proved that Catholic-baiting was not without its earthly rewards.

Meanwhile, a score or more of the Protestant clergy of Boston had joined actively in the fray. The most prominent among them was the Rev. Alonzo Ames Miner, pastor of the Second Universalist Church, on Columbus Avenue and Clarendon Street. A former President of Tufts College, the foremost clergyman of his denomination, and for years an influential member of the State Board of Education, Dr. Miner was a typical example of the man who, while sensible enough in all other respects, when religious prejudice enters in casts off all reason and sanity. Long obsessed with delusions about "Romanism," he now began to assail it on every possible occasion. As one instance of his methods, there may be cited the meeting of the Universalist ministers of Boston on October 31, 1887, at which he delivered a philippic against parochial schools. "The Catholic Church is sly," said one minister present. "Yes," replied Dr. Miner, "as sly as a serpent, and a great deal more venomous. There are things going on in Boston today in that church,

which, if known to the public and understood, would make them horror-stricken. What is the meaning of the cells under our own cathedral here in Boston? Not many Catholics themselves know.”⁸ When promptly invited to visit the Cathedral and examine its mysterious “cells,” he refused to come, and he also refused to retract his much-publicized calumny.

It would take long, and today might seem invidious to list the other clergymen who made themselves conspicuous in the gathering onslaught. But mention should be made of the Rev. James B. Dunn, of the Presbyterian Church on Columbus Avenue, a Scotsman, whose views of “Popery” were those of John Knox; and “Evangelist Leyden,” a convert from “Romanism,” who early in 1888 set up as pastor over a tiny congregation of “reformed Catholics,” and who in his language and methods proved himself Fulton’s most adroit imitator. Thanks to such agitators, the weekly ministers’ meetings and the monthly gatherings of the recently formed Boston branch of the Evangelical Alliance were more and more centering their anxious attention upon the dangers of Popery and the menace of parochial schools. Catholics today may gratefully recall that the Unitarians, the Episcopalians, most Universalists, and many Congregationalists held strictly aloof from the movement.

Meantime another valiant auxiliary had appeared in the field, a lady who was for some years to rank as the heroine of the new crusade, the “ex-nun,” Mrs. Margaret L. Shepherd. The early history of this adventuress, as it subsequently came to light, was substantially as follows. The daughter of an Irish Catholic soldier in the British army and brought up, apparently, in India, Isabella Marron (as her true name was) had come as a young woman to London and thrown her indubitable talents to bad uses. She had fallen into a dissolute life, become the mother of an illegitimate child, been involved in swindling operations, “done time” in jail for theft, made herself sufficiently notorious to be flayed by W. T. Stead in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Alternating sin and crime with periods of professed piety, she had worked for the Salvation Army — then just get-

⁸ *British-American Citizen*, Nov. 5, 1887.

ting started — until expelled from it as an unfit person and a hindrance to its work. Her later claim to have been a nun rested solely on the fact that for two years as a Penitent she had resided in the refuge for fallen women conducted by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd at Arno's Vale, Bristol. Dismissed from there in 1885, as the Sisters had lost all hope of reforming her, she deemed it prudent to betake herself to pastures new — to Canada. For a year or so she conducted a "Gospel Army" in Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and Maine, meanwhile acquiring what a Canadian paper called "her only claim to respectability," a husband (whom she speedily deserted). Some time early in 1887 she arrived, almost penniless, in Boston, and, after a little exploration of the terrain, began to plan a new campaign of racketeering.

In August Evangelical circles were edified to learn that a converted Catholic and escaped nun had just been baptized at, and had joined, the Trinity Baptist Church, of East Boston.⁹ About the same time she published, with the aid of new-made friends, a volume called *The Little Mother*, which contained an account of her early life — an idyllic tale, of one who had never known aught but wealth, station, virtue, and piety — and of her conversion, which came about when she, thitherto a contented nun, accidentally came upon a copy of the Bible. So "uncommonly thrilling" a narrative, which the Baptist *Watchman* warmly commended to all Sunday school libraries, and so "exceedingly interesting" a case¹⁰ naturally aroused much attention. Ere long the pious Mrs. Shepherd was circulating far and wide around New England, lecturing to tense audiences upon the mysteries of convents, the perils of the confessional, the dark designs of the Romish hierarchy. By the beginning of the next year she had established herself as a Boston institution, with two lectures each week in Tremont Temple — one "For Ladies Only" — and even Fulton might well look to his laurels! From the clientèle she had gained, from the cortège of ministers, Orangemen, and female bigots that attended her, from the testimonials, tributes, and donations lavished upon her, it ap-

⁹ *The Watchman*, Aug. 18, 1887.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1887.

peared that she had leaped into a position such as no other "escaped nun" had held since the palmy days of Maria Monk.

The parallel is obvious. There are, of course, the differences: that Mrs. Shepherd was vastly more intelligent, shrewd, and dangerous; and that while Maria Monk was little more than a tool of the coterie of ministers around her, Mrs. Shepherd made tools of the ministers. But, from a moral standpoint, there seems little to choose from between the two ladies. Of Mrs. Shepherd's perfect untruthfulness there can be no question. A few years later, when the facts about her early career were beginning to come to light, she published a new account of it as different from her first account as day from night. This time it became a sombre tragedy, the blame for which fell entirely on wicked priests.¹¹ She is, perhaps, the only person recorded to have published two autobiographies contradicting each other at wellnigh every point; and neither can be regarded as anything more than a tissue of lies. In moments of frankness she admitted that she was in this business (the anti-Catholic cause) only for the money she could make out of it.¹² As to her private life in England and America, the evidence later brought forward by the Protestants themselves was copious and crushing. One Canadian minister, who knew her story well, declared publicly that it was "simply appalling; it staggers belief. The details are horribly disgusting." Rev. A. J. Gordon, the well-known Baptist minister of Boston, described her, in 1893, as "the falsest and most unscrupulous woman and the most unblushing hypocrite he ever met."¹³ Such was the sorry heroine of the new crusade, the lady who for a few brief years was to be a great power in Boston.

Other auxiliaries for the anti-Catholic war had also presented themselves. The "patriotic" secret societies, feeling a new wind in their sails, began to display a new activity, although for some years theirs was still to be but a minor rôle.

¹¹ Margaret L. Shepherd (Sister Magdalene Adelaide), *My Life in the Convent: or Marvellous Experiences of Margaret L. Shepherd, of the Arno's Court Convent, Bristol, England* (Philadelphia, 1893).

¹² *Boston Herald*, May 18, 1891; *Woman's Voice*, May 23, 1891.

¹³ Both quotations are taken from *The Pilot*, Feb. 10, 1894.

More important for the moment was the fact that the Republican party, whose hold on the larger communities of the State had been getting increasingly shaky, decided to capitalize on the new situation by appealing to the bigot vote.

The question of parochial schools had first been brought forward as a political issue by the British-Americans at their Faneuil Hall meeting on September 15, 1887. Some newspapers and numerous ministers at once took it up. At their State convention in October the Republicans hastened to parade themselves as the sworn defenders of the public schools, "free from all partisan or sectarian control," and "kept open to all the children of the Commonwealth." Resting proudly on this equivocal declaration and (falsely) accusing the Democrats of a readiness to divide the school funds with the Catholics, they chose to fight the autumn campaign chiefly on this obfuscated issue, with speeches and posters almost of a Know-Nothing character. Valiant help was rendered them, of course, by the swelling hue and cry among the Evangelicals and the British-Americans, to whom the parochial school movement was "an assault upon our free public schools,"¹⁴ a "peril to the country and the Church,"¹⁵ a foreign system, ordered by a foreign power, and which should be opposed, because it was not in harmony with the spirit of our institutions.¹⁶ 'Rome was out to destroy the public schools,' declared the Rev. E. J. Haynes, of Tremont Temple.¹⁷ Deacon Bradbury exhorted the British-Americans that unless parochial schools were stopped, "we shall have a second Ireland here, with factions and throat-cutting."¹⁸

Thanks to these timely warnings, the public schools were momentarily saved by a glorious victory for the Republican party in the State election on November 8th. A month later the same scenes were reënacted before the Boston municipal election. *The Pilot* reported sadly that on the Sunday before that event: "A holy zeal to keep politics pure from religion turned half the Protestant pulpits of Boston into electioneering

¹⁴ *Boston Herald*, Oct. 31, 1887.

¹⁵ *The Watchman*, Nov. 10, 1887.

¹⁶ *Boston Post*, Nov. 8, 1887.

¹⁷ *Boston Herald*, Nov. 14, 1887.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1887.

stumps. . . . The Republican machine politicians adroitly and unscrupulously played upon the bigotry chord, which is always responsive, and Rome was howled at in chorus. . . .”¹⁹ Nevertheless, this time the Democrats maintained their positions fairly well, although they lost control of the Board of Aldermen and Mayor O’Brien’s usual majority was vastly reduced. At the opening of the General Court in early January, the reëlected Republican Governor Ames paid his political debts by calling attention to the need of legislation for the regulation of “private schools.” That was the signal for the opening of the famous battle over the First Inspection Bill.

III

This onslaught on Catholic education was, of course, primarily the work of that coalition, which has already been sketched: of Evangelicals and British-Americans, whose real aim, it can scarcely be doubted, was not to regulate nor to improve, but to destroy, the Catholic schools, and of Republican politicians, who were prepared to go along with their allies only so far as seemed profitable and prudent. But the coalition in this case was to receive much assistance from still another element, the educationalists.

The State Board of Education (which in those years included not a single Catholic) had long been worried about parochial schools. Piecing together the ideas expressed with greater or less fullness and frankness in their annual reports of that period — ideas that seem to form a very homogeneous whole — one would conclude that the Board regarded it as highly essential that the Commonwealth should have one unified system of instruction, organized and controlled by the State, in order to make sure that all children were receiving an education, that it was of a sufficiently high standard to fit them to become citizens of a democracy, and that it inculcated the common ideas, sentiments, and sympathies so necessary to the unity of the American people.²⁰ From this standpoint, the Board “frankly

¹⁹ Dec. 10, 1887.

²⁰ See especially their *Reports* for 1876-1877, p. 7; 1886-1887, p. 15; 1887-1888, pp. 76-81; 1888-1889, pp. 10-11; 1891-1892, pp. 14-15.

deprecated" and viewed with "deep regret" and "grave apprehension" the growth of parochial schools. Since it seemed imprudent to try to legislate such schools out of existence (much as the Evangelicals desired to do so), the Board believed that they should at least be brought under public supervision and held to the same standards as the public schools.²¹

Hitherto, however, the General Court, less ruled by educational dogmatism and less insensible to Catholic opinion, had always failed to grant quite the legislation desired. The chief law bearing on the problem, the Act of 1873, did, indeed, require parents to send their children for twenty weeks each year to some public day-school, under penalty of twenty dollars fine; but it hastened to add half a dozen exceptions to this obligation, including the cases in which a child had for a like period attended a private day-school approved by the local School Committee, or "*has been otherwise furnished for a like period of time with the means of education.*"²² This Act clearly authorized School Committees to grant their approval to private schools; and an Act of 1878 had then prescribed that this should be done only when satisfactory evidence had been afforded "that the teaching in such schools corresponds in thoroughness and efficiency to the teaching in the public schools, and that the progress made by the pupils in studies required by law is equal to the progress made during the same time in the public schools; and such teaching shall be in the English language."²³ Under these provisions some Catholic schools had got themselves approved. For most, however, no such effort was made for the very good reason that, in view of the bigotry still rampant in many communities, to have placed a Catholic school under the supervision of the local School Committee might have meant to invite a sea of troubles. Moreover, the existing laws did not seem to make it necessary to seek such approval in order that Catholic pupils might safely absent themselves from the public schools. The clause cited above from the Act of 1873, about

²¹ See especially the *Reports* for 1876-1877 and 1887-1888, and the very interesting interview given by E. C. Carrigan, of the State Board, in the *Boston Herald*, Nov. 14, 1887.

²² Chapter 279, *Acts of 1873*. ²³ Chapter 171, *Acts of 1878*.

the child who had "been otherwise furnished with the means of education," offered a loophole of escape from any such necessity; and it is altogether likely that this clause — an amendment to the original bill — was inserted for this very purpose, in response to Catholic demands.

Curiously enough, however, the State Board of Education held otherwise. Such leading members as J. W. Dickinson, the Secretary, and the very active E. C. Carrigan — a Protestant of Irish blood — repeatedly asserted that the existing laws left to the child only the option between a public and an approved private school, that all private schools were bound to seek approval, and that the School Committees had both the right and the duty of enforcing these requirements.²⁴ But since very few of these Committees seemed conscious of this obligation, something must be done to strengthen and clarify the existing statutes. Hence in its *Annual Report*, presented to the General Court in January, 1888, the Board, like the Governor, urged the necessity of new legislation on the subject of private schools. And already since the previous year, presumably under the inspiration of the same gentlemen of the Board, a plan had been under way for procuring the kind of legislation they desired.

In the General Court of 1887 proposals had been brought forward for an inquiry into the employment of children in manufacturing, mechanical, or mercantile establishments. The Committee on Labor, reporting on the matter, added the suggestion — at whose instigation we know not — that the inquiry should extend to the schooling of such children. A joint special committee was appointed to report to the next General Court. This investigation, originally designed only to provide safeguards for the health and schooling of a small, designated part of the juvenile population, was then, by a very strange usurpation of power, expanded by the Special Committee to cover the problem of securing a proper education to all the children of the Commonwealth. What appears to have happened is

²⁴ *Annual Report* for 1885-1886, p. 102, and for 1887-1888, p. 141 (Dickinson's views); *Boston Herald*, Oct. 5, Nov. 14, 1887 (Carrigan's).

that E. C. Carrigan persuaded or entrapped the Committee into making themselves the mouthpiece of views which he and other members of the State Board desired to put through.²⁵ At all events, in their report presented to the new General Court in January, 1888, the Committee recommended two measures: a mildly progressive Child Employment Bill, which was subsequently enacted into law, and a very novel and dangerous set of proposals embodied in what was commonly called a Bill for the Inspection of Private Schools.

As to this latter subject, their report started from the very Carriganesque and unfounded assumption that an existing law required parents to send their children either to a public or to an approved private school. They deplored that this law had become a dead letter. Without ever having visited a parochial school, they evidently assumed that such institutions were sadly below par, and must, by being placed under the control of the public authorities, be forced either to raise themselves to the level of the public schools or to go out of existence.

Hence their Bill provided, in the first place, that at the beginning of each school year each School Committee must, in person or through their agents, visit and examine every private school within their district and decide whether they should approve or refuse to approve it. The conditions required for approval were substantially the same as those laid down in the Act of 1878. Even when a private school had passed this first test, the Committee must continue to inspect it once a month, and might at any time withdraw their approval. After September 1, 1889, all teachers in private schools must have certificates from the School Committee attesting that their qualifications were equal to those of teachers in the public schools. Monthly reports of the pupils' attendance must also be made to the Committee. Private schools must at all times be open for inspection to any member of the School Committee, to its authorized agents, to the local Superintendent of Public Schools, to the State Board of Education, or to its agents.

²⁵ The assertion to this effect by Dr. Thomas Dwight in the *Amer. Cath. Quarterly Review*, XIII (1888), 544, is confirmed by the fact that the recommendations on education made by the Committee were precisely those that Carrigan had been publicly championing in the autumn of 1887.

Comment on these proposals is almost superfluous. While something may, perhaps, be said in their favor from the standpoint of abstract theory, there was obvious injustice in demanding for the State such absolute control over schools to whose support it refused to contribute a dollar. And what the practical effects of such enactments would be must have been clear to all who knew anything about the spirit of blind and unreasoning hostility to the Catholic Church that was still so widespread in every Massachusetts community. The bill, indeed, spoke only of "private schools," but everybody knew that it was parochial schools alone that were aimed at. Hence religious fanatics and educational cranks were jubilant, Catholics were alarmed and indignant, and the wiser and more fair-minded Protestants felt serious apprehensions.

The hearings held at the State House (March 6-29th) before the Joint Committee on Education, to whom the bill had been referred, gave all parties an opportunity to lay their views before the public. Except for Josiah Quincy, a member of the committee that had framed the bill, who made a perfunctory defense of it, the support of the measure was left entirely to a collection of ministers and laymen of the Fultonian school, who showed only too clearly that their attitude was based solely on religious animus. *The Pilot* not unjustly characterized them as "a crowd of cranks and wrong heads who invariably imperil any cause they favor by making it ridiculous," and as soon making it plain "that they lacked the power rather than the will to emulate their prototypes, the Know-Nothings of fifty years ago."²⁶ Archbishop Williams was represented by his lawyer, Charles F. Donnelly, and no more learned, eloquent, skillful, and tactful champion of the Catholic cause could have been desired.²⁷ Father Thomas Magennis, of Jamaica Plain, and Dr. Thomas Dwight rendered able assistance. But even more effective in helping to decide public opinion was the

²⁶ June 2, 1888.

²⁷ See the excellent biography by Katherine E. Conway and Mabel Ward Cameron, *Charles Francis Donnelly; a Memoir* (New York, 1909), which gives the fullest extant account of the battles of 1888 and 1889 over the School Question.

appearance of a large group of eminent Protestants in opposition to the bill. Among them were: Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who spoke on behalf of non-Catholic private schools; Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol, of the West (Unitarian) Church, Boston, who applauded what the Catholics were doing to keep religion in education; Superintendent Marble, of Worcester, who affirmed, on the basis of personal knowledge of both systems, that the parochial schools, while in some respects inferior, were in other ways superior to the public schools; Principal J. W. McDonald, of Stoneham, who urged that, "If you supervise them" (parochial schools), "then, of course, you give them a claim for a division of the school fund"; and General Francis A. Walker, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Most impressive of all, perhaps, were the speeches of President Eliot, of Harvard, and Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

President Eliot urged that the proposed legislation, by widening the breach between Catholics and Protestants — a breach which ought to be closed — would be injurious to the interests of the entire community. The bill would really strengthen the parochial schools by making all Catholics solid in support of them, and it would enlist in their favor "the sympathy of all persons in our community . . . who believe in the rights of individual conscience." Above all, he emphasized the practical consequences of forcing the private schools to seek the approval of the public school authorities, declaring:

In the first place, this legislation would throw that question before every community in this State which is divided between the two religions. Every public school committee would be required to determine each year, by the terms of this Act, whether it would or would not approve of parochial schools. . . . Now, every elective body, every town or city, knowing that the approval of parochial schools is to come before the school committee, would go to the election of a school committee with that in mind; and every year we should have this religious question entering into the election of our public school committees. Now, there are many communities already in Massa-

chusetts where that division of the community between Protestants and Catholics comes up quite often. This bill provides a series of interesting occasions for that division every year, viz., the election of a school committee upon religious grounds. . . . I can hardly imagine a less desirable issue to be presented in a city or town election where the population is divided between Catholics and Protestants, and think those of us who are Protestants may look with some apprehension upon what is likely to be the result in those Massachusetts communities where the Catholics are in the majority, or are rapidly approaching a majority. . . .²⁸

Colonel Higginson, in the course of a strong defense of liberty in education and of the utility of private schools, speaking as "a Protestant of the Protestants," administered a drastic rebuke to the bigotry shown by the champions of the measure. In words that have often been quoted, he declared:

Mr. Chairman, I took my first lesson in religious liberty when I stood by my mother's side and watched the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, a Catholic convent burned by a Protestant mob. I took my second lesson when in the Know Nothing days I saw procession after procession of Protestants march through the streets then occupied by Irish Catholics, with torchlights and having every form of insulting banner in their hands, and making every effort to taunt those Catholics out of their houses and bring them into a street fight, which from the self-control of these naturalized foreigners they failed to do. I hope never to live to see the renewal of these questions, for if those scenes were to be renewed, it would not be necessary to go further than this room to find those who would lead the mob. . . .²⁹

So many instances of bitterness and unfairness towards the Church have, perforce, been recorded in these pages that it is pleasant to recall that in this, as in many a crisis in the past, Catholics in defending their rights received generous and effective aid from the best representatives of Massachusetts Protestantism.

²⁸ *Pilot*, March 17, 1888.

²⁹ *Pilot*, April 7, 1888.

The impression produced by these hearings upon the press and public was overwhelmingly on one side. The Inspection Bill was discredited to the point where scarcely a politician was willing to touch it. The Joint Committee on Education finally ventured to report out a proposal that was hardly more than a wraith of the original bill. It provided merely that the private schools should keep a register of their pupils and send a copy of it every six months to the local School Committee, in order to help enforce the truant law. Even this anodyne measure was hopelessly snowed under in the Senate (May 23rd), and it was never presented at all in the House of Representatives. In short, in this first test the Catholic cause had won a complete victory.

IV

The exasperation of the No Popery men was increased by an incident that happened immediately afterwards. In April of that year Charles B. Travis, a master in the English High School of Boston, when asked by a pupil in a History class to define an Indulgence, had replied, "A permission to commit sin," adding that "It was sometimes bought with money." By way of illustration he explained that a murderer in old times, when brought before a judge, needed only to produce his indulgence papers in order to get off scot-free. When a Catholic pupil protested that this was not the teaching of the Church, Travis answered that he might hold his opinion, and he, the teacher, would hold his: 'he had taught History for many years and knew what he was talking about.' A few weeks later, in response to a new question on the same subject, the master repeated the same definition, adding: "You pay so much money in advance for leave to commit certain sins." Again a Catholic boy objected. Again the teacher stuck to his guns, explaining with intended humor: "I may be wrong. But I was not there, and did not go to Mr. Tetzels to ask how much I would have to give him to kill Mr. Jackson's cow, or put an iron staple before a railway train to throw a number of people into eternity." ⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *Pilot*, May 5, 12, 19, 1888.

This gross caricature of the Church's doctrine, when spread about the city, naturally aroused Catholic indignation. On May 8th Father Theodore A. Metcalf, pastor of the Gate of Heaven Church, South Boston, to which parish the protesting pupils belonged, wrote to the School Committee to state the facts in the case and ask for a remedy. Travis, when called to account, did not deny that he had used the language quoted, but took refuge behind the authority of the textbook employed in the City schools with the approval of the Board. This manual, Swinton's *Outlines of the World's History*, did contain, alongside many other slurs upon the Church, an ambiguous and objectionable passage about Indulgences that lent some support to the teacher.³¹

The Boston School Committee, among whose twenty-four members Catholics and Protestants were almost evenly represented, considered the affair maturely, and then at a meeting on June 19th took what to all fair-minded people might have seemed very appropriate but moderate action. With only a few faintly dissenting voices, they decided upon three steps. Travis was to be publicly censured for statements both untrue and grossly offensive to Catholics. He was to be transferred, without any loss of title or salary, from the teaching of History to the safer subject of English. Swinton's textbook was to be dropped from the schools. A report, presented by Dr. John G. Blake (a Catholic) and accepted by his colleagues, explained this action in words at which it would have seemed difficult to cavil:

Our schools are established for the education of all our children. Any language, therefore, by our school teachers justly offensive to any class of our citizens, whether rich or poor, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, white or colored, cannot be too severely censured. Boston is too enlightened and too just to tolerate in our schools what every well-educated man — nay,

³¹ William Swinton, *Outlines of the World's History, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern* (New York and Chicago, 1874), pp. 319-320. A footnote (p. 320), which became rather famous that year, explained: "These indulgences were, in the early ages of the Church, remissions of the penances imposed upon persons whose sins had brought scandal on the community. But in process of time they were represented as actual pardons of guilt, and the purchaser of indulgence was said to be delivered from all his sins."

every tolerably well-instructed person in the community — knows to be but vile slander against Catholics. . . .³²

Nevertheless, these decisions of the School Committee evoked an almost unparalleled explosion of rage among the anti-Catholic crusaders. "In the future the Pope, and not the American people, must select the textbooks for the schools," shrieked the *British-American Citizen*.³³ "Textbooks that tell the truth are driven from our schools," shrieked a minister in Tremont Temple.³⁴ The crisis called for action. Early in June the pious Mrs. Shepherd, in order to keep aflame the excitement she had started, had organized a society called "The Loyal Women of American Liberty" — an Orange creation which soon spread widely around the country and of which she became the National President. On the afternoon of July 11th these ladies held their first mass meeting, in Tremont Temple, and adopted a series of hysterical resolutions, which set the keynote of the coming campaign. They demanded that *Swinton* be restored in the schools, that Travis be reinstated, that no Catholic should henceforth be elected to the School Committee, nor any Protestant who "was not in sympathy with our public school system," that no Catholic teachers should be employed in the public schools, and that Protestant teachers should be protected from "Catholic intimidation."³⁵

That same evening the male crusaders held *their* mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, with an overflow meeting in Tremont Temple. Both gatherings were keyed up to fever pitch. Nothing approaching them had been seen in Boston since the early anti-slavery days, according to Dr. Miner, who presided at Faneuil Hall.³⁶ From the excited battalion of ministers on the platform the wildest things were said. The Rev. Dr. Luther B. Townsend, of Boston University, declared: "We are here because of the discovery that the long-threatened war has now begun — the war every Jesuit has sworn shall wage until popular education is at an end, so that all education shall be in the

³² *Pilot*, June 23, 1888.

³³ June 23, 1888.

³⁴ *Pilot*, July 14, 1888.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1888.

³⁶ See his statement in the *New York Press*, May 26, 1889.

absolute control of Rome" (cries of "Never!"). This conflict was inevitable, he went on, and must not cease until the Jesuits were banished from the land. The Rev. Dr. Deming, of the Bowdoin Square Tabernacle, asserted that 'if the footnote in Swinton's History was not correct, then all the history that he had ever been taught was a lie, then Martin Luther was a fool, if not a fraud, and then the Reformation of the sixteenth century was, as some opponents had delighted to call it, deformation.' (If there were any Catholics present, none rose to protest this statement.) *The Pilot* was hissed in every corner of the hall. When one minister ventured to admit that 'some Catholics could be good citizens,' the crowd yelled: "They can't! They can't!" and hissed and howled down so craven a speaker. The chief practical result of the two meetings was that arrangements were made to form a Committee of One Hundred, which was "to take immediate action to protect the public schools from all assaults of the Romish hierarchy."³⁷

For the rest of the year Boston (and many another New England town) seemed turned into Pandemonium. Fulton, with his "Pauline Propaganda" and his "American Reformation Society"; the embattled host of ministers, from the Olympian Dr. Miner down to what *The Pilot* called "the crowd of obscure pulpit scolds whose only chance for notoriety is found in abusing 'Romanism'";³⁸ the Committee of One Hundred; the Evangelical Alliance; the Loyal Women of American Liberty; the British-American Association, and the new British-American Women's Association (another of Mrs. Shepherd's creations); Evangelist Leyden, with his troupe of "Reformed Catholics"; "escaped priests," one of whom was even exhibited at Music Hall in his "monastic costume"; escaped cranks, dubious adventurers, *et id genus omne* — the whole pack were in full cry. What that was foolish or frenzied was left unsaid during that prolonged witches' sabbath? Fulton, alternating obscenity with blasphemy, was capable of putting on a Sunday "show" at Music Hall, entitled "High and Low Mass, a Roaring Farce: a Wafer Worshipped as God" — and the performance was as

³⁷ *British-American Citizen*, July 14, 1888.

³⁸ Dec. 8, 1888.

bad as the title.³⁹ When he mentioned parochial schools, his audience broke into groans and hisses, and cries of "Burn them!" "Pull them down!"⁴⁰ Dr. Townsend, after delivering before the New England Assembly at Framingham a terrific tirade against his special *bête noire*, the Jesuits — of whom he said there were 100,000 in the United States, including "male clerics, female clerics, lay workers, and spies" (!) — expressed his hope that "like the gods, the people will grind to powder these enemies of the Republic."⁴¹

The same amiable divine, before an anti-Catholic meeting in South Boston, declared:

The next Protestant move will be no boys' play. It will come in the refusal of Protestant employers to retain Catholic wage-workers whenever the latter vote against their employers' interests simply at the dictation of the priest. If the clerical party can interfere with personal freedom why not the Protestants? This will cut off the source of revenue of the clerical party. What will be the next move we don't know, and we don't care. The streets will be filled with the idle; there may be insurrections, blows, but, we hope, not blood. But if the clerical party makes this move, it must take the consequences.⁴²

British-Americans were clamoring for the wholesale disfranchisement of "the Irish," and Dr. Miner had already proposed that treatment for all "Romanists."⁴³

Some comic relief was afforded amid this dreary ranting by flashes of quite unintentional humor. The pastor of the Dudley Street Baptist Church, Roxbury, after excoriating the Jesuits through one Sabbath evening, remarked that at least they deserved some credit for the fact that they had preserved education through the Dark Ages.⁴⁴ Another Baptist minister, however, recalled that the Jesuits had plotted against Christopher Columbus. A Protestant journal accused St. Thomas Aquinas of expressing hostility to the Constitution of the United States.⁴⁵

³⁹ Described, with gusto, by the *British-American Citizen*, Sept. 23, 1888.

⁴⁰ *Pilot*, Sept. 8, 1888.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 28, 1888.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1888.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 10, May 5, 1888.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1888.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1888.

Fulton drew cheers from his faithful of Music Hall when he related that, during his visit to Rome, he had knelt in the Colosseum and prayed at the spot where the early Christian martyrs were torn by wild beasts or burnt at the stake "at the instance of the Church of Rome."⁴⁶ A woman's journal devoted an article to "Joan of Arc, the Protestant Martyr."⁴⁷

In a practical way, at all events, the crusaders could boast of certain achievements. The Committee of One Hundred, organized after the Faneuil Hall meeting, while veiling its membership in discreet secrecy, displayed a remarkable activity. It sent out anti-Catholic lecturers through New England. It published its own monthly series of rabid tracts. It dispensed Chiniquy's mendacities, Fulton's indecencies, and other classics of No Popery literature. It dispatched hundreds of thousands of pamphlets throughout the country. It made itself the general staff of the crusade.

All efforts to coerce the Boston School Committee did, indeed, prove fruitless. In spite of formal demands and delegations of ministers sent to them both by the Hundred and by the Evangelical Alliance, that Committee refused either to reinstate Travis or to restore *Swinton*, and instead introduced a new textbook, Anderson's *New General History*, which, to the despair of Evangelicals, treated the Catholic Church with some leniency. This reverse, however, only inflamed the crusaders with a fiercer ardor both to change the complexion of the School Committee and to drive every Catholic and every Irishman from any public office or employment in Boston.

Throughout the latter months of the year all anti-Catholic efforts were focused on the coming elections. The Committee of One Hundred directed the campaign. The British-Americans rendered yeoman service both in naturalizing and in registering their compatriots. Even more important, however, were the efforts to bring out the woman's vote. Women had received the suffrage, for school elections only, in 1879, but very few of them had yet shown any interest in exercising this right. Now an intensive and very successful attempt was made

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1889.

⁴⁷ *Woman's Voice*, Oct. 21, 1893.

to induce Protestant women to register and to vote. The credit for this belongs primarily to Mrs. Shepherd, who throughout this campaign showed herself a master organizer and strategist, and to her co-workers of the Loyal Women. Much aid was also received from a new organization, led by Mrs. Eliza Trask Hill, of Charlestown, which was soon to be called the "Independent Women Voters," from the W.C.T.U., and from other Protestant societies.

On the Catholic side no counter-measures were taken. The watchword, which had doubtless emanated from the Archbishop, was simply to ride out the storm; to practice patience, forbearance, and complete self-restraint; to let the bigots have their way for a year or two. In the long run they would ruin their cause by their excesses, and the sober common-sense of the community would know how to judge between the two sides. Only once during those months did Archbishop Williams publicly allude to what was going on. It was in a Thanksgiving Day sermon at the Cathedral, when, after expressing the gratitude that American Catholics had always felt for the liberty in the United States, he added tersely: "And if in the course of time men have, in the heat of passion, forgotten what is just, and attempted to deprive some people of their rights, it was only transitory, and they returned again to the old usages of liberty."⁴⁸ John Boyle O'Reilly, in the *Pilot* office, sometimes felt his patience near giving way, but always the invincibly patient shepherd of the flock sent down the counsel: "Be prudent." Hence, while occasionally lashing out verbally against the Church's persecutors and calumniators, O'Reilly constantly urged Catholics not to imitate them in action. Thus he wrote:

The *Pilot* refuses utterly to follow the lead of such inflammatory Protestants as Fulton and Professor Townsend, of Boston University, who are busily engaged in doing damnable work for the future of Boston. We refuse to set class against class and creed against creed in Boston. We profoundly hope that no Catholic Bostonian, man or woman, will light a torch from

⁴⁸ *Pilot*, Dec. 8, 1888.

the flame flourished by these bigots, who do not represent the mass of Protestant sentiment of the city or State. Such men as these, in their narrow and exclusive views, prove themselves unfit for civilized freedom. They would whip Quakers and Papists or whoever dared to disagree with them, at the cart's tail, as in the sixteenth century. The Boston people are half Catholics. The children in the public schools are more than half Catholics. Catholic numerical strength here will increase rather than decrease for all the future. These bigots gain no victory by seizing the public schools and excluding every Catholic from the Board. They simply commit a public outrage, which will recoil on their own heads. Let them have it their way. . . . We depend on the good sense and good will of Boston, Catholic and Protestant, to see that right is done in the end.⁴⁰

In line with *The Pilot's* preaching and with the traditional notion that the place for their sex was not in the political arena, very few Catholic women registered as voters. And the Boston Democracy at that moment was split by a factional fight.

Inevitably, then — apart from the paradoxical fact that President Cleveland won the electoral vote of Massachusetts — the election of 1888 proved a sweeping victory for the Republican and anti-Catholic coalition. Hugh O'Brien at last went down to defeat, and it was to be over a dozen years before Boston again saw an Irish Catholic mayor. The British-American threat "to sweep the Irish out of City Hall" was pretty fully accomplished.

The contest that drew most attention was that for the School Committee. Eleven members were to be chosen to that body (eight to replace those whose terms expired that year, and three to fill vacancies that had arisen). The Committee of One Hundred had drawn up a ticket which had been accepted with gusto by the Loyal Women of America and kindred organizations, and — with some hesitation — by the Republican City Committee. It contained the name of not a single Catholic nor of any Protestant who could be suspected of any friendliness

⁴⁰ *Pilot*, Sept. 29, 1888.

towards Catholics. Thanks chiefly to the nearly 20,000 women voters mobilized for the occasion, this list was elected *in toto*.

Thus ended a campaign which Nathan Matthews, Jr., described as "the most disgraceful page in the municipal history of the City of Boston."⁵⁰ "Boston goes back to the seventeenth century," John Boyle O'Reilly wrote mournfully. "It is pitiful and shameful that a city boasting of its intelligence should in this age decide its municipal elections on grounds that would disgrace the days of the Blue Laws and the witch-burners." "Now the political parson is in his glory in Boston . . ."⁵¹

The victors celebrated with a "grand jubilee meeting" in Tremont Temple. The platform was packed with "political parsons" and political women, of every grade of respectability from Edward Everett Hale to Mrs. Shepherd. More than anyone else, that lady could rightly be regarded as the artisan of victory. It was her proudest hour.

V

That the anti-Catholic crusaders would follow up their triumph with a new onslaught against parochial schools in the Legislature was altogether inevitable. Before this attack had time to develop, however, the legal status of those schools was clarified and the ardor of both their assailants and their defenders further inflamed by the Haverhill School Case.

That historic city by the Merrimac had quite recently witnessed a massive influx, first of Irish immigrants, and then of French-Canadians. Many of the natives viewed this second element among the newcomers, particularly, with grim disfavor, accusing them of being clannish and un-American and of planning to turn New England into a mere extension of the Province of Quebec. This current Francophobia seems to have been a serious factor in the attitude of the School Committee, and of the inexperienced young man named Albert L. Bartlett who in February, 1888, had been appointed Superintendent of Schools. Moreover, for several years the Haverhill authorities had ac-

⁵⁰ *Boston Journal*, April 25, 1889.

⁵¹ *Pilot*, Dec. 15 and 8, 1888.

cepted the dogma of the State Board of Education that existing laws tolerated no private schools save those that had been approved by the local School Committee.⁵² In September, 1887, the English-speaking Catholic parish, St. James', established its school, and a year later the French parish, St. Joseph's, followed suit, thus withdrawing from the public schools one fourth of their clientèle, to the chagrin of the School Committee. St. James' School did succeed in getting itself approved, thanks to a very tactful pastor (Father James O'Doherty). But St. Joseph's became a test case.

It is very likely that in the autumn of 1888 this school, just established in the basement of the church, was in far from perfect condition. Some of its six teachers, Grey Nuns of the Cross, from Canada, may not have been altogether proficient in English, and much of the instruction was undoubtedly carried on in French — which was, after all, natural when all of the pupils came from French-speaking families, and one third of them from families that spoke only French. Granted a little time, whatever deficiencies existed might have been corrected. But the public school authorities were not so minded. Just before the opening of the school, Superintendent Bartlett had called on the pastor, Father Olivier Boucher, and informed him of what (in his opinion) was required by law of a parochial school. Three months later, on December 18th, after a hasty inspection by a few members of the School Committee, Bartlett wrote Father Boucher that the Committee could not approve the school "inasmuch as the instruction is not in the English language," and threatened that unless this condition was remedied before the annual meeting of the Board on January 10th, legal action would be taken. The pastor made whatever changes were possible during the short period of grace granted him. But after one more visit, of an hour's duration, on January 10th the Board voted a definitive condemnation of the school, on the ground that half the instruction was in French, that various subjects required in the public schools were not taught, and

⁵² Cf. Haverhill School Committee, *Report for 1886*, pp. 47 f.; *Report for 1887*, pp. 26, 65.

that under the existing conditions the teaching could not equal the efficiency of the public schools.⁵³

Early in February six French parents were dragged into court on the charge of having illegally sent their children to an unapproved private school. Three of them pleaded guilty and paid their fines. Three of them contested the case. On February 9th Judge Carter rendered his decision. In irrefutable fashion he demolished the thesis of the State Board of Education and the Haverhill School Committee that the statutes allowed parents only the alternative between a public and an approved private school, and that a private school was bound to seek the approval of the School Committee. On the contrary, he pointed out, the Legislature had always refused to deny parents the right to send their children to the school of their choice: the law aimed only to prevent parents from denying their children any "means of education." The French defendants were, therefore, discharged, and those who had already paid their fines recovered their money.⁵⁴

Catholics, naturally, hailed this decision as a vindication of the rights of conscience and of parents, and saw in the whole affair a typical illustration of what would happen if parochial schools were placed at the mercy of public school committees. To their opponents this outcome was a thunderbolt. Judge Carter afterwards related that he had scarcely uttered his verdict when he heard excited zealots in the courtroom exclaim: "We shall have another St. Bartholomew! We shall have anarchy and socialism here!" Excited letter-writers accused him of "having gone over to that demon, Rome."⁵⁵ Undoubtedly, there was some excuse for this consternation. Hitherto it had been widely supposed that the laws of Massachusetts aimed to secure to all children, not any kind of an education, but education up to a standard, the high standard that was presumed to be set by the public schools. If anything that called itself a school, no matter how deficient, was to be accepted as a toler-

⁵³ *Haverhill Gazette*, Jan. 12, 1889.

⁵⁴ *Boston Globe*, Feb. 10, 1889; *Boston Post*, Feb. 11.

⁵⁵ *Pilot*, April 13, 1889.

able substitute for the public schools, would that not mean turning the Commonwealth's great experiment into a farce? What was that minimum requirement implied in the vague words of the Act of 1873, "the means of education"? There were, of course, numerous flaws in this line of reasoning. Could the public schools, varying immensely from place to place, really be said to have any standard? Where was the proof for the constant assumption that the parochial schools were, in general, inferior to them? Where was the machinery capable of enforcing this assumed standard without doing more harm than good? At any rate, the cry went up from the Evangelicals that "if the Carter decision stood, our entire mechanism for compulsory education was a wreck," and that now, more than ever, new legislation was imperative.⁵⁶

Since the beginning of the year the Committee of One Hundred had been preparing a new Inspection Bill, with the aid of an able lawyer (Rodney Lund). On February 6th it was presented in the lower house by Representative S. R. Gracey, a Methodist minister of Salem.

This measure required parents or guardians to send children of eight to fourteen years of age for twenty weeks each year either to a public school or to a private school which was "under the supervision and inspection of and approved by" the local School Committee. Only few and insignificant exceptions were admitted to this rule.

A private school could be approved only: (a) If the teaching was in the English language in the branches prescribed by law for the public schools; (b) If the textbooks used were such as were approved by the School Committee for the public schools; (c) If the School Committee was satisfied by personal examination that the teaching equaled in thoroughness and efficiency the teaching in the public schools of the same locality, and that equal progress was made by the pupils with that made in the same period of time in the public schools.

While these provisions were less precise and detailed than the bill of the preceding year as to the manner in which the

⁵⁶ Dr. Miner, in *New York Press*, May 26, 1889.

right of inspection was to be exercised, they involved a more complete subjection of private schools to School Committees and more stringent conditions for approval. It was probably not without significance that the bill proposed to repeal the stipulation of the existing law that School Committees were not to refuse to approve a private school because of the religious teaching therein.

But the great novelty of the new measure came in its concluding sections. It was a favorite idea of the Evangelicals that the vast majority of the Catholic laity sent their children to parochial schools only because they were exposed to all manner of undue influence and moral coercion from their priests. If this ecclesiastical terrorism could be stopped, the parochial schools, it was presumed, would quickly collapse. Hence section 5 of the bill provided that any person influencing or attempting to influence a parent to withdraw his child from, or not to send his child to, a public school should be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars. Section 6 added that anyone attempting to influence parents for the above-cited ends by any "threats of social, moral, political, religious, or ecclesiastical disability or disabilities, or any punishment, or by any other threats or threatening acts of any kind," should be fined not less than three hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars for each offense.

These amazing proposals need little comment. Obviously they constituted an attack upon freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion. They would have made it unlawful for a private school even to print an advertisement. They would have denied to the Catholic Church the right, enjoyed by every other denomination in the country, of prescribing the conditions with which her members must comply if they wished to be members. They would have required the Catholic clergy, under penalty of exorbitant fines, to disobey the laws of the Church and to neglect a solemn duty to their people. Had these provisions ever become law, Massachusetts would surely have had the equivalent of Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. Nothing could show more clearly the blindness as well

as the bigotry of the men behind this bill than that they should have compromised their cause from the outset by proposals so outrageous — or, as Colonel Thomas W. Higginson called them, so “ridiculous, silly, and unworthy of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.”⁵⁷

This bill, so much more drastic and virulent than that of 1888, this “bill for the suppression of parochial schools,” as Father Bodfish declared it should have been named,⁵⁸ aroused even greater excitement than that of the previous year. Again Archbishop Williams entrusted the defense of the Catholic cause before the Legislature to Charles F. Donnelly, who again conducted it in magnificent style, and once more insisted on rendering his services gratis. Taking a leaf from the Catholic book, this time the other side also engaged the best lawyer they could get to manage their case, ex-Governor John D. Long. Again the battle was fought out chiefly in public hearings before the Joint Committee on Education. But whereas five such hearings had sufficed in 1888, this year fifteen were necessary (March 20 to April 25).

From the first the proceedings took on the character of what the disgusted Colonel Higginson called “a theological shindy.”⁵⁹ In the dense crowd that daily packed the hall, the friends of the bill were greatly in the majority, and *The Pilot* was, perhaps, not gravely unjust in describing them as a collection of “all the cranks, bigots, and theorists of the State.”⁶⁰ They frequently indulged in hostile demonstrations against Attorney Donnelly. They loudly acclaimed the entrance or the speeches of such champions of godliness as Dr. Miner or Deacon Bradbury. Their greatest applause was reserved for anyone who suggested the idea of suppressing parochial schools. The speakers in favor of the bill displayed the same inability to mask their bigotry under decent appearances. They consisted of a delegation from Haverhill, who were there to denounce the French-Canadians; a few lapsed or lax Catholics, who were there to denounce the Catholic clergy; and a large group of

⁵⁷ *Boston Journal*, April 16, 1889.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, April 16, 1889.

⁶⁰ March 30, 1889.

ministers, who were there to denounce the Catholic Church in general. In spite of all efforts of Governor Long to hold his motley host in check and to keep the debates on a civilized level, the discussion constantly veered from the bill in question to a general indictment of the Catholic Church. The Church, to which 900,000 citizens, two fifths of the population of Massachusetts, belonged, was once more made to appear at the bar as a culprit, pleading for life, against charges that it was an "alien power," a "spiritual despotism," an enemy to all American institutions, a teacher of degrading superstitions. Once more one was back in the seventeenth century.

In the defense of sanity Mr. Donnelly received manful assistance from Representative Michael J. McEttrick, Thomas J. Gargan, Father J. P. Bodfish, Father Richard Neagle, then Chancellor of the Archdiocese, various representatives of the French-Canadians, and numerous Protestants, such as Colonel Higginson, Principal McDonald, of Stoneham, and Nathan Matthews, Jr. President Eliot, Rev. Phillips Brooks, of Trinity Church, and Rev. Leighton Parks, of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, wrote letters during the hearings, protesting against State supervision of private schools, and offering to appear, if necessary, as remonstrants against the bill.⁶¹

It was not necessary. Long before the hearings were ended, the bill was already condemned by public opinion. The Democrats devoutly hoped that the Republicans would adopt the measure, but the Republicans were not so foolish. Still, so much more excitement had been worked up against parochial schools than in 1888 that it seemed something must be done. In a desperate attempt to squirm out of a difficult situation, the Republican majority in the Legislature put through a request to the Supreme Judicial Court to give an official interpretation of the existing laws regarding private schools. The Court very properly refused to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. Next, the Joint Committee on Education presented an emasculated form of the Gracey Bill, which was not accepted. Finally, in June, a new and very sensible compromise measure, the

⁶¹ *Pilot*, June 8, 1889.

Wardwell Bill, was passed. This Act provided simply that parents must either send their children to a public or to an approved private school, or see to it that they were otherwise instructed for twenty weeks each year "in the branches of learning taught in the public schools."⁶²

It was a happy ending. This solution freed the parochial schools from any necessity of seeking approval from hostile or prejudiced school boards. It gave as definite a meaning as could be given to the contentious phrase "means of education" in the Act of 1873. It set up wellnigh the only standard to which all schools could be held to conform, and one with which Catholics were glad to comply. If they did not comply, recourse might be had to the courts of the Commonwealth, but not to School Committees.

With this dénouement the worst of the anti-Catholic crusade was over. The battle to preserve the existence and establish the legality of parochial schools was definitely won. And thereby the Catholics of this State had gained a victory of historic importance, not only to themselves but to the entire nation.

⁶² Chapter 464, *Acts and Resolves of 1889*.

CHAPTER VII

THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — II

I

DURING THE THREE YEARS following the School Battle of 1889 the anti-Catholic crusade continued with all its customary forms, features, and follies, but with obviously diminishing effectiveness.

This decline was not due to any lack of activity on the part of its promoters. The weekly "Patriotic Meetings" in Music Hall went on uproariously, in charge of Deacon Bradbury when Fulton could not be present. Though no longer daring to raise the question in the Legislature, ministers and ministers' meetings continued to demand that parochial schools should be prohibited, that "on no account should a Papist figure on the school board,"¹ and that no Catholic teachers should be employed in the public schools. Professor Townsend aroused tumultuous applause at one Evangelical gathering by declaring that Catholicism was not only not Christian but anti-Christian, and should be put in the same class with Mohammedanism and Buddhism.² One divine expressed his indignation that "the gross idolatry of the Mass" should be tolerated in this country.³ The Committee of One Hundred, "as busy as bees in a barrel of sugar," continued to pour forth venomous pamphlets, in which, for instance, they, too, branded Catholics as idolators and accused them of murdering Lincoln and Garfield.⁴ Reflecting on these innumerable calumnies, *The Pilot* very pertinently remarked:

¹ *Boston Post*, Nov. 20, 1890, quoting Rev. I. J. Lansing, of Park Street Church, Boston.

² *Pilot*, April 22, 1891.

³ Rev. J. G. White, quoted in *Woman's Voice*, April 3, 1890.

⁴ *Pilot*, March 15, April 5, 1890.

Catholics can afford to laugh at such astounding falsehoods, but can our Protestant friends afford to do so? Do they ever pause to think that we have no Catholic Committee of One Hundred, no Music Hall nor Tremont Temple mud-machines, no store-windows filled with prurient bigotry; and, best of all, no constituency craving any such nourishment?⁵

One cause of diminishing effectiveness was the absence from Boston through much of this period of several coryphaei of the movement. The "Pauline Apostle," who conceived his mission as oecumenical (if not cosmic), was largely engaged in enlightening the minds, or at least lightening the purses, of new audiences in distant parts. Mrs. Shepherd, whose duties were at least international (to the United States and Canada), was often away toiling in, or rather "working," new fields. And in the spring of 1891, in Chicago, catastrophe overtook that lady. Some of her own sisters from among the Western British-Americans, having done some detective work in London and elsewhere, presented such scandalous revelations as to her past career and present mode of life as forced her to resign the presidency of the Loyal Women of American Liberty and ruined her reputation permanently in the eyes of all decent people.⁶ In Boston the halls that had once rung with her praises now resounded with denunciations. With most doors closed against her, she still continued for years to ply her trade of anti-Catholic agitator in a small way (like a professional who has been reduced from bank-robbing to purse-snatching), and occasionally she ventured to reappear in Boston. An amusing newspaper advertisement of 1897 announces a lecture on convents in Music Hall by "Mrs. Shepherd (nee Sister Magdalene Adelaide)." ⁷ But her influence was quite at an end, and the unfortunate woman died in Canada in 1903.

Her rôle as leader of the anti-Catholic woman's movement in Boston had passed in 1891 to Mrs. Eliza Trask Hill, who played it resolutely for years. A minister's daughter, ex-school

⁵ April 5, 1890.

⁶ *Pilot*, May 16, 23, Sept. 5, Oct. 3, 1891; April 8, 1893; Feb. 10, 1894; March 21, 1903. *Boston Herald*, May 12, 18, 1891. *Woman's Voice*, May 23, June 6, 1891, etc.

⁷ *Boston Herald*, Nov. 13, 1897.

teacher, social uplifter, and woman suffragist, Mrs. Hill was more the Massachusetts type than the exotic Mrs. Shepherd, and she wore better. But she was not half so exciting or dynamic. At any rate, as President of the League of Independent Women Voters, which she had founded, she long remained a power in school elections; and she edited from 1890 to 1907 a journal called *The Woman's Voice and Public School Champion*, which waged unceasing war against the Catholic Church.⁸

The chief reason for the declining power of the crusade was that people were beginning to get tired of it. Even the addicts of Music Hall might weary of what *The Herald* called "the queer people who constitute the Fulton Propaganda," "the speckled and half-crazy orators who have sought to thrash what they could out of Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."⁹ Even the women voters — many of them — could perceive, so *The Pilot* remarked, 'that their credulity had been played upon by vulgar sharpers and impostors of both sexes, and that participation in a No Popery crusade brought them into very strange and unsavory company.'¹⁰

The best index to this decline is furnished by the elections. In 1889 the Republicans and the anti-Catholics still swept everything before them. For the school election the Committee of One Hundred and its allied organizations put up a "non-sectarian and non-partisan" ticket, which contained the name of not a single Catholic or Democrat; and not a Catholic was elected. Next year, however, there came a dramatic reversal. The Democrats elected a Governor (William E. Russell), a Mayor of Boston (Nathan Matthews), a majority of both branches of the City government, and four out of eight new members of the School Committee, including three Catholics. This overturn was, of course, part of the general Democratic sweep of 1890 throughout the country. But it was due in part to local factors: to the uprising of many voters against the reign

⁸ Cf. the obituary notice on her in the *Evening Transcript*, March 30, 1908.

⁹ Quoted from *The Pilot*, Dec. 20, 1890.

¹⁰ Quoted from *The Pilot*, Nov. 28, 1891.

of bigotry, to the fact that not half as many women voted as in previous years, and to the work of the new Citizens' Public School Union, an organization representing the saner Protestant elements of the city, who wished to rescue the public schools from sectarian intolerance and to conduct them in the interest of all the citizens. In 1891 the elections gave very similar results.

By that year it might well seem that the storm had spent itself and that the danger to the Church was past. Hence Archbishop Williams, who had repressed his feelings and kept silent so long, at last felt able to tell the community in plain and vigorous terms his opinion of the treatment to which Catholics had been subjected. It was during the celebrations attending his Silver Jubilee in the episcopate, at the reception tendered him by the Catholic Union, March 13, 1891. Before that gathering of the leading Catholic gentlemen of Boston, he said, with an intensity of feeling seldom paralleled in his public utterances:

. . . The gentleman who spoke alluded to the times that have passed over us; unpleasant times, those of olden years before my time of episcopacy. I allude especially to those of the last years, when so much was done to irritate the Catholics of Boston, so much was done to insult them, so much was done to make them revolt against all their principles, and not turn the left cheek when their right was struck. Yet they remained firm, and tonight, here in this great assembly, on this day of anniversary, I am glad to say publicly that I am proud of the Catholics of Boston for the last two years. It is not the accusations that were made against us, not the revilings even, not even the insults, that I find fault with, but the attacks which were made on the virtue of our ladies in religious societies. The revilers attacked the clergy, but to that we were less sensitive, because we are men. But when they attacked women who have devoted their lives to virginity, spouses of Christ, and kept up the attack; when placards were placed on our walls and not torn down by the authorities of the city — then it was almost time to resent the injuries. And yet you remained quiet. For this I give you credit, and for this I am proud today. It was

a time, indeed, for everyone to mutter and gnash his teeth as he went through the streets.

For myself, I knew the trouble came not from the better part of the community. It was only a storm that was passing over. What irritated me — and I will give vent to it tonight — was not the insults, nor the accusations, nor the revilings, but I was ashamed of Boston that all these did not commence with those who expressed them openly; they came in cold blood for politics. And you, gentlemen, who look back will see — and they will see — that before a certain time not long ago we were quiet. From time to time some individual would write a book or publish a pamphlet or put something in a paper about the Catholics, but it was only the transient. The persistent abuse came in consequence of this plot to make use of the attack on Catholics and their schools for a political election. This is the truth. And it was only afterwards, when these politicians cared no more for it, when they had gained their point and had dropped it and were willing to have it lost for them, that others took it up and made use of it. From the first spark came the great illumination from these gentlemen against the Church. I was ashamed, not of the last, but of the first. I think the politicians of that class who were willing to set the city and the country on fire for a small election in the State will look back and be ashamed of it, when they consider that were it not for the determination of Catholics not to be driven into anything against the law — on account of the firmness of Catholics who are not willing to give way to that feeling of revenge or irritation — that were it not for them, no one can tell what would have been the consequences. And when we know that if one tenth of what has been said and done against us in the last two years, had been said and done by us against any sect in the city or country, it would not be twenty-four hours before there would be bloodshed. They have reason to be ashamed. It is only because we have something stronger than mere sentiment, that we restrained ourselves. Whilst the revilings were passing away we felt that our faith was not hurt, no harm was really done, and we knew that the effect of it all would be to strengthen us, to bring us closer together, shoulder to shoulder, against those who would hurt us, and that the respectable part of the community would join with us after

the storm had passed. We knew perfectly well that the better portion of the community was not with the revilers. But what we have against those gentlemen — those conservative gentlemen, who would not mix in such business — is that, whilst they condemned it [inwardly] and whilst they were too well bred to enter into such accusations or revilings because they knew too well their falsehood, yet they stood by and said nothing against them. Here is where I bring those gentlemen to the bar of justice. They listened to the abuse. They allowed it to be made use of. They profited by the political position of it, and yet said nothing; and when all is over they are simply ashamed of it — and we are ashamed of them.

It is not a night for such speeches; but still, as it has been my first chance to speak in public on the subject, I thought it well that you should know plainly how I felt, how proud I was of your firmness, of the calmness of your disposition. We are thought to be irritable; we are thought to be quick to return injury for injury. But they have an example, showing that when it is necessary we can be calm because we are right, we can be patient because Almighty God is patient. He knows the right must prevail. So that was. The trouble has passed over. It may come again, but if it does we should still carry out our principles, continue on as we have done, doing what is right, caring nothing for these accusations, and let the harm of it fall on the calumniators' own heads and not upon ours. . . .¹¹

II

Unhappily, the storm was not over. Towards the end of 1892 and in the following year signs multiplied that the anti-Catholic crusade was reviving and taking on a new lease of life.

This was due in part to certain recent events that had stirred up new suspicions and old prejudices. Such were: the coming of Monsignor Satolli as permanent Papal representative in this country, the lively discussion of the School Question then go-

¹¹ Bernard Corr (ed.), *Memorial of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston* (Boston, 1891), pp. 105-108.

ing on among Catholics, the prominent part taken by Catholics in the nation-wide celebration of the Columbian quadricentennial, the Democratic triumph in the national elections. The Boston school election of December, 1892, furnished one of the earliest signs that the wind was shifting in this vicinity, for once more the Republicans and the anti-Catholic organizations won a complete victory. The Panic of 1893 and the years of hard times that followed doubtless did much to throw great numbers of people into an angry and contentious mood. But the chief cause, or at least the chief expression, of this recrudescence of bigotry was the "A.P.A." movement.

Since the later 1880's there had been a marked growth of the "patriotic" secret societies, particularly in the Middle West. In order that their action might become more effective than it had been for several decades, it was necessary that they should coalesce into, or at least rally around, some one larger organization, as they had done in the '50's. This unification was finally effected around the American Protective Association. This "dark lantern" society, of unholy memory, was started at Clinton, Iowa, on March 13, 1887, its founder and first president being a lawyer named Henry F. Bowers. For some years it spread but slowly, and seemed to have little more prospect of leaving a mark on American history than countless similar conventicles. But in 1892-1893 it suddenly began to grow like a mushroom — or a cancer. What seems to have happened is that the Association was largely taken over by British-Americans and Orangemen, who were eager to build up a great anti-Catholic organization in this country, but needed to disguise themselves under a name less foreign and repellent than that of the Loyal Orange Institution. These professionals furnished a far more experienced, shrewd, aggressive, and unscrupulous leadership than had the small-town bigots previously in charge. The new spirit was embodied in W. J. H. Traynor, of Detroit (formerly of Ontario), who in 1893 replaced Bowers as Supreme President.

The Association had always offered those allurements of secrecy, grip, passwords, oaths, and ritual so dear to the American

heart. Its platform was of the familiar kind: the exclusion of Catholics from any public office or public employment, or even from private employment, as far as possible; defense of the public schools, hostility to parochial schools, war against any grants of public funds for "sectarian" purposes; the taxation of church property; restrictions on immigration and naturalization, etc. In these respects, the organization differed little from many others. It may be noted that its animus was exclusively anti-Catholic. Recruited and staffed very largely from among the foreign-born, it utterly lacked the "nativist" tendencies of its great predecessors, the Know-Nothings.

Its success under the new management was largely due to the skillful use of two techniques. The first consisted in exciting, terrifying, and incensing masses of prejudiced and gullible Protestants by spreading against the Catholic Church the wildest and most lurid stories that had yet been invented. In beginning operations in any locality, the first move of the A.P.A. was to circulate furtively certain documents calculated to arouse distrust and fear of the "Papists." Bogus "Jesuit oaths" or "Cardinal oaths," apocryphal excerpts from "canon law," alarming statements falsely ascribed to Catholic writers — these were among their milder fabrications. Their masterpieces of mendacity included two forgeries that achieved national celebrity and doubtless rendered great service for the time being, although both were so obviously spurious that it is hard to conceive how any human being could have been taken in by them. One of them was the so-called "Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops," or "Instructions to Catholics," which purported to be a document signed by the leading members of the American hierarchy, announcing their alarm over the growth of education and intelligence in this country, through the public school system, and their determination to put a stop to it. The other was an alleged "Papal Bull," which was first published in Traynor's Detroit paper in the autumn of 1892 and then spread broadcast around the country in the following spring. In this amazing document the Holy Father was represented as promising to absolve his American "subjects" from all obliga-

tions to the United States and from all other engagements "on or about the 5th of September, 1893"; and informing them that "on or about the feast of Ignatius Loyola" (which the forgers apparently took to be on September 5th), "it will be the duty of the faithful to exterminate all heretics found within the jurisdiction of the United States of America."

This preposterous fraud was backed up by all manner of tall stories that the Catholics were everywhere collecting arms, storing them in their churches, drilling nightly, etc., etc., in preparation for the coming massacre. It is well known that many districts of the Middle West were thrown into a veritable panic — with A.P.A. lodges and even ministers laying in arms, Catholic churches ransacked by mobs, farmers making their wills, cleaning their shotguns, and preparing to sell their lives as dearly as possible. When the 5th of September had come and gone with no signs of a new St. Bartholomew, the A.P.A. leaders were no whit embarrassed. They explained that the Catholics were merely waiting for a better moment, when they could catch the Protestants off their guard — and so the excitement continued.

The second technique of the A.P.A.'s lay in attaching themselves, like parasites, to the Republican party and exploiting its resources for their own purposes. That party was long unduly afraid of them, impressed with exaggerated claims as to the size of the vote which they could deliver or take away. Often they succeeded in dictating Republican nominations, dominating the party's caucuses and conventions, capturing its local machinery, driving from political life the Republican leaders who opposed them, riding into power with the votes which the Republicans could furnish them and which of themselves they could never have produced. This technique enabled them to take possession of many Western cities and to acquire a very strong position in many localities, pending the time when, as they hoped, they might dominate the nation. It also rallied to their ranks a host of hungry office-seekers and political small fry. A Supreme President confessed that at least one third of the members of the order expected to make a living from it.¹²

¹² *Pilot*, Nov. 27, 1897.

The palmy days of the Association came in 1893-1894. The centre of its strength was in the area from Ohio to Nebraska, the so-called "A.P.A. belt." During that time it rose from seventy thousand to perhaps a million members. Never, probably, did it gain anything like the numerical strength or the prospects for national success that were attained by the Know-Nothings forty years earlier.¹³

The A.P.A. attracted little attention in Massachusetts until the autumn of 1892. It is likely that the first councils here began to be established about that time. But it was only in the following year that the order was recognized to have "come East" and to have attained considerable strength in certain regions such as Southern New England, Pennsylvania, and some cities in New York State.

In this vicinity such precious auxiliaries were welcomed with open arms by all those elements that had hitherto been conducting the crusade against Catholicism — by the fighting parsons, the British-Americans, the Loyal Women, the Independent Women Voters, the older secret societies, and all that ilk. Many Evangelical ministers here took a very active part in the A.P.A. movement; and among those who did not, few spoke out against it, whether because they took a secret pleasure in hearing Catholicism denounced or because they dared not offend members of their congregations. The Republican party for some years lent the movement a tacit and interested connivance. For a time the Association spread with considerable rapidity, especially in certain communities on the north side of Boston — e.g., Chelsea, Somerville, Lynn, Gloucester — where the British-American element was numerous. For the State as a whole the order, at its peak, claimed two hundred councils and seventy-five thousand members,¹⁴ though usually its claims need to be heavily discounted. Its chief local organ was the *Daily Standard*, of Boston, which began publication March 28, 1895. Its first number boasted that fifty-three "great

¹³ This outline of the movement in the country at large is based on various well-known sources, of which the best is still Humphrey J. Desmond, *The A.P.A. Movement: a Sketch* (Washington, 1912).

¹⁴ Reuben Maury, *The Wars of the Godly* (New York, 1928), p. 231.

meetings" had just been held in and around Boston in one night (and in nearly every one of them some minister attacked "Rome").

In a practical way the A.P.A. accomplished singularly little. At elections they made a most unimpressive showing. Their chief achievement was to bring on a new epidemic of bigotry and unreason, a new season of bitterness, revilings, and unpleasant incidents of all kinds. The monstrous falsehoods that had done duty among rustics in the Middle West were now served up in the Athens of America. Mrs. Eliza Trask Hill informed an A.P.A. meeting in Music Hall that the Catholics were arming in Boston, too: for, she went on, "We found out last night that underneath the Jesuit College there is a well-equipped armory of guns."¹⁵ "Professor" Walter Sims, addressing a similar gathering in the First Baptist Church of Chelsea, solemnly charged the Catholic Church with "treason in maintaining an armed force of men on American soil and in levying war against the United States."¹⁶ It would be tedious to quote further from the long list of frantic charges and brazen calumnies poured forth at that time. One episode, however, may deserve to be cited, disgusting as it is, both because it has lingered long in Catholic memories, and because it illustrates the almost incredible meanness that underlay this campaign.

In the spring of 1895 a wretched and loose-living mulatto girl, named Anna E. Brouthers, having become an unmarried mother, decided, in the hope of extorting money — or she had it suggested to her — to accuse as her betrayer an excellent and irreproachable young priest, a curate at St. Columbkille's Church, Brighton.¹⁷ Augustus Bedford, Secretary of the National League of Flag Defenders, became her co-conspirator. As soon as it was noised around that a matter was afoot that would ruin the reputation of a priest, A.P.A.'s, Loyal Women of America, and such ministers as Drs. Miner and Fulton

¹⁵ *Pilot*, March 25, 1893.

¹⁶ *Woman's Voice*, Aug. 5, 1893.

¹⁷ The victim of this foul plot was Father Francis J. Butler, who died in 1927 as the respected pastor of St. Ann's Church, Somerville.

rallied warmly around so godly an enterprise. The interesting Miss Brouthers, who professed her desire to leave the Church of Rome and become a Baptist, was showered with counsel, money, flowers, hospitalities, and laudatory newspaper accounts. Unhappily for the conspirators, however, at the trial things went all awry. Counsel for the defense introduced a letter, recently written by the girl to the pastor of St. Columbkille's, in a moment of contrition, in which she confessed that she was "in the hands of people who hate the Catholic Church," and that she had never even seen the accused curate. Her real betrayer was presented in court and admitted their past relations. Anna herself on the witness stand, while trying to maintain her previous lies, identified the wrong man as the priest whom she accused, and entangled herself in a maze of contradictions, in a way that ruined all faith in her testimony. The trial ended quickly with the acquittal of the curate so vilely aspersed, and with Miss Brouthers' arrest on charges of perjury and conspiracy to blackmail and destroy a reputation. Her confederate, detective Bedford, absconded to parts unknown. In the end, however, this suit was nol-prossed by a District Attorney who had no heart to help Catholics to a second triumph in court.¹⁸

The A.P.A. movement, it has sometimes been remarked, was all talk and no action. In this vicinity, at least, it led to very few instances of a resort to force, such as had marked the Native American and Know-Nothing movements. When early in 1895, at the peak of A.P.A.-ism, within a few weeks three Catholic churches in Dorchester and South Boston caught fire, and an attempt was made to set fire to a fourth one, Catholic suspicions were naturally aroused, but little evidence could be procured as to causes and responsibilities.¹⁹ At all events, the movement stands in close connection with one lamentable outbreak of violence, which has the melancholy distinction of being the only occasion in the history of anti-Catholic crusades in Massachusetts when there has been not merely bloodshed but killing. This was the East Boston Riot of July 4, 1895.

¹⁸ *Boston Daily Standard*, April 23, 1895 ff., April 27, 1896; *Boston Herald* and *Boston Globe*, May 7, 1895; *Pilot*, May 11, 18, 25, 1895; May 2, June 6, 1896.

¹⁹ *Pilot*, March 9, 16, 1895.

III

East Boston had had a fine tradition of liberality and mutual good feeling between the Catholic majority and their Protestant neighbors. Old-timers still recall Father Fitton and the Unitarian minister (Rev. Warren H. Cudworth) going arm in arm down Meridian Street. But of late there had come in a new element, represented chiefly by the British-Americans, who adopted a very different attitude, and who rallied warmly around such anti-Catholic organizations as the American Protective Association, the Knights of Pythias, or the Patriotic Order, Sons of America. This last secret society was an old one, founded at Philadelphia in 1846, but one which had been active around Boston only since 1887. The local centre of Evangelical opposition to "Romanism" was the Trinity Baptist Church, on Trenton Street, whose ministers for years had been conspicuous for such activities. During the spring of 1895 this church conducted on Sunday afternoons a series of anti-Catholic meetings which rivaled those at Music Hall and which brought to its pulpit many of the lights of the Protestant Crusade, from Dr. Fulton to "ex-priest Slattery."

The A.P.A. were so detested by Catholics, and by fair-minded Protestants as well, that around Boston, at least, they had hitherto scarcely ventured to parade themselves in public. But in that first half of 1895 their activity and audacity were growing, and several incidents happened that spurred them on to make a public demonstration — with tragic consequences. On May 23rd, in the Boston City Council, a youthful new member, Edward H. Crockett — an A.P.A. and a staunch Methodist — violently attacked the program prepared for the Seventeenth of June in Charlestown, particularly on the ground that the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whom he called a "secret, sectarian, and racial organization," were to be allowed to participate in a public celebration, subsidized by the City. After an irate debate, his motion to cancel the whole program was beaten, 59 to 1. But the incident had made Councilman Crockett a hero to all anti-Catholics, and his prophecy that if

Irish "secret organizations" were allowed the privilege, then the A.P.A., too, might parade the streets some day, seems to have fallen on attentive ears.²⁰ Further stimulus towards such action was furnished by the proceedings in Charlestown on Bunker Hill Day. Not only did the A.O.H. join in the parade, with a priest at their head, but some Irish flags were displayed, and one float in the procession, bearing little red devils, was taken by the A.P.A. to be a burlesque directed against themselves.

Meanwhile, pursuing a custom started — or revived — the year before, East Boston was preparing one of the largest Fourth-of-July celebrations in the City. This celebration, while also sponsored and subsidized by the City, was under the immediate direction of a local Carnival Committee. It was to consist chiefly of a morning parade of the "features" or floats presented by the various local organizations, the procession commonly called "the horrors." Around the middle of June, when the program was being made up, a group of five residents, headed by Walter C. Briggs, proposed to present as a feature a large model of "the Little Red School House," to be accompanied by a brass band. The group professed to be acting solely for themselves, but it was at once universally assumed — and justly, there can be little doubt — that they represented the local A.P.A. organization.

The body charged to pass upon all such exhibits, the Feature Committee of the Carnival Committee, was made up of four Protestants and one Catholic.²¹ Nevertheless, it at once displayed sharp misgivings. That anybody in East Boston, whether Catholic or Protestant, could have objected to such a float as an honest tribute to the American public school system, could scarcely have been believed except by the wildest fanatics. But everybody knew that "the Little Red School House" had become virtually the badge of the A.P.A., who used it as a symbol of their campaign against the mythical conspiracy of the Cath-

²⁰ *Boston Daily Standard*, May 24, 1895.

²¹ The writer has had the privilege of talking with, and deriving much information from, Mr. James E. Maguire, the one Catholic member, and the only surviving member, of this Committee, now the editor of the *East Boston Free Press*.

olic Church to destroy the public schools. The song of that name was the *Marseillaise* of the movement. To include the recognized emblem of, and a large delegation from, so sectarian and so detested an organization in a parade conducted under the City's auspices seemed improper, and to do so in a strongly Catholic district might involve prospects of serious trouble.

Moreover, it was reported that, alongside the Little Red School House, the A.P.A. intended to parade other features that were sure to be offensive to Catholics, including caricatures of priests and nuns. When questioned about this, the proponents of the float steadily refused to reveal their intentions. But they alluded to Charlestown on June 17th, and intimated that the A.P.A. had "an equal right to get back at the Catholics"; and they threatened that if refused permission to take part in the official celebration, they would by themselves parade the float objected to, with five thousand to fifteen thousand men behind it. For nearly two weeks the negotiations continued. Meanwhile, Catholics were getting more and more stirred up over the rumors of the demonstrations the A.P.A. were planning against them. And extreme Protestants were getting stirred up over reports that, because of "Papist" intolerance, it was no longer permissible to attest one's devotion to the public school system even on the national holiday. Finally, the Feature Committee announced their definitive decision not to accept this float, and the A.P.A. organ, the *Daily Standard*, on June 26th, mournfully reported that the Little Red School House would not appear.²²

The next day, however, the same journal reversed this announcement. The A.P.A. had evidently changed their plans. Since their feature was refused admission to the official parade in the morning, they would have their own parade in the afternoon. In order to put the best face possible upon the matter, the affair would be placed formally under the sponsorship of

²² On this early and little known stage of the affair, see *Boston Daily Standard*, June 25, 26, July 8, 1895; *Post*, July 5, 6, 7, 13; *Journal*, July 5; *Herald*, July 6; *Pilot*, July 13.

the Patriotic Order, Sons of America, an order closely allied with, but less well known and less unpopular than, the A.P.A.²³ The additional features — the patent caricatures upon Catholics — if they had actually been intended, were now eliminated. Invitations to take part in the separate parade of the Little Red School House were sent out to the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the Orangemen, and to “all loyal citizens.”²⁴ But it still remained necessary, so the managers believed, to obtain a permit to parade from the public authorities.

On Monday, July 1st, an order granting that permission was introduced in the Board of Aldermen by Charles T. Witt, the member for East Boston. The debate that followed was ‘one of the hottest that had been witnessed for years in the aldermanic chamber.’²⁵ Everyone apparently realized that the A.P.A. were at the bottom of this business, and the Board divided squarely along religious lines. If the order was to be acted upon that day, rather than tabled for two weeks, the rules would have to be suspended. Seven Protestant Republicans voted to suspend them: four Catholic Democrats voted against. The necessary majority for such a motion was not obtained.

Stung by this unexpected defeat, two of the organizers of the parade betook themselves next morning to the Police Commissioners, Clark and Curtis. These latter tried to dissuade them from their project, urging that it would require large police protection, and this it would be very difficult to furnish on a day like the Fourth of July. Still undeterred, the two delegates flew to the Governor, the Republican, British-born Frederic T. Greenhalge. An honest man, who at heart loathed the A.P.A. but had never yet been allowed by his party’s bosses to oppose them,²⁶ Governor Greenhalge received their emis-

²³ The Patriotic Sons had originally offered “Washington Crossing the Delaware” as their feature, which had been accepted. When the Little Red School House had been rejected by the Feature Committee, they, like the Knights of Pythias, withdrew from all participation in the official parade, and then agreed to cover with their name the afternoon parade which the A.P.A. did not dare openly announce as their affair.

²⁴ *Boston Daily Standard*, June 27, 1895.

²⁵ *Boston Post*, July 2, 1895.

²⁶ James Ernest Nesmith, *The Life and Work of Frederic Thomas Greenhalge, Governor of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1897), pp. 356 f.

saries courteously and, on the whole, gave them satisfaction. He pointed out, as was true, that no permit to parade was necessary as long as they did not ask to have any streets barred to traffic. He promised them ample police protection — *if* they were determined to parade.²⁷ Delighted, the delegates hastened back to East Boston. Hard on their heels came the two Police Commissioners, sent to make an eleventh-hour effort to stave off the parade. Apparently the Governor, or his advisers, had immediately recognized that he had bungled matters that morning. But it was now too late. That Tuesday evening a mass meeting uproariously resolved to have that parade — though the heavens fell.²⁸

This fateful decision was taken at a time when it should have been, and, indeed, was, clear to everybody that the peace of the community would thereby be exposed to serious peril. That an A.P.A. parade through the streets of East Boston might lead to disturbances had been realized by the Carnival Committee; by the numerous leading citizens of the district whom they consulted;²⁹ by some, at least, of the Aldermen; by the Police Commissioners; by the Governor. It was realized by the A.P.A.'s themselves. The pastor of Trinity Baptist Church, a leading A.P.A. and well acquainted with the genesis of this affair, declared afterwards: "Everybody believed, as the chairman of the Carnival Feature Committee did, that there would be serious trouble and bloodshed. But that was not the question." The question, he went on to explain, was whether "the foreigners" so controlled the streets of Boston that patriotic Americans were no longer allowed to appear in those streets to demonstrate their loyalty to the public school system.³⁰ Those who turned out to march behind the Little Red School House on the Fourth of July, also realized the danger: for a great part of them came armed with sticks or revolvers.³¹ *The Pilot*, in an

²⁷ *Daily Standard*, July 3, 1895.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 4; *Boston Post*, July 3.

²⁹ Cf. the statement by Chairman Irwin Clark, of the Feature Committee, in the *Boston Post*, July 6, 1895.

³⁰ *Boston Globe*, July 8, 1895.

³¹ *Daily Standard*, July 6, 1895, and in many other newspapers.

article that was, unfortunately, published too late to do any good, mentioned the rumors of an impending riot, and adjured Catholics to have no part in it.³²

For weeks the proposed A.P.A. demonstration had been discussed throughout the community, with mounting feeling on both sides. Crowds of people from all over Greater Boston prepared to go to East Boston on the holiday to join in the parade, or to witness it, or to demonstrate against it. On the morning of the Fourth one newspaper remarked that "the most talked-of parade today will be that of 'the Little Red'"; and it grimly added that the Governor and the Police Commissioners were determined to maintain order at all costs, by using the whole police force and even the militia, if necessary.³³

During the forenoon the parade organized by the Carnival Committee passed off gaily and peacefully. About 1:30 in the afternoon the A.P.A. host, two thousand to three thousand strong,³⁴ began to form at White Square. At the head rode Chief Marshal John Shaw — an ardent American patriot recently arrived from Prince Edward Island. Next, drawn by four white horses and mounted on a large dray, came the Little Red School House, with the Stars and Stripes floating above it, "Uncle Sam" at the door, and a dozen flag-waving gentlemen as a guard of honor. There followed the Hub Martial Band; a few carriages bearing dignitaries of the secret societies — and Councilman Crockett; the East Boston camp of the Patriotic Sons of America, carrying miniature school houses mounted on sticks; and then a seemingly endless column of A.P.A.'s, Patriotic Sons, United American Mechanics, Loyal Orangemen, Odd Fellows, Masons, Knights of Pythias, etc.

Almost three hundred and fifty Boston policemen had been detailed to protect the parade — which should have been sufficient. But by an unhappy mischance, which was probably due less to the fault of the police than to the tardiness with which half the marchers straggled into line, only the forward part of

³² *Pilot*, July 6, 1895.

³³ *Boston Advertiser*, July 4, 1895.

³⁴ The newspaper estimates ran from 1,500 to 5,000. The figures given above represent the more common estimates.

the procession actually received police escort. The latter half of the column was left quite unprotected.

The line of march lay down Meridian Street to Saratoga, east as far as Putnam, and then, in a zigzag course through the adjacent streets, back to White Square.

While the dense crowd that lined this route contained many sympathizers with the parade, and the Little Red School House was sometimes greeted with cheers or even ovations, a great part of the spectators were intensely and outspokenly hostile. Between them and the paraders there quickly set in a rain of mutual insults and invectives. "It was difficult," wrote one reporter, "to tell which were the more venomous, the crowd or the marchers. It was an exchange of hot shot on all sides. Orangemen were berated, and they in turn heaped the most picturesque of curses upon the heads of those opposed to them."³⁵ Some of the marchers displayed their guns, with threatening gestures.³⁶ Sooner or later physical violence was almost sure to occur.

After various preliminary scuffles, the first serious conflict of the day broke out at the corner of Saratoga and Brooks Streets. Near the rear of the procession as it reached that point was a handsome barouche carrying Oscar C. Emerson and wife, H. E. Roberts and Mrs. F. J. Campbell. Whether it was because the two men were supposed to be high A.P.A. officials, or because Mrs. Campbell's dress was taken to be of orange color, the crowd made a rush for that carriage and attempted to tip it over. The ladies screamed for help. A stalwart young A.P.A., Albert E. Andrews, a member of the Roxbury Horse Guards, just back in full uniform from a morning parade in Dorchester, happened to be on the spot and sprang to the rescue. Laying about manfully with his sword, the agile cavalryman extricated the barouche, which drove off to a place of safety. But he then, assisted only by a few sympathizers and three mounted policemen, who presently rushed up, had to fight an Homeric battle against the infuriated mob—a battle that sent women and children shrieking from the scene and left plenty of bruised

³⁵ *Boston Globe*, July 5, 1895.

³⁶ *Boston Post*, July 5, 1895.

and bleeding heads among the participants on both sides. Finally two platoons of police managed to fight their way through the crowd and break up the *mêlée*. The one more serious casualty from this encounter was that of Michael Doyle, who was rushed to the hospital with a fractured skull, but ultimately recovered.

No further grave disorders marred the course of the parade. About 3:30 Chief Marshal Shaw reviewed and disbanded his tired but triumphant legions, while the onlookers still hissed and jeered. Unfortunately, the police concluded that everything was over. No plans had been made to protect the marchers when, breaking up into small parties, they set out for their homes. Inevitably, a number of fights followed between these and hostile groups; and one of these collisions developed into the great tragedy of the day.

On Border Street, which led to the ferries to Boston — and on which not a policeman was visible — a small party of A.P.A.'s, returning to the city, encountered a much larger crowd of enemies. Every detail of the ensuing clash has been narrated so diversely that, where a court of justice despaired of unraveling the exact truth, an historian can scarcely hope to be more successful. At all events, the usual epithets and taunts were probably bandied back and forth. The crowd, in which there were many mischievous boys, appears to have hustled, thrown stones at, and threatened the late marchers. The A.P.A.'s got excited or frightened, and, the moment actual fighting began, two or three of them whipped out their guns and began firing wildly into the mass of unarmed people around them. About a dozen shots rang out, and nearly half of them took effect.

The chief victims — all Catholics — were John W. Wills, John Quirk, and Patrick A. Kelly. Wills, shot through the heart, died almost instantly. A middle-aged longshoreman, of East Boston, with a wife and seven children, he had always been considered a good, quiet, and respectable man, and it is probable that he was present at this affray only as a chance onlooker. Quirk and Kelly, wounded, the one over the left temple and the other in the back of the head, were ultimately to recover.

Two other persons are said to have been wounded, but their names were never reported.

This unexpected fusillade ended the battle. The crowd, affrighted, drew back or scurried for cover. The A.P.A.'s sought to escape. The police, arriving in haste, arrested two of the fugitives, both of whom were accused by spectators of having fired the shot that killed Wills. These were Harold G. Brown, of Roxbury, and John Ross, an Ulster-born resident of Cambridge — both of them members of the American Protective Association. It was fortunate that a heavy rainstorm set in soon afterwards, to prevent further conflicts in the streets.³⁷

The tragic outcome of the parade of the Little Red School House naturally threw the whole community for a time into passionate discussions and recriminations. The newspapers blamed both sides in the conflict, though generally reserving their more severe censures for the Catholics, on the ground that the latter had tried to challenge the clear legal right of fellow Americans to conduct a parade through the streets. The A.P.A.'s and their sympathizers, of course, found in the event the crowning proof that Catholics hated the public school system and would gladly launch a new St. Bartholomew when they could. Many Evangelical preachers on the following Sunday emitted the wildest statements. One affirmed that, since Catholicism was the cause of the recent events, "now it was the duty of everybody to rip it up root and branch, in fact blow it up."³⁸ Another prayed that God would "hasten the day when there should not be a Catholic priest on this continent."³⁹ The climax of folly was reached at an "indignation meeting," held at Faneuil Hall on the evening of July 10th, and guarded by two hundred and fifty quite unneeded policemen. Here one minister declared that the riot was the work of "men who hate our free

³⁷ The events of the Fourth of July in East Boston were, of course, narrated in full in all the newspapers of the following days, the best accounts, perhaps, being those in the *Post* and the *Journal*, of July 5. To the best of the writer's knowledge, scarcely anything has since been published about this affair.

³⁸ Rev. James B. Brady, at the (Methodist) People's Temple, Boston (*Globe*, July 8, 1895).

³⁹ Rev. William H. Marshall, at the Trinity Baptist Church, East Boston (*Globe*, July 8).

institutions, who would burn down our school houses and every patriotic institution of the State." Another expressed his pious regret that there had not been more killings in East Boston. Resolutions were adopted demanding the immediate release of Brown and Ross, and praising those gunmen along with Andrews as heroes of the type on which the defense of American freedom must depend.⁴⁰

These resolutions received satisfaction a few days later. At the inquest held in the East Boston Court on July 12-13th, Judge Emmons found that Brown had used only blank cartridges, and that in the case of Ross, who, it seemed clear, had fired the bullet that killed Wills, the testimony was utterly confused and contradictory as to the attendant circumstances. Ross might have been acting in self-defense. Hence the Court ordered both prisoners to be discharged without being held to the Grand Jury.⁴¹

The East Boston Riot had, undoubtedly, reflected no credit upon either side engaged in it. That Catholics formed the great bulk of those who demonstrated and fought on one side can scarcely be doubted. Legally and morally, they were greatly in the wrong. In the two chief battles they seem to have started the fighting in both cases. Nor is it any adequate excuse to say that the provocation was great. According to all the principles of the faith they professed, according to the precepts and counsel always held up to them by their clergy, according to the examples left them by their forbears, they ought to have restrained themselves. Under manifold and oft-repeated provocations in the numerous crises of the past, the Catholics of this community had made a splendid record as Christians and as law-abiding citizens. It was deplorable to see that record tarnished.

On the other hand, the case for the A.P.A.'s was, certainly, no better. There was throughout something deeply exasperating in the conduct of these self-appointed defenders of America, a great part of whom had but just arrived from the Maritime

⁴⁰ *Boston Post*, July 11, 1895.

⁴¹ *Boston Globe*, July 13-14, 1895.

Provinces,⁴² who had, so largely, learned what they knew of American institutions only in the Orange lodges, and whose idea of the spirit of America was to deny political rights and even the right to make a living to an element that formed over half the population of Boston. It was, indeed, a desecration of the American school house to entrust it to such fanatical, calumnious, and in spirit wholly un-American defenders. Moreover, nobody has seriously charged Catholics with having premeditated or planned a riot, while that suspicion has rested on the A.P.A. The Chairman of the Carnival Feature Committee, for instance, declared that "the people who organized the parade wanted trouble and they got it."⁴³ At any rate, it was not the Catholics, but their opponents, who turned out in the streets as an armed mob, and who did the shooting. And in the long run the East Boston Riot appears to have harmed the A.P.A. more than anybody else. After the first excitement was over, the sober judgment of the community seems to have veered towards the opinion expressed by the *Springfield Republican*, that the A.P.A., whose whole program consisted in "the proscription of a class of our citizens on account of their race and religious connections," and whose activities consisted simply in "attempts to fire the inflammable material of race and religious principles," had now "purposely designed to . . . provoke riotous demonstrations, and with no other practical end in view except, through such demonstrations, to gain sympathy for themselves and the further division of the community into warring racial factions."⁴⁴

IV

From the time of the East Boston affair the cause of the American Protective Association in this vicinity steadily declined. Soon after the riot, and, no doubt, in part as a consequence of it, for the first time an eminent Republican leader,

⁴² *The Pilot* went so far as to assert that nine tenths of the paraders were foreign-born (July 13, 1895).

⁴³ *Boston Globe*, July 5, 1895.

⁴⁴ Quoted from *The Pilot* of July 13, 1895.

Senator Hoar, spoke out in vigorous denunciation of "this vicious brotherhood," which constituted one of the gravest dangers of the time and whose success, he said, would mean the end of religious liberty in this country. In speeches at Worcester (July 15th) and Newport (July 19th) he briefly but forcibly attacked a movement which was "as out of place as the witchcraft delusion or the fires of Smithfield," and which played on fears ridiculous "to anyone who has known fifty years of Williams." In reply to the resulting attacks of the bigots, he then published a long open letter, which is a classic indictment of the A.P.A., and which ends with the fine passage:

The American Spirit, the . . . Spirit of Liberty . . . is able to maintain herself in a fair fight and in a free contest against all comers. Do not compel her to fight in a cellar. Do not compel her to breathe the damp, malarial atmosphere of dark places. . . . The atmosphere of the Republic is the air of the mountain top and the sunlight and the open field. Her emblem is the eagle and not the bat.⁴⁵

Other Republican leaders began to pluck up the same courage. Certain Protestant journals, such as *The Independent* and *The Outlook*, had long been campaigning for justice to Catholics. More and more the secular press was taking the same tone. At the elections of 1895 the A.P.A. made a wretched showing, succeeding nowhere save at Gloucester and for the Boston School Committee (thanks to the women voters).

Elsewhere in the country their fortunes followed a similar course, and 1896 was for them a year of disaster. Entering the presidential campaign with the highest hopes, expecting to dictate both the Republican nomination and the Republican platform, they made a complete fiasco. Thanks to three years of hard times under a Democratic administration, the tide was already running so strongly in favor of the opposition party that the Republican managers no longer felt the need of A.P.A. support, and they were tired of the intrigues and the dictatorial manners of the bigots. When the American Protective Asso-

⁴⁵ *Pilot*, July 27, 1895; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, II (New York, 1903), 278-293.

ciation, therefore, attempted to block the nomination of McKinley, they were roundly defeated. And when they then attempted to sell their support in return for an anti-Catholic plank in the Republican platform, they were again defeated and snubbed. As the Democrats refused to have anything to do with them, it was a Waterloo. The hordes of politicians who had joined the A.P.A. movement when it looked promising hastened to desert a sinking ship. A general débâcle set in.

In this vicinity the collapse of the Protestant crusade followed the general pattern. The A.P.A. organ, the *Daily Standard*, ceased publication on July 11, 1896. The Committee of One Hundred and the Loyal Women of American Liberty suspended their nefarious operations in 1897. The Sunday afternoon anti-Catholic lectures in Music Hall, long sustained by the zeal of Deacon Bradbury and a clique of fanatics, were removed in 1897 to the People's Temple (Methodist), in 1899 to Berkeley Temple (Congregationalist), and in 1904 to a hall over that church — getting smaller and smaller — and by 1905 were finally abandoned. The ministerial firebrands were dying off, like Dr. Miner (1895) or Dr. Fulton (1903), or leaving the city, like Drs. Dunn (1897) and Brady (1899), or turning to more Christian occupations than vilifying and calumniating Catholics. By 1897, at the latest, the anti-Catholic campaign that had raged so strongly for a decade, might be regarded as ended.

Its general results were undoubtedly favorable to the Church. Some years later a liberal Protestant minister, Dr. Washington Gladden, wrote very justly:

During a recent lamentable recrudescence of Protestant bigotry on this continent, the moderation and wisdom of the Catholic clergy and the Catholic people won the grateful recognition of all good men. If they had not behaved much more like Christians than the zealots who filled the air with baseless lies about them, the land would have been deluged with bloodshed.

The Pilot, quoting this, supplied the necessary footnote:

It must be added, and ever gratefully remembered, that to some brave and honest Protestants, and chief among them

Dr. Gladden himself, the country is indebted for timely opposition to that wave of bigotry.⁴⁶

And a Catholic journal, as early as 1896, summed up the outcome:

Thank God, the A.P.A. is played out — defunct, fast going into innocuous desuetude. But it has done a good work, not, indeed, intentionally or consciously, but evidently providentially. The Church stands like an anvil when it is beaten. Every stroke rebounds to the discomfiture of him who wields the hammer. The attacks of the A.P.A. have called forth defenders from unexpected quarters, and, as a consequence, the Church is better known and consequently stronger and more popular in public estimation than it ever was before; while many tepid Catholics have been roused from their apathy and led to take a more active and consistent part in the work of the Church. Opposition has proved a blessing in disguise.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *Pilot*, June 29, 1901.

⁴⁷ *Sacred Heart Review*, XV, no. 18 (May 2, 1896), 1.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STORMY PERIOD OF THE EPISCOPATE (1886-1897) — III

I

THE CONTROVERSIES and dissensions among Catholics during these tempestuous years belong properly, of course, to the general history of the American Church,¹ but some account of them is necessary in any sketch of the life and work of Boston's first Archbishop. No one, assuredly, could have detested controversies more than he, or striven harder to keep out of them when possible. But as one of the oldest and most revered members of the hierarchy, he had to take a stand in the more important disputes of the time. Everyone respected his judgment, everyone sought his advice. In no other period of his episcopate, probably, were his calm, wise counsel, his open-mindedness and far-sightedness, his reconciling and steadying influence of greater service to the American Church.

That the later 1880's and most of the '90's formed so troubled a period in our Catholic history may be explained in part by the unusual number of difficult problems that arose. There were the problems growing out of an immense and ethnically ever more diversified immigration, which inevitably raised delicate questions of adjustment between the different races, the rights to be accorded to foreign-language groups, the safe-

¹ The most detailed accounts of this disturbed period are to be found in the second and third volumes of Father Frederick J. Zwierlein's *Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rome and Louvain, 1926, 1927) (well documented, highly informative, and scrupulously frank), and in the first volume of Allen Sinclair Will's *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1922) (pleasantly written but somewhat superficial). For briefer sketches, cf. His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston and New York, 1934), pp. 150-164; Msgr. Peter Guilday, "The Church in the United States (1870-1920), a Retrospect of Fifty Years," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI (1920-1921), 533-547; Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941), ch. XXXIII ff.

guards necessary for the unity and harmony of the Church. There were problems, new and old, concerning education, the respective rights of Church and State in that field, the expediency of trying to carry through everywhere the great but costly experiment of parochial schools, the possibility of effecting, locally at least, a satisfactory compromise with the public school system. There were problems of Church policy towards the rapidly developing Labor movement, towards various new forms of radicalism, towards the more or less secret and more or less questionable societies with which the country swarmed. There was the ever-reviving problem — always a little difficult in this land of “free speech” and “rugged individualism” — of maintaining episcopal authority against imprudent and insubordinate priests. There was the old problem of the establishment here of a permanent Apostolic Delegate. Finally, there was the question, agitated less here than abroad, whether the eagerness of Catholics in this country to adapt themselves to their environment and to American ways of thought might not lead to serious deviations from the principles and traditions of the Church Universal, might not generate an “Americanist” heresy.

More important, however, than the number of the problems was the fact — happily rare in our Church history — that within the hierarchy and among many other Catholics there arose at that time two groups, so clearly defined and so divergent in their outlook as almost to form, and frequently to be called, two rival parties. Bearing in mind that their differences had nothing to do with theological questions (for the orthodoxy of both sides was, at bottom, unimpeachable), we may, for lack of better names, call them liberals and conservatives. The liberal group was led, with prudence and always with a great desire to hold the hierarchy together, by Cardinal Gibbons. Very conspicuous in it were Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul; Rt. Rev. John J. Keane, Bishop of Richmond, and then first Rector of the Catholic University, at Washington; and Monsignor Denis J. O’Connell, Rector of the American College at Rome. Outstanding among the conservatives were Archbishop

Corrigan, of New York, and his close friend and suffragan, Bishop McQuaid, of Rochester. All men of high character and equally devoted to the Church's cause, these prelates differed sharply as to the means by which that cause was to be advanced in this country.

The more liberal group may, perhaps, be described as the party of bolder action and new methods. Had not the time come, they asked, to abandon the cautious, unobtrusive, self-effacing attitude that American Catholics had generally adopted and to "bring the Church out of the Catacombs"? Profoundly impressed with the marvelous progress and promise of American life, and also with the fact that the Church here was growing more rapidly and enjoying more freedom and security than almost anywhere else, the liberals exulted in the thought of the unique services that the Church could render to America and of the unique services that America could render to the Church, if only this "providential" nation could be made Catholic. For that great consummation it was not enough to trust to immigration. Conversions on a vast scale were necessary. But for that purpose a much more vigorous and systematic effort ought to be made to win the attention, the respect, and the sympathy of the American public for the claims of Catholicism. The Church must destroy the old prejudice that she was merely an exotic institution — "the church of the foreigners." Hence the liberal prelates were eager to see Catholic immigrants adopt the English language and "Americanize" themselves as quickly as possible. The Church ought also to show her perfect naturalization here by entering more boldly into the general life of the country, participating in movements for civic and social betterment, coöperating with non-Catholics wherever it was lawful and useful. In particular, American Catholics, bishops, priests, and laity, ought to lose no opportunity to uproot old suspicions by attesting their fervent patriotism, their whole-hearted acceptance of the civic institutions of the country, their devotion to democracy. And, in general, wherever it could be done without sacrificing anything essential to Catholicism, the liberal group wished to see the Church

adapt herself to the American atmosphere and to American habits of thought.

Laudable as the general aim was, the means proposed by the liberals aroused sharp misgivings in other Catholic circles. To conservatives it appeared that the goal was better to be reached by not forcing the pace, but by trusting to slower, more cautious, more time-honored methods. These continual affirmations of American patriotism, this constant flag-waving, this too evident wooing of public opinion (as they viewed it) seemed to them unnecessary and undignified. And in numerous cases they feared that the opposing group were inclined to carry their liberalism and their Americanism to lengths that were detrimental or even dangerous to the Church. The foreign-language groups, particularly the strongest of them, the Germans, were likewise repelled by what they considered an attempt to impose upon them a too hasty and compulsory process of Americanization.

This situation was aggravated, it must be admitted, by certain personal antagonisms, especially that between Archbishops Ireland and Corrigan. This was a classic example of two excellent men who were the antipodes of each other in temperament and methods, and who then, through false or exaggerated tales, were brought into most unhappy misunderstandings and mutual estrangement. Neither, it may be added, was conspicuous for tact, though the impulsive and outspoken prelate of St. Paul showed this deficiency most in his dealings with his colleagues, and the shy and sensitive Archbishop of New York displayed it most in dealing with the press and public.

Such, in brief résumé, are some general reasons for the ecclesiastical troubles of this period.

II

The quiet that had reigned in the affairs of the Church since the Third Council of Baltimore was broken in the second half of 1886 by the sudden emergence of four or five controversial problems.

The first, in point of time, was that of the Knights of Labor. This organization, then the largest in the labor world, had leaped into public attention both by its phenomenal growth in membership within twelve months from about 100,000 to over 700,000, and by the epidemic of violent strikes for which it was held responsible. Many conservative Catholics regarded it as a dangerous, oath-bound, secret society, and as one likely to lead American workingmen into revolutionary paths. In the late summer it became known that the Congregation of the Holy Office had condemned the organization in Canada, that certain American bishops were pressing for its condemnation in the United States, and that Rome was likely to accede to this request. The head of the order, Terence V. Powderly, a Catholic, appealed to Cardinal Gibbons to avert such a disaster. After thorough discussion with Powderly, the Archbishop of Baltimore convinced himself that it would be a grave mistake for the Church to pronounce formally against the Knights. He found that the degree of secrecy which they maintained was intended only to protect them against their enemies, but did not prevent Catholic members from manifesting their conscience fully to their spiritual advisers; that the heads of the order were ready to make any changes in their rules or practices that the Church might demand; and that a condemnation of them by Rome would expose the Church to the charge of being hostile to the cause of the workingman, and might imperil countless souls. His own mind once fixed, the Cardinal convened the archbishops to meet at Baltimore on October 28th to consider this problem. At this meeting, after Powderly had been heard, Archbishop Williams was the first to declare himself squarely as "All things maturely considered, unwilling to condemn the Knights of Labor." Ten out of the twelve archbishops rallied to his and Cardinal Gibbons' opinion.² A strong representation to Rome was dispatched in consequence.

Immediately afterwards there came up the problem of the foreign-language groups, as raised by the German-Americans. These latter had for some time been more or less discontented.

² Minutes of the meeting (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 82 D 8).

In most places they found themselves under Irish-American bishops, and often under Irish-American pastors, whom they accused of lacking a proper understanding of the needs, rights, and interests of other racial stocks. In general, they resented what they considered the too exclusive predominance of the Irish element in the Church, and the idea that the Irish, whom they regarded as immigrants of scarcely less recent vintage than themselves, were more truly American or more authentic representatives of American Catholicism than they were. In particular, they stood out for the maintenance of their own language in church and school and of their special religious customs and forms of piety. They might admit that in course of time, through the mere force of circumstances, the German language and German customs would disappear here. But they wished that change to be, at any rate, a slow and natural transition. In contrast to some Catholic prelates of the liberal group, who sought to accelerate it as much as possible, they held that for a generation or two, at least, it was highly desirable that immigrants of German stock should preserve their mother-tongue and should keep fairly closely within their own racial groups, for fear that otherwise, submerged in the American environment and tempted to "assimilate" themselves too completely, they should renounce their faith along with all their other ancestral traditions. It was not merely the French-Canadians, but virtually all our other foreign-language groups, that set up the dictum: He who loses his language, also loses his faith. Moreover, it was a German complaint that certain American bishops, regarding foreign-language churches as only a very temporary makeshift, refused to accord them equal rights with English-speaking parishes and in other ways discriminated against them.

As a result of all this, in the autumn of 1886 Archbishop Heiss, of Milwaukee, and some of his suffragans sent the Rev. P. M. Abbelen to Rome to lay the grievances of the German-Americans before Propaganda. The memorandum which he presented was, on the whole, rather moderate in its tone and demands, but it was rumored that the envoy's oral representations and countless letters that poured in from America went

much further, accusing "the Irish bishops" of denying the Germans their just rights, being indifferent to their spiritual welfare, and even persecuting them. Bishops Ireland³ and Keane, who were then in Rome, hastened to make counter-representations and to raise the alarm at home.⁴ On December 16th the Eastern Archbishops, Gibbons, Williams, Corrigan, and Ryan, met hurriedly at Philadelphia, and drafted a strong joint letter to Cardinal Simeoni. In it they deplored the conduct of the German bishops, who had had every opportunity to lay their grievances before their American colleagues at the Baltimore Council and since, but had never done so, and who now, without any consultation with the rest of the hierarchy, had undertaken this quasi-secret *démarche* at Rome. They refuted the allegations of injustice towards or discrimination against German Catholics. While declaring themselves ready to do all that was requisite for the spiritual welfare of that group, they opposed the chief proposals in the Abbelen memorandum as impractical or harmful, and they pointed to the danger of developing the spirit of nationalism in the Church.⁵

Meantime, there had arisen in New York the McGlynn Case, which was to become, unhappily, a *cause célèbre*. The Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephen's Church, one of the most learned, talented, and prominent priests of the archdiocese, but also an imprudent and stubborn man, had become an ardent champion of the Single Tax theory, and during the fall of 1886 took a very conspicuous part in the campaign of Henry George, the author of that theory, to win the mayoralty of New York. Acting strictly in accordance with instructions from Propaganda, Archbishop Corrigan successively forbade him to continue such political activities, summoned him to retract such public statements as that 'the private ownership of

³ Bishop of St. Paul since 1884, but raised to the archiepiscopal rank only in 1888.

⁴ Petition of Father Abbelen, d.d. Sept. 28, 1886, approved by Archbishop Heiss Oct. 3 (copy in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*); Keane to Gibbons, Dec. 4, 1886 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 82 G 4); Ireland and Keane to the American archbishops, Dec. 10, 1886 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

⁵ Copy of this letter, d.d. Dec. 17, 1886, in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*

land was unjust, and ought at once to be abolished,' demanded that he should go to Rome to explain his conduct. To all such injunctions Dr. McGlynn remained obdurately disobedient. In consequence, in January, 1887, the Archbishop removed him from his parish, and in July pronounced him excommunicated. Already, however, powerful friends of the refractory priest, both in this country and at Rome, had begun a campaign on his behalf which was for years to trouble Archbishop Corrigan's peace of mind and his relations with some of his fellow bishops. In this affair Archbishop Williams stood firmly by the side of his afflicted colleague. It was, for instance, on his advice, given on a visit to New York, that Archbishop Corrigan transmitted to the press a full history of the McGlynn case — a bold step which at first alarmed Bishop McQuaid. "But," as the latter wrote soon afterwards, "when Boston advised such a public letter, you did well to be guided by his judgment. He was on the spot, and he is always cool and prudent." ⁶

Eager to seal the defeat of the McGlynn faction, the Archbishop of New York undertook steps at Rome to have Henry George's book *Progress and Poverty* placed on the Index. These efforts Cardinal Gibbons and others of the liberal group felt bound to oppose, holding that a condemnation of the book was unnecessary, and that, in a practical way, it could only draw attention to a work which the public might otherwise soon forget, and would help to spread the illusion that the Church was on the side of the rich against the poor. In this case, Archbishop Williams aligned himself with the Cardinal of Baltimore.

Still another subject of agitation at the close of 1886 was the report that Rome was again considering establishing a Nuncio in this country; that as the first an American prelate might be appointed; and that the choice was likely to fall upon Bishop Dwenger, of Fort Wayne. All of this was far from welcome news to most members of the hierarchy. In the correspondence among the bishops at that moment it was again repeatedly suggested that if such an appointment was to be made, Archbishop

⁶ McQuaid to Corrigan, Jan. 24, 1887 (*New York Dioc. Arch.*, C 16).

Williams was among the best men that could be selected.⁷

With so many problems suddenly springing up, Cardinal Gibbons decided to go to Rome; and his sojourn there, from February to April, 1887, forms one of the most memorable chapters in his career. His main battle was fought to avert the condemnation of the Knights of Labor. By the most strenuous exertions, he virtually assured victory for the cause of the Knights, both in the United States and Canada, although the question was not entirely settled until the following year. He also presented vigorously the views of his colleagues about the Abbelen memorandum, and again won his case. On April 11th the Congregation of the Propaganda decided, while granting some minor requests of the Germans, to reject the major ones. The American Cardinal left Rome in the conviction that he had also staved off the condemnation of the Henry George book for the time being, and that 'the question of the Nuncio was buried out of sight for some time, at least.'⁸

Soon afterwards Archbishop Williams arrived in the Eternal City for his *Ad limina* visit. His assistance had been eagerly sought by both the groups within the American hierarchy. Before his departure from New York he had been well posted on the McGlynn case by Archbishop Corrigan, and in Paris he had conferred with Cardinal Gibbons. To the latter Bishop Keane, who had been standing guard in Rome, reported happily on May 14th:

Archbishop Williams reached here on Thursday evening. This sets me free, and I start next Monday. I have fully explained to him the status of every question that we have in hand, and find him thoroughly in sympathy with the views of Your Eminence on every point. I have shown him the necessity of some clear strong words to clinch the nails, and I am sure that he will say them: — in fact he has begun already.⁹

In much the same strain Monsignor D. J. O'Connell wrote

⁷ Corrigan to Gibbons, Jan. 10, 1887 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 82 L 6); Gilmour to McQuaid, Jan. 28, 1887 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

⁸ Cardinal Gibbons to Archbishop Elder, April 20, 1887 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 82 P 13).

⁹ *Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 82 Q 1.

to the Cardinal of Baltimore: "Archbishop Williams shares your views on every point on which we have touched yet, and he expresses himself bravely and unhesitatingly." ¹⁰ "He has very strong views, but he does not express them unless asked." ¹¹

During his month's stay in Rome, the Archbishop of Boston undoubtedly did important work in corroborating and helping to assure the triumph of Cardinal Gibbons' views respecting the Knights of Labor and the German-American problem. On the other hand, he defended the cause of Archbishop Corrigan against Dr. McGlynn, whose reason he believed to be unsettled.¹² That he once more made a most favorable impression on the highest authorities is suggested by the fact that during the following winter rumor again had it that he was to be raised to the purple. Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop McQuaid: "By the papers I see that Archbishop Williams is likely to receive promotion. He certainly deserves every honor Rome can give." ¹³

From the summer of 1887 a calm seemed to settle over the affairs of the American Church, which for two years thereafter was disturbed only by minor incidents. Early in 1888, when it again seemed likely that the Henry George book would be put on the Index, Archbishop Williams, like several of his colleagues, wrote to Rome to oppose such a measure; ¹⁴ and, in fact, the condemnation was averted. In the Diocese of Rochester another gifted and turbulent priest, Rev. Louis A. Lambert, was making almost as much trouble as Dr. McGlynn had done in New York, and once more Archbishop Williams was strongly for the defense of episcopal authority. He wrote to Propaganda in Bishop McQuaid's behalf, while administering to his rather impulsive friend such characteristic advice as: "Don't be rash, and take time to consider what you do. Speak as plain as you choose to the authorities, but still be deferential." ¹⁵

¹⁰ May 18, 1887 (*ibid.*, 82 Q 10). ¹¹ June 24, 1887 (*ibid.*, 82 V 4).

¹² D. J. O'Connell to Gibbons, June 24, 1887 (*loc. cit.*).

¹³ Dec. 29, 1887 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

¹⁴ Archbishop Williams to Msgr. D. J. O'Connell, March 26, 1888 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 84 I 12).

¹⁵ Archbishop Williams to Bishop McQuaid, Oct. 29, 1889 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

In November, 1889, the Archbishop, along with almost all his fellow bishops and a host of clergy and laity, participated in the great festivities at Baltimore and Washington that marked the centenary of the foundation of the American hierarchy, the meeting of the first American Catholic Congress, and the dedication of the Catholic University. In the establishment of the University, initiated at the Third Council of Baltimore, Archbishop Williams had had no mean part, for he had from the outset been a deeply interested member of the committee of the hierarchy in charge of the project. And to the end of his life he was to remain a faithful and devoted member of the Board of Trustees. The celebration of 1889 was honored with the presence of a special representative of Leo XIII in the person of Archbishop Francis Satolli, who as Apostolic Delegate *pro tempore* then made his first visit to the United States.

III

In 1890 delicate problems again began to loom up. Archbishop Satolli, on his return to Rome, was said to have strongly recommended the establishment of a permanent Papal representative here;¹⁶ and in the spring Monsignor Denis O'Connell was reported to be touring the country, sounding the bishops about such an appointment and the choice of Archbishop Williams for the position.¹⁷ Rumor soon had it that Boston's Archbishop, on the occasion of his approaching Silver Jubilee in the episcopate, was to be made not only Apostolic Delegate but Cardinal, and would receive a coadjutor in his own diocese. The subject of these reports took them seriously enough to write to Monsignor O'Connell after his return to Rome: "If you hear anything said about my name in connection with any new offices, you will place me under obligations by putting a stop to it."¹⁸ If there was anything behind the rumors, this protestation may, perhaps, have put a stop to it.

¹⁶ Rev. John P. Fenelly (Vice-Rector of the American College) to Cardinal Gibbons, Jan. 1, 1890 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 87 A 1).

¹⁷ Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan, May 6, 1890 (*New York Dioc. Arch.*, C 17); Archbishop Ryan to Archbishop Corrigan, May 20, 1890 (*ibid.*).

¹⁸ Letter of Sept. 6, 1890 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 87 V 4).

During the Baltimore festivities of 1889 it had been agreed that the Archbishops of the United States should henceforth hold annual meetings to discuss, after consultation with their suffragans, questions of importance to the Church in this country. At the first of these meetings, held in Boston, in July, 1890, the chief topic of discussion was the problem of secret societies, especially of the Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias. On this question Archbishop Williams seems to have stood midway between those prelates of the liberal group who opposed forbidding Catholics to join any societies except the Masons, and his friend, Bishop McQuaid, who would have condemned even the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Knights of Columbus. So great were the divergences of views within the hierarchy that this problem, after being continuously agitated for the next three years, had finally to be referred to Rome for solution.

More seriously disturbing was the revival of the German-American question, raised this time less by leaders in this country than by certain persons in Germany. The chief of these was Peter Paul Cahensly, Secretary of the St. Raphael Society for the protection of German Catholic emigrants, a man whose very zeal for the cause to which he had devoted a great part of his life led him into what were probably highly exaggerated notions of the wrongs to which his protégés were subjected. Under his leadership there was held at Lucerne, Switzerland, in December, 1890, what purported to be an International Congress on Emigration (mainly attended by Germans and Austrians), but which turned out to be essentially a Teutonic demonstration against the American hierarchy. As a result of this meeting, Cahensly carried to Rome a petition embodying proposals that seemed to aim at little less than transforming the Catholic Church in the United States into a federation of national churches, and which culminated in the demand that each racial group here should receive its due quota of appointments to the episcopate in precise proportion to its numerical strength. The memorandum accompanying this petition and an even stronger memorandum submitted in June contained some fantastic assertions, and still more fantastic "statistics" as

to the enormous losses (16,000,000 Catholics!) which the Church was alleged to have suffered here because she had failed to provide for each of her immigrant stocks a clergy of their own nationality.

Great was the indignation in the American hierarchy — and even in the Government and Senate of the United States — over this Germanic onslaught, over what was regarded as a plot against the unity both of the American Church and of the American people. The highest representative of the Catholic German-Americans, Archbishop Katzer, of Milwaukee, hastened to assure Cardinal Gibbons that he had absolutely no connection with “the deplorable Cahensly affair.”¹⁹ Acting in this matter with almost complete unanimity, the bishops fairly bombarded Rome with individual and collective protests against the Lucerne demands. Fortunately, the Holy See was far too wise and well-informed to take those demands very seriously, and by 1892 had courteously but firmly rejected all of them. Nevertheless, the Cahensly movement left traces that were long perceptible. It revived in the minds of many German-American Catholics the feeling that they were not receiving their full rights nor their full place in the life of the Church. It helped to keep them throughout that decade constant and determined adversaries of certain bishops of the liberal group whom they considered the chief opponents of their claims.

But the storm over “Cahenslyism” was mild compared with the controversy over the School Question that broke out about the same time. The genesis of this dispute may be traced back to an address delivered by Archbishop Ireland before the National Education Association at St. Paul, July 10, 1890, on the subject, “State Schools and Parish Schools.” Wishing to make the Catholic standpoint as acceptable as possible to a mainly Protestant audience, the Archbishop on this occasion frankly admitted the right and duty of the State to give instruction and to make education compulsory (the latter being a point which some Catholics would not have admitted); he expressed his regret that at present there existed a necessity to maintain parish

¹⁹ June 5, 1891 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 88 Q 4).

schools alongside the State schools; he called upon his fellow Americans to aid in removing this necessity; and he declared that the one thing needed for this was to bring back religion into close connection with the school. As practical means of effecting this, he offered two alternatives: either the English and Prussian system, whereby the State paid for the secular instruction given in denominational schools; or the then rather famous "Poughkeepsie Plan," practiced in the New York city of that name since 1873. Under this compromise system, the local School Board for a nominal rental took over the parochial school buildings daily from 9 to 3 during the school year, and during that time provided secular instruction in precisely the way customary in the public schools. Catholic teachers, however, examined, appointed, and paid by the Board, gave this instruction, and before and after the hours stated they also gave religious instruction.

Harmless as this address may seem, with the possible exception of the excursion into the realm of political theory at the beginning, it evoked a sharp outburst of criticism in certain Catholic circles, and denunciations to Rome, which Cardinal Gibbons and Monsignor O'Connell were at much pains to refute. The following year Archbishop Ireland gave a much greater handle to his numerous opponents by inaugurating the "Faribault Plan."

In the small Minnesota city of that name the school of the English-speaking Immaculate Conception parish was struggling against grave financial difficulties. Hence, late in August, 1891, acting doubtless under Archbishop Ireland's directions, the pastor, Father Conroy, approached the School Board and invited them to adopt the school, renting the building during school hours for one dollar a year and using it, as he said in his letter, "for educational purposes under such conditions as the Board may determine to be for the best interests of all concerned."²⁰ While this might sound like an almost complete surrender of the institution, there can be no doubt that a large number of conditions were discussed and orally agreed upon

²⁰ Letter of Aug. 26, 1891 (*New York Tribune*, July 25, 1892).

between the pastor and the Board, both sides being actuated by the best of goodwill to reach a satisfactory compromise. The arrangement that resulted was in all essentials identical with the Poughkeepsie Plan.²¹ A few weeks later a similar agreement was made at Stillwater, Minnesota, between Father Corcoran, of St. Michael's Church, and the School Board.

Within a month or two the news of these two agreements spread round the country like wildfire, arousing an intense commotion among both Protestants and Catholics. The outcry might appear the stranger inasmuch as there was really nothing new in the Faribault Plan. Virtually the same compromise system had long existed in various localities in half a dozen States. But one main reason for the outcry was the fact that it was so hard to find out just what the Faribault Plan was. The conditions had never been formally put in writing, and both Archbishop Ireland and the School Board found it prudent to be reticent about them for fear of arousing extremists on one side or the other. Hence the public, misled by tendentious or highly distorted reports, read into the agreement the most diverse interpretations. Protestant ministers in Minnesota denounced it as a piece of trickery by which "a Roman Catholic school, pure and simple," could be supported at the public expense, in violation of the State Constitution; "the most subtle and dangerous attack ever made by the Roman hierarchy"; a "tiger's claw with a velvet paw."²² Catholic critics denounced it as involving the virtually complete surrender, the "laicization" or "secularization," of a Catholic school.

Even when the true facts were known, there was, of course, much to be said both for and against the Faribault Plan. Archbishop Ireland defended it primarily as a necessary local arrangement, whereby two weak parishes had been saved from having to close their schools. But, as the debate proceeded, he more and more took broader ground. He dwelt on the fact that

²¹ By far the best account of this famous experiment is that by William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, IV (St. Paul, 1930), 174-183, the only account that has utilized the records of the Faribault School Board and the Minnesota newspapers.

²² Folwell, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

out of 2,200,000 Catholic children in the country of school age, 1,500,000 were in the public schools. If even a wealthy Catholic city like New York had not one third of its Catholic children in parochial schools, how could it be hoped that that system could ever be extended to those vast regions where the Church was notoriously weak? At any rate, what was to be done here and now for that million and a half of Catholic children in the public schools who never, save perhaps on Sundays, came in contact with priests, nuns, or catechism? In view of that crying problem, was it not the wisest course to attempt wherever possible such compromise arrangements as the Faribault Plan?

But precisely this tendency of his to generalize his system furnished the strongest arguments to his opponents. They accused him of going against the policy, so often enjoined by Rome and formally adopted by the late Baltimore Council, of striving everywhere to build up parochial schools. They declared that nothing would do more to wreck that great and salutary enterprise than to persuade the Catholic laity that they need not make the sacrifices demanded by it, since a satisfactory arrangement would sooner or later be made with the public schools. And the Catholic people would thereby be deluded with a mess of pottage, for these complicated compromise systems could neither be expected to work well nor to last long. This last criticism, it may be noted, was largely to be justified by later events. The Stillwater agreement was broken off after only one year; the Faribault experiment had to be abandoned in 1893, because of an outbreak of Protestant opposition; and the Poughkeepsie Plan ended in 1899, when the State Superintendent of Public Instruction ruled that it was unconstitutional.

The first excitement over the Faribault Plan was redoubled by the publication, in November, 1891, of a pamphlet written by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bouquillon, Professor of Moral Theology in the Catholic University, entitled *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* This was a purely theoretical discussion of the respective rights of the family, the Church, and the State in this field with no specific reference to practical problems of the

moment. But it accorded to the State a special and proper right to provide instruction and an inherent authority to supervise the education of all its citizens in a way that went far beyond the views commonly accepted among Catholics, and which recalled the principles of Archbishop Ireland's address of 1890. The learned author admitted that he had written "at the request of his ecclesiastical superiors" — which presumably meant, of Bishop Keane, and, perhaps, of Archbishop Ireland. It was noticed that the champions of the Faribault Plan at once seized upon the arguments advanced by Dr. Bouquillon as furnishing a sound theoretical basis for such compromises with the State. Hence the suspicion arose that the pamphlet was a companion piece to the Plan, and that both were parts of a campaign to win recognition for the principle of State control over all education, with results that might be very dangerous to parochial schools. A large number of writers, chiefly from among the Society of Jesus, at once came forward in strong opposition, while Dr. Bouquillon and his friends stoutly defended their views. In brief, as an eminent scholar has written:

The Bouquillon pamphlet precipitated an educational controversy among Catholics which was without parallel in American Catholic history, in point of extent, intensity, and bitterness of feeling. . . . It is not too much to say that the attention of the whole Catholic world was, within a few weeks, fixed upon the school controversy which the publication of the pamphlet aroused.²³

Without this additional complication, the Faribault Plan would doubtless never have aroused such widespread opposition and alarm.

In this controversy Archbishop Williams seems, at the outset at least, to have inclined towards the side of the liberal group. The matter first came up formally among the hierarchy at the annual meeting of the Metropolitans, held at St. Louis Novem-

²³ Rev. James A. Burns, C.S.C., *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (New York, etc., 1912), p. 238. For the literature of the controversy, *ibid.* 238 ff., especially p. 240, note.

ber 29, 1891. Here, according to Cardinal Gibbons' report to Rome, Archbishop Ireland explained the Faribault arrangement, answered questions, and expressed his willingness to discontinue the plan if his colleagues so advised. But, as the Cardinal wrote: "Not one of the Archbishops offered a word of blame. Many were most explicit in their approval, and Monsignor Williams, of Boston, whose authority is so great with us, did not hesitate to say that he congratulated him on the result obtained, that his own wish would be to submit the schools of his diocese to a similar arrangement, and that he hoped to succeed, at least, as to some."²⁴ Soon after, when Cardinal Simeoni interrogated the American hierarchy as to their opinion of the Faribault and Stillwater agreements, Archbishop Williams replied in a way summed up by his own terse note in the archives: "Think well of them."²⁵

As the tempest of criticism grew, Archbishop Ireland early in 1892 betook himself to Rome to lay the matter before the Holy See. The next months were a period of extreme tension. Archbishop Corrigan induced six of his fellow Metropolitans and then the bishops of his province to join him in writing to Rome in opposition to the Faribault Plan. Archbishop Williams, when invited to participate in the first of these démarches, courteously but firmly refused.²⁶ Eventually, the Archbishop of St. Paul, after a strenuous combat, emerged with at least a qualified victory. The decision, rendered by the Propaganda on April 21, 1892, and sanctioned by the Holy Father, ran: "The decrees of the Baltimore Councils in respect to parochial schools remaining in full force, the agreement entered into by Archbishop Ireland relative to the schools of Faribault and Stillwater, in view of all the circumstances, may be tolerated." That the Archbishop's general views had made

²⁴ Cardinal Gibbons to Pope Leo XIII, March 1, 1892 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 89 Q I). The minutes of the meeting do not mention this discussion, which took place after the official business was finished, and some of the archbishops later denied that their attitude was accurately reflected in Cardinal Gibbons' report.

²⁵ Cardinal Simeoni to Archbishop Williams, Nov. 21, 1891, and his own note as to his reply of Dec. 16 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

²⁶ Williams to Corrigan, April 11, 1892 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

a deep impression on the Roman authorities is suggested by the letter of Cardinal Ledochowski, announcing this decision to the American Metropolitans, in which he directed them at their next meeting to consider the problem of the very numerous Catholic children in the public schools.

One result of these intense controversies, of the patent divisions within the episcopate, and, probably, of the conversations that took place during Archbishop Ireland's four months' stay in Rome, was the decision of Leo XIII to send an Apostolic Delegate to this country in order to keep in closer touch with affairs and to restore harmony in the American Church. A convenient occasion for such a step was furnished by the World's Columbian Exposition, which was to open in Chicago in the following autumn. In response to an invitation received from the management some months earlier, the Holy Father seems to have resolved in the spring of 1892 to be represented at the Fair, not only by an exhibit of historical treasures from the Vatican collections, but also by an Apostolic Delegate *pro tempore*.²⁷ Once more, as in 1889, his choice fell upon Monsignor Satolli.

Long a distinguished Professor of Theology at Rome, a leader in the revival of Thomism, and honored with the special favor and confidence of Leo XIII, Archbishop Satolli brought to the task many fine qualities, but he was not by training nor, perhaps, by nature a diplomat. And the situation here required consummate diplomacy. The divisions that had existed within the Church since 1887 were so manifest that the newspapers constantly discussed them. One journal, for instance, declared that the whole Catholic Church in America had been divided

²⁷ Ireland to Gibbons, from Genoa, June 5, 1892 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 89 W 8). The coming of this personal representative was virtually announced in the June number of the monthly magazine, *The World's Columbian Exposition, Illustrated*. The invitation from the United States Government, which is usually cited as the starting point in this chain of events, seems really to have been a belated move, made only after it was known that the Pope had already decided to send a representative. The entry in Cardinal Gibbons' Journal recording the first overtures from the American Secretary of State should, I think, be dated Sept. 15, 1892, as in Will, *op. cit.*, I, 464, not June 15, 1892, as in Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, III, 156.

between the Corrigan camp and the Ireland camp; or that at least in every province and diocese among bishops, priests, and laity there were to be found "Corrigan men" and "Ireland men."²⁸ Rome, too, recognized this fact. "Unfortunately, there are two parties in the United States," said Cardinal Rampolla in 1891, "and the Holy See cannot favor either of them."²⁹

But it happened that at the beginning of his new mission Archbishop Satolli came in contact almost solely with men of one "party." After having been welcomed at New York on October 12, 1892, only by a delegation from Baltimore and going straight to the latter city to be entertained by its Cardinal, he was next escorted to Chicago, for the dedication of the World's Fair buildings, by Monsignors Gibbons, Ireland, Keane, and D. J. O'Connell, and then went off to St. Paul to be the guest of its Archbishop. Naturally, perhaps, he tended rather strongly at the outset to view the problems of the American Church from the standpoint of one group, and particularly from that of the eloquent and brilliant Metropolitan of St. Paul.

As a result, the annual meeting of the archbishops, held this time in New York, November 16-19th, proved unusually prolonged and dramatic. At the first session the Delegate informed the assembled prelates that 'he had been commissioned by the Holy Father to speak to them in his name on the question of Catholic education, which, as discussed in the United States, had excited the attention of the Catholic world.' He then read to them fourteen Propositions which, he declared, represented in substance, if not in their precise language, the mind of the Pope, with a request that all present should subscribe to them.

The effect produced by this discourse, visible the moment Monsignor Satolli had withdrawn, was one akin to consternation. Archbishop Ireland, indeed, supported all that the Delegate had said, and Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Williams pleaded for going along as far as possible with the envoy of the

²⁸ *The Chicago Post*, Jan. 8, 1893, quoted from Zwierlein, *op. cit.*, III, 212.

²⁹ Msgr. D. J. O'Connell to Cardinal Gibbons, Jan. 17, 1891 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 88 H 2).

Holy Father. But most of the archbishops were frankly alarmed. And not unnaturally, for the Propositions, while professing to hold "in general" to the ground of the Baltimore Councils, went very far in the opposite direction, reflecting clearly the ideas of Archbishop Ireland. They expressly recognized the inherent right of the State to teach; they affirmed that the Church had no objection to the public schools, provided certain defects could be removed; they lauded the Faribault Plan and expressed the hope that it could be extended. Emphasis was laid upon the large number of Catholic children in public schools, and the difficulty of establishing parochial schools. Great eagerness was shown to conciliate "the State" and public opinion, and a remarkable optimism about the possibility of coming to an understanding with the State upon the School Question.

Long and ardent discussions followed. A host of modifications were suggested, some of which the Delegate, through the mediation of Archbishop Ireland, was induced to accept. Finally he also agreed that instead of signing his Propositions the archbishops should merely attest that they had considered them.

In the intervals between these debates the prelates attacked other problems. They drafted a reply to Rome about providing Catholic children who attended the public schools with a well-organized system of catechetical instruction. They indited a strong letter on Cahenslyism. Above all, they pondered the second chief matter that Monsignor Satolli had laid before them: the heartfelt desire of the Holy Father that a permanent Apostolic Delegation should be established in the United States "with the kind concurrence of the Most Reverend Metropolitans." On this delicate question, unfortunately, they allowed themselves still to be governed by old apprehensions, which went back to the days of the anti-Bedini riots and which might find some present justification in the rise of the A.P.A. — apprehensions that also stemmed in part, perhaps, from episodes such as the McGlynn or the Lambert cases. With only one dissenting vote (undoubtedly that of Archbishop Ireland), they re-

solved to inform the Delegate that they could take no action in this matter without consulting their suffragans.³⁰

The news of this extraordinary meeting soon spread about the country. By a succession of "leaks," its minutes and the text of Monsignor Satolli's Propositions got into the newspapers.³¹ The enemies of the parochial school system were jubilant, its friends aghast. A new discussion of the School Question broke loose, more passionate than anything that had gone before. The fears of the conservatives were further aroused when Monsignor Satolli, on December 23rd, absolved Dr. McGlynn from his excommunication, after his orthodoxy had been attested by four professors of the Catholic University. Meanwhile all the archbishops save one subscribed to a letter to the Holy Father in which they expressed their regret that 'the country was not yet in a condition to profit by the establishment of a permanent Delegation.'³² But in spite of virtual unanimity on this point, the cleavage between the two groups in the hierarchy had never been so acute as at that moment.

From this tense and altogether uncomfortable situation the American Church was rescued by the wise and resolute action of Leo XIII. Convinced that the question of the Apostolic Delegation had hung fire too long, and doubtless well informed as to the negative reply that was coming from the American archbishops, the Pope did not wait for the presentation of that reply: on January 14, 1893, he cut the Gordian knot by appointing Monsignor Satolli as permanent Delegate. Equally well informed about the emotion created by the Satolli Propositions, he invited each of the American bishops to make known to him freely his judgment of the matter. After receiving their replies, on May 31, 1893, he dispatched to Cardinal Gibbons a famous letter, intended to settle the School Question

³⁰ *Minutes of the Third Annual Conference of the Archbishops* (Baltimore Dioc. Arch., 90 Q 3); Satolli's printed pamphlet, *Ad scholasticam questionem dirimendam et educationem religiosam impertiendam* (ibid.).

³¹ The "Propositions" appeared in the *New York World* Dec. 8, 1892. The minutes of the meeting, printed for circulation among the bishops, were soon divulged to the newspapers, and are found, e.g., in *The Pilot*, Dec. 24, 1892.

³² Drafted by Archbishop Corrigan as early as Nov. 30, 1892, this letter could be sent off only on Jan. 4, 1893.

in the United States. Here he strongly affirmed that the decrees of the Councils of Baltimore for the establishment, wherever possible, of parochial schools remained the essential policy and the general norm of the Church on this question. The Satolli Propositions, while by no means disavowed, were to be interpreted in this light; and any special arrangements, such as the Faribault Plan, were to be regarded as exceptions to the general rule, required by local circumstances. With these instructions, coupled with the fact that the Holy See had already indicated its will that the controversy aroused by the Bouquillon pamphlet should cease, the chief questions distracting American Catholics were settled in principle. Moreover, the Holy Father exerted himself to allay the misunderstandings and the strained personal relations between certain members of the hierarchy.

Nevertheless, it took long for the swelling waves to subside, especially as from time to time incidents occurred to stir them up again. Without lingering over these episodes, it may be remarked that a striking change took place in the policy of Archbishop Satolli. If during the first two years of his mission he had leaned strongly to the side of the liberal group, in his last two years here he inclined almost as strongly to the side of the conservatives. Whatever the causes of this change may have been, its effects were manifest in a series of setbacks that befell Archbishop Ireland's "party." One of the first signs that the tide had turned was Rome's action, in August, 1894, in condemning the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and the Sons of Temperance. Other clearer signs were the sudden removal of Monsignor D. J. O'Connell from the rectorate of the American College, in June, 1895, and the equally abrupt displacement of Bishop Keane, in September, 1896, from the post of Rector of the Catholic University. Monsignor Satolli, just raised to the College of Cardinals, returned to Rome towards the close of 1896, and affairs took a smoother course under his successor, Archbishop Sebastian Martinelli. The one remaining controversy, that over the question of "Americanism," was ended by Leo XIII's Apostolic Letter of January 22, 1899

("Testem Benevolentiae") — a letter which was probably intended more as preventive medicine than as a cure of an existing disease. It did, at any rate, afford a warning that the policy of accommodation to the spirit of the age and of one's country must not be carried too far, and that American Catholics must not exaggerate their Americanism at the expense of their Catholicism. And in so doing it helped to set at rest the fears of conservatives and foreign-language Catholics, and thus conduced to a general pacification.

In reviewing the controversies of this period, an historian of the Diocese of Boston may reflect with pride upon the rôle played by Archbishop Williams. In general, he had aligned himself with the moderate liberal policies of Cardinal Gibbons, who unquestionably regarded him as one of his foremost collaborators, while he had avoided any of the extreme or imprudent courses into which some members of the liberal group may be thought to have fallen. On the other hand, he had rendered notable services to the conservative group; he remained the trusted adviser of Archbishop Corrigan; and that arch-conservative, Bishop McQuaid, was his closest friend. By his impartiality, his independence of judgment, his perfect rectitude, he retained the confidence and affection of both parties in the hierarchy. More than ever, he won the right to the title that had long been given to him, of being "the Nestor of the American Church." He had, moreover, retained the perfect confidence and won the increased esteem of Rome. The veteran correspondent of *The Pilot* in the Italian capital reported in 1895: "Those who live in Rome and are ever so little acquainted with the likings and predilections of Leo XIII, have known for a long time past how highly the Sovereign Pontiff esteems the Archbishop of Boston." ³³ When next year Monsignor Magennis, of Jamaica Plain, in an audience asked what message he should bring back, the Pope replied: "Tell Archbishop Williams that I love him — *Je l'aime*." ³⁴ And again to the Provincial of the Oblates from Lowell Leo XIII gave the same directions: "My son, go see Archbishop Williams and tell him that I love him much — much — much." ³⁵

³³ *Pilot*, July 6, 1895.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1896.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 13, 1898.

IV

These years of storm and stress had also brought to Boston's Archbishop many consolations and satisfactions. In every phase of Catholic life the most gratifying progress had been made — in the number of churches, schools, priests, religious congregations, diocesan institutions. If the estimates in the annual *Catholic Directories* can be taken as a fair index, the number of the faithful grew more rapidly at this time than in any other similar period of this episcopate, increasing, indeed, by fifty per cent in a decade, from 400,000 in 1887 to 600,000 in 1896.

Among the more notable churches dedicated during these years were: the new St. Mary's, Charlestown, and Our Lady of Victories, Boston (1892), St. Cecilia's, Boston, and St. Patrick's, South Lawrence (1894), St. Catherine's, Charlestown (1895), St. James', Haverhill, and St. John the Baptist's, Lowell (1896).

Among the new families of religious who entered the Diocese were: the Brothers of the Christian Schools (1891), the Little Brothers of Mary and the Marist Brothers (1892), the Brothers of the Sacred Heart (1894), the Sisters of St. Dominic (1888), the Sisters of Providence (1889), the Carmelite nuns (1890), the Sisters of Mary (1892).

Among the educational or charitable foundations of the decade were: St. John's Normal College (of the Xaverian Brothers), Mount St. Joseph Academy, Brighton, the Home for Working Girls, Boston, and the Industrial School for Working Boys, Newton (1891), the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Newburyport (1892), and the Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, in Cambridge (1894).

Almost until the age of seventy Archbishop Williams bore the heavy and increasing burdens of the episcopate alone. It was only in April, 1890, that, for the first time, as far as the archives disclose, he informed a meeting of the bishops of the Province of his desire to lighten his burdens and also to provide for the future by obtaining the appointment of a coadjutor, with right of succession. His suffragans agreed, and Rome, consulted only in the following winter, also agreed,

directing him to initiate the usual procedure for preparing a list of suitable candidates. On February 16, 1891, therefore, a meeting of the diocesan consultors and permanent rectors drew up a list of three names, headed by the Rev. John Brady, pastor of Amesbury, with the Very Rev. William Byrne, Vicar-General, standing second. On March 11th the bishops of the Province assembled to consider these nominations. Here, for reasons that are not made clear by the laconic minutes of the meeting, Bishop Healy, of Portland, declared that he did not feel ready to vote upon a question of such moment to the suffragans as the choice of a future ruler of New England's Metropolitan See. He asked whether the Archbishop could not secure the assistance he needed quite as well through the appointment of an auxiliary bishop, rather than a coadjutor. With the Bishops of Springfield and Hartford supporting this proposal, and the Archbishop, it appears, readily acquiescing, it was without much difficulty agreed that this change of plan should be submitted to Rome.³⁶ Again the Congregation of Propaganda consented. For an auxiliary only one name, of course, needed to be proposed. The suffragans having, at a new meeting on April 2nd, declared themselves entirely satisfied with either Father Brady or Father Byrne, whichever the Archbishop might prefer, the Archbishop chose Father Brady. Leo XIII accepted this nomination, and on August 5, 1891, the new Titular Bishop of Alabanda and Auxiliary of Boston was consecrated by the Archbishop.

The Rt. Rev. John Brady was born in the County Cavan, Ireland, in 1842, the son of a country doctor. After having won high honors in his theological studies at All Hallows, Dublin, he was ordained December 5, 1864, for the Diocese of Boston. Coming to this country immediately afterwards, he had served as a curate at St. Vincent's, Boston, and at Newburyport, and since 1868 had been pastor of St. Joseph's, Amesbury. Here he had achieved remarkable results, turning a struggling mission into what was considered one of the banner parishes of the Diocese. For the rest, *The Pilot* described him as "a model

³⁶ Minutes, in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*

priest, scholar, organizer," "tall, slenderly built," "looking a decade younger than his forty-seven years," "with dark eyes and complexion, clear-cut features, a spiritual face," and as kindly, quiet, and retiring in manner.³⁷ During nearly twenty years as Auxiliary Bishop he was to serve the Diocese faithfully and well.

Despite his aversion to any public observance of his anniversaries, twice during this decade Archbishop Williams had to yield to the insistent demand of the clergy and laity, eager to express their love and veneration for him. The first occasion was the celebration of his Silver Jubilee in the episcopate, in 1891. The principal part of this commemoration was the solemn Pontifical Mass at the Cathedral, on March 12th, celebrated by the Archbishop in the presence of all his suffragans and of Bishops McQuaid and Conroy, and before "the largest gathering of ecclesiastics ever seen in New England" and "the largest concourse of people ever assembled in that vast edifice," as *The Pilot* wrote.³⁸ Bishop James A. Healy, always in demand as a preacher on great occasions, surpassed himself with a magnificent historical survey of the Diocese of Boston from Cheverus to Williams, the tenor of which can be gathered from its text: *But by the grace of God I am what I am, and His grace in me hath not been void; but I have labored more abundantly than all they; yet not I but the grace of God with me.*³⁹ At the banquet which followed the Mass, the bishops of the Province presented the fine bust of the Archbishop, by the sculptor Kitson, which now adorns the Seminary, while the clergy of the Diocese presented to the jubilarian a purse of \$25,000. That evening sixteen hundred gentlemen gathered for the reception tendered by the Catholic Union, at which there was another round of fervent tributes to "the exalted citizen, the model priest, our noble Archbishop . . . the good shepherd, indeed, whose very face is a benediction," and the Archbishop, in a touching and characteristically modest speech, thanked priests and people with deep emotion.⁴⁰

³⁷ July 13, 1891.

³⁸ March 21, 1891.

³⁹ I *Corinthians*, XV, 10.

⁴⁰ The celebration of this jubilee is fully reported in the volume, already fre-

Still more elaborate and impressive was the celebration of his Golden Jubilee in the priesthood, on May 16-17, 1895. This time the Holy Father concurred in the observance by sending a gold medal as well as an autograph letter and a cablegram of congratulation and benediction. At the solemn Pontifical Mass on the first day Cardinal Gibbons, the Apostolic Delegate, eight archbishops, eleven bishops, and over five hundred priests were present, along with all the laity that the Cathedral could hold; and the theme of the sermon by Bishop Bradley, of Manchester, was "Boston's parish priest." The demonstrations that filled those two days stirred the hearts and pride of Catholics as nothing probably that had yet happened here. As one newspaper remarked, "For the first time, on a great occasion, they [the Catholics] have looked one another in the face and realized that they are a mighty folk, and almost for the first time the native New Englanders have realized in its best form the strength and power of the Roman Catholic Church in this country."⁴¹ Although the A.P.A. agitation was then at its height, the secular press and leading Protestants joined in tributes such as no Catholic prelate, not even Bishop Cheverus, had yet received in Boston. Julia Ward Howe, famed as the authoress of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, now contributed a poem in honor of Archbishop Williams. Rev. Edward Everett Hale paid public homage to "Archbishop Williams, the helper and friend of thousands of people who never saw him and never knew him." Bishop Lawrence, of the Episcopal Church, Governor Greenhalge, and numerous other Protestants were on the platform at Music Hall at the great banquet on the evening of May 16th which formed the dramatic climax of the affair.

Among the speeches on that memorable occasion, doubtless the one that most touched hearts was Archbishop Williams' own address, filled with gratitude and affection for all who had come to do him honor, for all his clergy and people, for "the good

quently cited in the present work: Bernard Corr (ed.), *Memorial of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of the Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, on Thursday, March 12, 1891* (Boston, 1891).

⁴¹ *Boston Herald*, May 18, 1895.

old Commonwealth of Massachusetts" — "a Commonwealth," he said, "with its own peculiarities, somewhat cold and stern, but to her children who know her well . . . warm of heart" — and for the city that 'he loved,' "dear old Boston." From the tributes paid to him that night by Archbishop Satolli, the Governor, and many others, but two can be quoted here. Speaking for the clergy of the Diocese, who this time had presented an offering of \$50,000, Father Magennis, of Jamaica Plain, congratulated the jubilarian on "the real magnitude of the work you have accomplished so quietly, so silently, that we ourselves are amazed at its proportions." "You are only gathering today," he continued, "the rich harvest of a people's love, such as has no rival in the history of the Church in America"; a love, he declared, that was justly due to one who had 'labored solely for the best good of all' and who had 'never deviated a particle from the path of duty.' But perhaps no finer tribute was uttered than the simple, gracious, and measured words of Cardinal Gibbons:

We have learned to admire and love you for your sterling honesty of purpose, for your candor and straightforwardness of character, and for all those qualities of mind and heart that make the man. There is no prelate of the American Church in whose judgment we have placed more reliance than in yours. Even when you were younger in years, we looked up to you as a judicious counsellor. But now we claim you as our Nestor in years as well as in wisdom.

May your years be prolonged like those of your namesake and patron, St. John the Evangelist. May you live to celebrate your diamond jubilee. May you long be spared to be the ornament of your clergy, the guide of your people, and the pride and glory of the American Episcopate.⁴²

⁴² The details of this commemoration, too, are preserved in a volume: Bernard Corr (ed.), *Souvenir of the Sacerdotal Golden Jubilee of the Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, on Thursday and Friday, May 16 and 17, 1895* (Boston, 1895).

CHAPTER IX

THE COMING OF THE NEWER CATHOLIC RACES (1866-1907)

I

ALLUSION has repeatedly been made here to two facts of cardinal importance for the history of the Williams era: the immense volume and the changing character of immigration.

Virtually unrestricted as yet by any legislation, the flood of newcomers swelled from decade to decade, finally rising almost to the proportions of a tidal wave. Thanks to this mammoth influx, the Archdiocese of Boston enjoyed a numerical growth unparalleled in any similar period. Within its present limits the Catholic population in 1866 was probably little more than 200,000. If one may take as a guide the estimates given in the annual *Catholic Directories*, which, defective as they are, still form the best index we have, this population then rose to 300,000 by 1874, to 400,000 by 1887, to 500,000 by 1889, to 600,000 by 1896, to 700,000 by 1904, and by 1907 to 750,000.

The Catholics of this Diocese had long been racially homogeneous to a degree scarcely paralleled in the other leading dioceses of the country. The Irish element was overwhelmingly preponderant. The French, who played so important a rôle in our early Catholic history, had almost disappeared from the scene since the time of Bishop Cheverus. The German immigrants and the converts of Anglo-Saxon stock had not been numerous enough to alter the essentially Irish character of New England Catholicism in the days of Bishops Fenwick and Fitzpatrick. But under Archbishop Williams there began a massive inrush of other Catholic races: the French-Canadians, the Italians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Portuguese, the Syrians, and others in smaller numbers. Though greatly reduced, the numerical predominance of the Irish-Americans was

by no means destroyed. Boston remained more homogeneous than New York or Philadelphia or most of the dioceses of the Middle West. But Irish and Catholic were no longer so nearly synonymous terms as formerly. The Catholic Church here began to display more of her true character as the Church of all nations. And during these two-score years as many foreign-language churches were established here as there had been Catholic churches of all kinds at the death of Bishop Fenwick.

The general causes of the extraordinary growth of immigration during that period are sufficiently well known. On the one hand, the vast development of American industry, particularly in New England, produced an ever-increasing demand for laborers, which could not be supplied from domestic sources. Manufacturers were eager for cheap and docile labor, such as could best be obtained from among the hardy, patient, and frugal peasantry of foreign lands. From the close of the Civil War on, their agents abroad were constantly tapping new reservoirs of such labor, advertising the unexampled opportunities of America, and frequently importing workingmen under contract, with their passage money advanced to them, until such practices were forbidden by the Act of 1885. Other factors were the development of ever quicker and cheaper transatlantic communications, the opening of direct connections with Baltic and Mediterranean ports, the competition between the steamship lines for steerage passengers, and the veritable man-hunts for immigrants conducted by the agents of these companies in Italy or Poland or Syria.

On the other hand, the poorer classes and especially the peasantry in many a foreign land were becoming more easily transplantable. Shaken out of their ancient ways and their old fixity of habitat by the spread of education, compulsory military service, industrial opportunities or seasonal migration nearer home, hosts of them were prepared to undertake the supreme adventure of the transatlantic voyage when the attractions of America were set forth to them. And set forth they were, not only by the agents of manufacturers and steamship lines, but still more effectively by letters from kinsmen and

friends who had already gone out to the New World, or by immigrants returning from the States with glowing tales and in a state of affluence that made them the wonder of the countryside. Economic motives seem to have been the chief factor in promoting immigration — the honest desire to improve one's lot, to escape from poverty, overcrowding, and lack of opportunity at home, and to share in the boundless prosperity of America. But political oppression and religious persecution sometimes played a part; and it is likely that in the breasts of many of these immigrants in the steerage, no matter how poor or uncouth they might appear, there burned an idealism and a love of American liberty that would have done credit to Pilgrims or Puritans.

The growth of immigration is best summarized in the statement that the number of aliens entering the United States rose from 318,568 in 1866 to 1,285,349 in 1907.¹ Examined more closely, the movement appears as a series of waves, separated by periods of recession produced by disturbances in the business world, but with each wave mounting higher than the last. The first wave, coinciding with the flush times following the Civil War, reached its crest (459,803 immigrants) in 1873. The panic of that year and the black period that came after it brought immigration to the low-water mark of 138,469 by 1878. A second wave followed the return of prosperity in 1880, attaining its climax in 1882 with 788,992 newcomers among us. After 1884 immigration fluctuated at somewhat lower levels, rising considerably during the early '90's, but sinking sharply during the hard times following the panic of 1893 to a minimum of 229,289 in 1898. In 1899, however, thanks to the new era of "Republican prosperity," a third wave set in — an unprecedented upsurge, which mounted steadily until for three successive years (1905-1907) over one million immigrants annually entered the country.

That Massachusetts shared richly in receiving this flood of new citizens is certain, although exact statistics on the subject for this whole period are not available. At the port of Boston

¹ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, III (Washington, 1911), 4.

the number of immigrants rose from 4,534 in 1866 to 70,164 in 1907,² but it is clear that the great majority of aliens coming to this State entered the country by way of New York.

Students of the question are accustomed to distinguish between what they call the "Old" and the "New Immigration" into the United States. By the former term they designate the movement from Northern and Western Europe, from those lands — chiefly Great Britain, Ireland, France, Germany, and Scandinavia — which down to the Civil War had furnished almost all of our immigrants. By the latter term they designate the more recent immigration that set in from Southern and Eastern Europe and from Western Asia.

In the Old Immigration the Irish had formed the principal element in New England, and the only element of great consequence for the Catholic Church here. During the first half of the Williams era this stream of immigration continued to flow freely, reaching its maximum for the post-Civil War period in 1883, with 81,486 new arrivals.³ After that, however, it tended to diminish. This change was, doubtless, due chiefly to the improved conditions at home, and especially to the series of Land Purchase Acts, which, from 1885 on, were turning the peasantry from tenants into landowners. A further reason lay in the tragic fact that the population of the island had within fifty years decreased by fifty per cent, through famine and emigration, so that the congestion which had been a primary cause of the earlier exodus was virtually eliminated. Ireland continued to send annually thirty to forty thousand of her sons and daughters to the United States; but this contingent remained stationary during the great general upsurge of immigration in the early years of the present century, and in 1907 the number of Irish immigrants (34,530) was lower than in 1866 (36,690).

The Old Immigration, as a whole, reached its peak in 1882. At that time the peoples of Western and Northern Europe still furnished 86 per cent of our immigrants and those from the

² *Report of the (Mass.) Commission on Immigration on the Problem of Immigration in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1914), p. 267.

³ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, IV (1911), 9-11.

South and East only 13 per cent.⁴ But about 1880 the latter stream began to expand rapidly, swollen, first, by the Italians, and then by every nation of Austria-Hungary, the Balkans, European Russia, and Asiatic Turkey. In 1896, for the first time, the New Immigration outnumbered the Old, being 57 per cent of the total, and by 1907 it had become 81 per cent.⁵ Rather suddenly and with some consternation, Americans awakened to the fact that this country had become the universal rendez-vous, "the melting-pot," the modern Babel, a confusion of tribes and tongues such as had never before been witnessed.

The transatlantic voyage in the late nineteenth century no longer presented such perils and hardships as in earlier periods. Since about 1870 nearly all immigrants came by steamship, instead of the old tiny sailing vessels. This change meant a vastly safer and quicker voyage, with far less danger of epidemics or of running out of provisions. As late as the 1880's steerage conditions were still often highly unsatisfactory, because of terrible overcrowding, the lack of proper ventilation and sanitary arrangements, and inadequate and miserable food. Various legislative measures, however, such as the United States Passenger Act of 1882 and the British Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, coupled with the intense competition between the steamship lines, combined to remedy these evils in great part, even though a voyage in the steerage has never been made precisely a delectable adventure.

Landing and getting to one's destination were also easier now in view of the more systematic arrangements made by the United States Immigration authorities and the help extended by many charitable agencies. But once arrived, the immigrant was confronted by conditions and problems as grim as any of his predecessors had faced. Fleecing by employment agencies or "padroni," long hours of labor, low wages, irregular employment, terrible housing conditions in the most dilapidated slums

⁴ Jeremiah W. Jenks and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem* (6th ed.: New York, 1926), p. 26.

⁵ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, III, 8; Jenks and Lauck, *loc. cit.*

of American cities or in construction camp "bunk houses," the ridicule heaped upon "wops" and "dagoes" by thoughtless natives, isolation from the swirling life all around one because of poverty, lack of education, or linguistic difficulties, the dearth of chances for recreation except, perhaps, in the saloon — such were some of the harsh realities in this idealized land of opportunity. As most of the immigrants were unskilled, very many of them found their first employment in the hardest and roughest kinds of jobs — in doing absolutely necessary work, which native Americans refused to do, and which they yet too often looked down upon the foreigners for doing. It is vastly to the credit of our immigrants that in the face of such difficulties the great majority showed themselves brave, patient, industrious, and law-abiding citizens, eager to adapt themselves to American ways, devotedly attached to the institutions of their adopted country, determined to assure to their children the education and other advantages necessary for full participation in American life.

One signal result of the immigrant flood was the racial transformation of Massachusetts. As early as 1860, thanks to the exodus from Ireland after the Famine, over one fifth of the population of the Commonwealth was foreign-born (21.1 per cent). By 1910 the proportion had risen to nearly one third (31.5 per cent).⁶ Out of 1,059,245 residents of foreign birth, in this latter year, Ireland still furnished the largest quota — 222,867, although the maximum recorded number of Irish-born residents had been reached in 1890, with 259,902.⁷ But the best index to the racial transformation that was proceeding is gained by combining the foreign-born residents and the native-born of foreign or mixed parents. These two groups, which together represented at least the more recent immigration, formed, in 1870, 43 per cent of the total population. By 1910, however, they had become two thirds (66 per cent) of the population of the Commonwealth.⁸ And the remaining one third, representing all that was left of the old Yankee stock,

⁶ Mass. Commission on Immigration, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

doubtless contained a large proportion of Irish-Americans and other non-British elements of older immigration. The data for some cities in that year are particularly striking. Thus, for example, the residents of foreign birth and those of foreign or mixed parentage made up 74.2 per cent of the population of Boston, 61.9 per cent at Lynn, 65.9 per cent at Malden, 86 per cent at Lawrence, and — the maximum for Massachusetts — 86.9 per cent at Fall River.⁹ It is no wonder that there was much talk in those days about "the vanishing Yankee," or that fears were expressed that in New England the descendants of the Puritans would soon become as rare as Indians.

Scarcely less striking was the religious transformation. The Federal Report on *Religious Bodies* in 1906, although based on principles that led it to understate very seriously the true number of Catholics,¹⁰ found, nevertheless, that for Massachusetts as a whole they formed 38.5 per cent of the total population, and 69.2 per cent of those who might be regarded as having any religious affiliations. For the five counties that make up the Archdiocese of Boston, the same report estimated 666,234 Catholics, forming 35.5 per cent of the total population and 67.2 per cent of those connected with any denomination.¹¹ Thus Catholics were by no means a majority in this largely unchurched Commonwealth, but they were a two-thirds majority among those who professed any religion in the erstwhile land of the Puritans.

For the Church upon which the religious care of the community has so preponderantly developed, the teeming immigration of that period presented problems and difficulties of the gravest sort. What that Church did to welcome, assist, encourage, and steady the immigrants, to illumine the drabness of their hard lives, to train them in American ideals, while upholding the best of their ancestral traditions, and to shield

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹⁰ Since most Protestant denominations are not accustomed to reckon children as members, the Department of Commerce and Labor, in preparing this report, felt it necessary to deduct from the Catholic totals all children below the age of nine.

¹¹ (U.S.) Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, 1906, I (Washington, 1910), 323 f.

them against the perils of their new environment and against radical seductions, can scarcely be overestimated. What other church could have maintained its unity and authority and exerted a salutary discipline over these tens of millions of newcomers, drawn from forty different nations, as did the Catholic Church in the United States? In this Diocese the dangerous passage was made safe by the wisdom of an archbishop who throughout showed a marked understanding of, and sympathy for, the newer Catholic races. His policy was well epitomized in an address to the French-Canadians of Lynn in 1887, in which he said: "Although all Catholics have the same faith, the same religion, and the same aspirations, language is a reasonable cause of separation for public worship. Now that you are at home, serve God and be good Christians as you were in the different countries from which you come, while preserving the fine traditions of your fathers."¹²

The only race of the Old Immigration that had in this Diocese been able to establish what is called a foreign-language parish was the Germans. The sole institution of this kind at the accession of Archbishop Williams was their Church of the Holy Trinity, on Suffolk Street, in the South End of Boston. After the sore troubles, financial and factional, that had beset this parish during the first quarter-century of its existence, brighter days had dawned with the second coming of Father Ernest A. Reiter, S.J., as pastor in 1859. In eleven years of the most strenuous and devoted activity he succeeded in restoring unity, confidence, and prosperity to what had been a badly discouraged and divided flock; in paying off the debts that had hung over the parish like a nightmare; in buying adjacent land and making preparations to build the long-desired new church. The enterprise had, indeed, to be delayed while the City was filling in the surrounding district and widening Suffolk Street, which lost its name and became a mere extension of Shawmut Avenue. But the next pastor, Father James Simeon, S.J., was able to begin construction in 1871, and on May 27, 1877, the

¹² Édouard Hamon, S.J., *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891), p. 391.

Archbishop dedicated the magnificent stone church in the early German Gothic style, which had been designed by the architect Keeley, and which cost this erstwhile bankrupt congregation well over \$150,000.¹³ Though the payment of the resulting debt involved years of patient effort, henceforth, in general, all things went peacefully and prosperously with the parish under the wise administration of the Jesuit Fathers, among whom Father Francis Xavier Nopper, pastor from 1877 to 1892, was particularly venerated by his people. Indeed, this had become more than a parish: with its network of pious, social, and benevolent societies, its schools, and its many-sided activities, it was a highly organized colony centred about a church.

Only one other German parish arose in the Diocese, that of the Assumption in Lawrence. This was started in 1887 by a German priest from Dakota, Rev. Michael S. Sagg, who built the small but neat wooden church that still serves the congregation. When ill health compelled this good missionary to resign, in February, 1889, the Archbishop entrusted the parish to the Augustinian Fathers of St. Mary's Church, who have ever since attended it.

German immigration into New England had never been large, and after the 1880's declined to a mere trickle. The great development of foreign-language parishes in this Diocese is connected with the advent of the newer Catholic races. For the French-Canadians such parishes commenced to arise almost from the beginning of Archbishop Williams' reign; for the Portuguese and the Italians in 1873; for the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Syrians in the middle '90's. •

II

Some French-Canadian immigration there had always been, and just before and during the Civil War it was very perceptibly increasing, as New England mill-owners discovered that the *habitant* made an excellent operative, and Quebec villages

¹³ *Geschichte der deutschen katholischen hl.-Dreifältigkeits — Gemeinde in Boston, Mass. (ibid., 1894), p. 55.*

began to hear of fabulous American wages. But the massive inrush from across the border set in with dramatic suddenness immediately after the close of the War. On the one hand, there was an unprecedented demand here for labor. On the other hand, the rural regions of the Province of Quebec were getting overpopulated; the soil in some places was becoming exhausted; many farms were burdened with debt, or were too small to support large families; there was little industrial opportunity at home; and the Provincial Government seemed quite indifferent to the need of finding an outlet for the surplus population by opening up new areas to colonization. Hence a movement started which turned into a veritable flood, and continued with unabated force from 1865 down to the end of the century. In the rural districts, particularly in the Eastern Townships and elsewhere near the border, "*la fièvre aux États-Unis*" or "*le mal des États-Unis*" ran riot. Old, historic villages shrank by half. Hosts of farms were abandoned. The leaders of French-Canada strove in vain to check this exodus, which they feared would depopulate the Province, and which, in any case, they at first regarded as little less than treason to, or desertion of, the cause of Franco-Canadian nationality. Some prophets forecast that the emigrants would soon find their enterprise a sad mistake and would come home shamefaced, impoverished, and disillusioned. Others foretold that the "seceders," if they remained in the United States, would surely abandon all their ancestral traditions, and would be totally lost to the exiguous and always imperiled stock from which they sprang. Events were to belie both prophecies.

Over two thirds of the immigrants came to New England. And here, though of rural origin, as most of them were, they congregated in the industrial cities, finding employment chiefly in the textile and shoe factories. In Massachusetts the manufacturing towns along the Connecticut River, Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester, Lowell, Haverhill, Salem, Lynn, Marlboro, and Brockton became their chief centres. By 1900 there were nearly three quarters of a million of them in the United States (723,532); half a million in New England (508,362); al-

most a quarter of a million in Massachusetts (244,586).¹⁴ Nearly one fourth of the Catholics of this Commonwealth were now of French-Canadian stock. After 1900 the deluge slackened. Within the Dominion to the north of us a large industrial development set in; Western Canada was being opened up; and in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario colonization was being organized. Henceforth French-Canadian migration ebbed and flowed, moving now northward, now southward, in accordance with economic conditions and opportunities in the two countries.

If the survival of this small, heroic, and, from a Catholic standpoint, vastly important race in Canada is one of the miracles of modern history, their survival as a distinct element in the United States is scarcely less remarkable. In the beginning, around 1865, they faced very dismal conditions. They were, nearly all of them, poor workingmen in a strange land, without leaders, without organization, without churches of their own, without prospects of preserving those traditions that were, for them as for most immigrant stocks, their best safeguards of religion, morality, and self-respect. The tendency was to hasty assimilation, to dropping their French names, to abandoning the language, the customs, the faith of their fathers. So much was this the case that in Canada the fact that a man had crossed the frontier was commonly taken as proof that he had ceased the practice of the Catholic religion.

Very quickly, however, there started a movement to offset these dangers, a movement of salutary protection and conservation, a movement aiming to prove that on the soil of the United States, and with all loyalty to the new fatherland that had, once for all, been adopted, the French language, customs, and faith could be as well maintained as in Canada. The most prominent leader of this movement in Massachusetts was Ferdinand Gagnon, of Worcester, who, from 1869 until his premature death in 1886, showed himself the prince of Franco-American journalists — a writer, orator, witty conversationalist, and a noble Catholic, a kind of French John Boyle O'Reilly. Under

¹⁴ These figures include those having one or both parents French-Canadians.

the influence of this movement there arose what have ever since been the four pillars of Franco-American nationality: the church, the school, the press, and social organizations.

The press was represented by a host of newspapers, which began to spring up from 1867 onward. Most of them were rather short-lived, but all of them did their bit for the cause of national survival. Among the most notable of them in this Diocese were *L'Étoile*, of Lowell, *L'Étafette*, of Marlboro, and *Le Courrier*, of Lawrence, founded in 1886, 1898, and 1899, respectively.¹⁵

Not less important was the multiplication of organizations, which usually combined the features of religious, national, and benefit societies. Following the Canadian tradition, most of them styled themselves Societies of St. John the Baptist. The first of them in Massachusetts was started at Springfield in 1864. Later there came the movement to combine local societies into larger organizations, such as the great *Union St.-Jean Baptiste d'Amérique*, with national headquarters at Woonsocket, Rhode Island (1900), the *Association Canado-Américaine*, with its centre at Manchester, New Hampshire (1896), the *Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français*, and the *Société de l'Assomption* (primarily an Acadian association).

But the main bulwarks of Franco-American nationality have been the church and — what almost invariably accompanies it — the parish school. That Catholics in this country should divide along racial and linguistic lines, and that national churches and schools using, in part, a foreign language should be organized as if on a permanent basis — these were, as we have seen, developments that some American prelates of the late nineteenth century viewed with grave misgivings. But the dangers feared have, in great part, turned out to be illusory. And the advantages to be gained by permitting this variety in unity have proved very real and manifold. This was, indeed, the surest means of holding the immigrants true to their own best traditions; of grouping them together for mutual help and

¹⁵ A chronological and descriptive list of the French newspapers in the United States, 1817-1911, is to be found in Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la presse franco-américaine* (Worcester, 1911), pp. 27-38 (a work which is also among the most valuable for the general history of the Franco-Americans).

support, and shielding them from perilous isolation and from the danger of being submerged in the Protestant American mass. Obviously priests of their own race, understanding them as others could not, were best fitted to give them religious instruction, ease in approaching the Sacraments, services adapted to their national temperament and to their special forms of piety. Nowhere has the wisdom of adopting the more liberal attitude towards this problem been better demonstrated than in this Diocese, where, under its two Archbishops, there has been a magnificent efflorescence of foreign-language churches, and an almost complete lack of those racial troubles that have disturbed some other dioceses. In this development the French-Canadians were, for this region, the pioneers. No other immigrant race of foreign language here has shown itself so intensely devoted to the maintenance of its speech, customs, and group-solidarity; no other has created so many churches, schools, and other institutions; no other has been so successful in obtaining an adequate supply of priests of its own race; and no other has, on the whole, kept its Catholic faith so well.

At Bishop Williams' accession there were but two French priests in the Diocese, and not a single French parish. The next eight years (1866-1873) may be considered the critical period; and it was then demonstrated both that the Canadian immigrants could support separate churches and that a sufficient supply of French clergymen would be forthcoming.

The first test was not encouraging. At Lowell, where the largest body of these immigrants was gathered — twelve hundred by 1868 ¹⁶ — some of them, led by John B. Dozois, early in 1866 petitioned for a church and priest of their own.¹⁷ In response, Bishop Williams procured from Montreal the Rev. Charles A. Boissonnault, who, it was hoped, might both build up a French parish at Lowell and, in general, "look after the dispersed Canadians of the Diocese."¹⁸ This good priest

¹⁶ *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, April 24, 1868.

¹⁷ James S. Sullivan (ed.), *The Catholic Church of New England* (Boston, 1895), p. 304. The date here given (1867) needs correction.

¹⁸ Rev. Hilary Tucker's *Diary*, April 7, 1866 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*); Bishop Bourget to Father Boissonnault, April 27, 1866 (*Montreal Dioc. Arch.*).

worked at Lowell from April to July, 1866, residing at St. Patrick's; but apparently he failed to find adequate support, and hence returned to Canada.¹⁹

Meanwhile, however, the Rev. Narcisse Lamarque, from the Diocese of Albany, sent on June 1, 1866, as curate to St. Joseph's, Pittsfield, built up a Canadian congregation, which was organized the following year into the first stable French parish in Massachusetts.²⁰ In 1868 the Oblates succeeded in establishing at Lowell the first such parish within the present limits of the Diocese. In 1869, partly as a result of the appeals of Bishop De Goësbriand, of Burlington, to the Canadian clergy to come to the aid of their brethren in New England, eight French-speaking priests arrived to work in Massachusetts; and henceforth the number of French priests and churches increased fairly rapidly. Within those parts of the Commonwealth that were detached from the Diocese of Boston in 1870 and 1872, French-Canadian parishes had already been formed, apart from Pittsfield, at Holyoke, Southbridge, and Worcester (1869), and at Webster and Fall River (1870). Within the present limits of the Diocese five such parishes arose in that period: namely, at Lowell, Marlboro (1870), Lawrence, Haverhill (1871), and Salem (1873). And during those eight pioneer years no less than twenty-seven priests from French-Canada or France had entered the service of the Diocese — a fact that reflects credit equally upon the zeal of the French clergy and the recruiting activity of Bishop Williams.

The genesis of that extraordinarily fruitful work, the establishment of the Oblates at Lowell, is beset with numerous historical puzzles. Few transactions of the kind have been narrated more frequently, but there are few about which the existing accounts offer such a maze of conflicting statements. At any rate, with the aid of new source-material, it seems possible to reconstruct the story as follows.²¹

¹⁹ *Baptismal Register* of St. Patrick's Church; *Episcopal Register*, July 1, 1866.

²⁰ *Episcopal Register*, May 18, June 1, 1866, Jan. 6, 1867.

²¹ The principal secondary accounts are those in Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-294, 304, and in the *Album-Souvenir et historique de la paroisse Saint-Joseph de Lowell, Mass.* (n.p., 1916), pp. 6-8. The chief original sources have been the report of

On a visit to Burlington, Vermont, for the consecration of the new Cathedral, on December 8, 1867, Bishop Williams met an old fellow student, Father B. J. Leclaire, pastor of Stanbridge in the Diocese of St. Hyacinthe, whom he consulted about his desire to make a new effort to launch a French-Canadian parish in Lowell and to find a priest for it. Father Leclaire suggested that he entrust the enterprise to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. That Congregation, which had come to Montreal in 1841, had amply distinguished itself, especially by its heroic missionary work in the Canadian North and West (work which it still continues, and which forms one of the most glorious chapters in modern Catholic history). Already in October, 1866, the Oblate Fathers Garin and Dedéban had drawn the Bishop's attention by preaching highly successful missions to the Canadians of the Springfield district.²² Readily taking up this suggestion, therefore, he sought an interview with Father Vandenberghe, the Oblate Provincial, who was also in Burlington for the occasion. Here he warmly urged that some missionaries of the order should be established in his Diocese, primarily for the care of the parish to be founded in Lowell; and his proposals, though couched in rather general terms, were very favorably received.

Immediately upon his return home, the Provincial wrote to his Superior General in Paris to submit the project to him,

the Oblate Provincial, Father Vandenberghe, for the years 1867-1868, in *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, VIII (Paris 1869), 188-190, which is well-informed but vague about details; and the letter of Father Mangin, O.M.I., of Nov. 20, 1876, *ibid.*, XV (Paris, 1877), 72-77, which is full of details, but very ill-informed or inaccurate. — The writer is under the greatest obligations to the Very Rev. Gilles Marchand, O.M.I., Provincial of the Canadian Province, the Very Rev. L. Bachand, O.M.I., Provincial of the Province of St. John the Baptist, and Rev. Armand Bédard, O.M.I., of the Scholasticate at South Natick, through whose kindness he received a very extensive collection of transcripts from the Archives of the Canadian Province at Montreal and at Ottawa, relating to the establishment of the Oblates at Lowell. He is equally indebted to the Very Rev. James T. McDermott, O.M.I., Provincial of the Province of the Northern United States, who very generously placed at his disposal a complete file of the great annual publication printed for circulation within the order, entitled *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, and much other valuable material.

²² *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée*, VII (Paris, 1868), 26-33.

strongly emphasizing its advantages.²³ Meanwhile the Bishop at once entered into negotiations to buy for the Canadians a church on which he had fixed his eye even before the Burlington meeting: the small but handsome Gothic chapel on Lee Street, close to the heart of the city. Built by the Unitarians in 1849, and later used by the Spiritualists, this edifice was to be had for \$11,500 — hardly more than half its original cost. Having taken an option on it, Bishop Williams invited the Provincial to come at once to look over the ground and discuss plans of action.

On March 17th, accordingly, Father Vandenberghe arrived in Boston and, with the Bishop, went on to Lowell. Together they inspected the Lee Street church and St. John's Hospital, recently opened by the Sisters of Charity, with its public chapel, which was to be dedicated on the 29th. If there was any hesitation displayed in their talks that day, it was not on the Bishop's part, as has sometimes been stated. Far from being reluctant to admit a new religious order into his Diocese, he was eager and pressing for it. The Provincial, however, scarcely felt able to commit himself definitely at that moment, both because his hands were somewhat tightly bound by his superiors in Europe, and because he felt some apprehensions as to the financial prospects of the proposed foundation. When at the beginning of their discussions, in Boston, the Bishop suggested that the Oblates should confine themselves to working among the Canadians of the Diocese, the negotiations almost broke down in five minutes — so Father Vandenberghe reported. The Provincial held that, so restricted, his Fathers would not have adequate means of support or work enough to keep them busy. During the continuation of their talks, in Lowell, Bishop Williams then increased his offer by proposing to turn over to the Oblates not only a French parish, but a new "Irish" parish to be created on the eastern side of the city, for which St. John's Chapel might serve as a temporary place of worship. As the Provincial still voiced doubts as to the ability of the Canadians to buy or support a church, it was finally agreed, again at the

²³ Letter of Dec. 13, 1867 (*Oblate Arch., Ottawa*).

Bishop's suggestion, that two Oblate missionaries should be sent to Lowell, to give a mission to the French and try to learn definitely what could be expected of them.²⁴

As one of the missionaries the Provincial chose Father André Garin, a priest who already had behind him half a lifetime of activity that recalls a romance of the Saints, but the second half of whose career was to be, in a different way, equally great. Born in the pleasant land of Dauphiné May 7, 1822, he had entered the Congregation of the Oblates in France, come over to Canada, and been ordained at Montreal in 1845. Since then he had spent most of his time on the Northern missions, ranging from the Saguenay to Hudson Bay and up into Labrador, traveling by canoe, on snowshoes, on fishing smacks, bringing the consolations of religion to Indians, lumberjacks, and trappers, leading a life full of hardships and dangers, and marked by one almost miraculous escape from death amid the ice floes of the St. Lawrence. As in him the zeal of an apostle was combined with a remarkable practical ability, unfailing tact, and the most kindly and winning disposition, he was an ideal choice for the task assigned to him.

On April 19, 1868, he and Father Lagier arrived in Lowell and began the two weeks' mission at St. Patrick's. It was a great success. On the first night Father Garin laid the question of a separate church before the congregation, and found the most unanimous and enthusiastic sentiment in favor of the project. Within a few days \$3,500, which was all that was needed for a first payment on the Lee Street church, was raised among the Canadians. On April 23rd Bishop Williams bought the church,²⁵ which on May 3rd was opened to worship and dedicated as St. Joseph's.

Reassured by this and other gratifying experiences, by June Father Vandenberghe was ready to commit himself definitely to an establishment of his order at Lowell.²⁶ Several other missionaries were sent thither. The Fathers now took charge of St.

²⁴ Father Vandenberghe to —, March 19, 1868 (*Oblate Archives, Ottawa*), giving a full account of this most diversely reported negotiation.

²⁵ *Land Deeds*, Lowell Court House, book 62, p. 130.

²⁶ Vandenberghe to Bishop Williams, June 18, 1868 (*Oblate Arch., Montreal*).

John's Chapel, building up from there what became the great English-speaking parish of the Immaculate Conception. In July the Bishop also decided to turn over to them, for the time being, St. Andrew's, North Billerica, a church that was just being purchased from the Protestants.²⁷ In the autumn the Provincial came to Lowell, and after making final arrangements with Bishop Williams on October 30th, on November 1st formally established a house of his Congregation.²⁸

Henceforth, under the spur of swelling immigration, the French parish of Lowell advanced by leaps and bounds. St. Joseph's Church was enlarged three times, but always remained too small. As it was, moreover, somewhat remote from the main centre of French population, in the "little Canada" that had grown up on the once open field between the west end of the Lawrence Corporation and the great bend of the Merrimack, in 1887 Father Garin bought land on the westerly part of Merrimack Street, and soon after began the construction of the stately, granite auxiliary Church of St. John the Baptist. This was dedicated by the Archbishop December 13, 1896. Father Garin did not witness the completion of "the crowning work of his life." He died on February 16, 1895. Seldom, perhaps, has a whole population gone into mourning so sincerely as on this occasion. His had become a name to conjure with in Lowell. He had seen the French-Canadian population increase from 1,200 to 20,000. He had been their leader for twenty-seven years in all things spiritual and in most things temporal. 'His life,' as one orator declared, 'had been an everlasting benediction to the people among whom he had lived.'²⁹

Down to 1904 all of the twenty to twenty-five thousand Franco-Americans of Lowell remained under St. Joseph's parish. But in the previous summer those living in Centralville (on the north side of the Merrimack River) began a movement to found a church of their own, the necessity of which the Oblates fully recognized. In January, 1904, a secular priest, Rev. Joseph N. Jacques, was appointed pastor, and on February 13th the

²⁷ *Episcopal Register*, July 5, 1868.

²⁸ *Oblate Arch., Montreal*.

²⁹ *Pilot*, March 16, 1895.

temporary chapel that had been erected was dedicated as the Church of St. Louis de France.

Alongside the Oblates, a congregation that has rendered signal service to the Franco-Americans of this Diocese is the Society of Mary. This, like the Oblates, is one of the many new religious orders that sprang up in France in the early nineteenth century, in the splendid Catholic revival that followed the Great Revolution. The first parish to be assigned to them here was in Lawrence.

In that city and in Haverhill, the number of French-speaking Catholics had increased so fast that in December, 1871, after visits by Father Garin, the Bishop organized them in both places into separate congregations under the temporary charge of the Oblate Fathers.³⁰ After being served conjointly by Rev. Jean B. Baudin, O.M.I. (December 1871—March, 1872), and Rev. Phidime Lecomte, O.M.I. (March—September, 1872), and then by a secular priest, Rev. Joseph E. Michaud, the two parishes were separated in May, 1873, when Father Michaud's assistant, Rev. Louis A. Casgrain, took sole charge of the Canadians of Haverhill.³¹

In St. Anne's, Lawrence, as in many another new parish, the first years were a painful period. After the congregation had worshiped, first, in Essex Hall and then in a former meeting-house bought from the Protestants on Lowell Street, Father Michaud purchased a very desirable site on Haverhill Street, near the heart of the city, and at once began the building of a large church. Active and zealous, but no financier, he soon found himself faced with debts with which he knew not how to cope. In August, 1874, he abruptly left the Diocese. His successor, Rev. Olivier Boucher, called from Salem the following spring to take over the embarrassing inheritance, did succeed in gradually reducing the debt, and continued the construction of the church. But, despite much practical ability, he suffered from defects of temperament that made him unsuited for the ministry. At this point the Marists came upon the scene.

³⁰ *Episcopal Register*, Dec. 6, 1871.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, Oct. 12, 1872. May 23, 1873; *Pilot*, May 25, 1878.

While their Society had been established in Louisiana in 1865, they made no further foundations in this country until 1882. By that year, the wave of anti-clerical legislation in the Third Republic had led them, like other religious orders in France, to seek a freer field of action in the New World. July 14, 1882, the Procurator of the Society at Rome, Father Bénédict Forestier, arrived in New York, sent on a special mission by the Superior General to examine whether in Canada or the adjacent parts of the United States the Marists might find new opportunities to exercise their ministry. His ensuing negotiations in Canada (as to the possibility of taking over the college of Sorel) led to nothing, but meantime a door was opened at Lawrence, thanks to the activity of Father Elphège Godin, S.M.

This distinguished missionary, who was to play a leading rôle in the founding of all the Marist establishments in this Diocese in that period, was born at Trois-Rivières, Canada, in 1847. After being ordained in 1871 and serving some years as a secular priest at home, he had joined the Society of Mary in France in 1877, had taught for a time in the Marist college in Louisiana, and had latterly been preaching missions around New England. It was to give a Lenten mission that he first came to St. Anne's, Lawrence, in March, 1882. Father Boucher, who wished a change of scene and some years of travel and rest, at that time suggested that he would gladly hand over his parish to the Marists if the matter could be arranged. In the summer, after Father Forestier's arrival, Father Godin brought this suggestion to his attention and to that of Archbishop Williams, who warmly approved. The detailed arrangements having been worked out between the Archbishop and the visiting Procurator, and Father Boucher having presented his resignation, on October 8, 1882, the Marists formally took possession of their new parish, Father Forestier preaching a famous sermon on "The Providential Vocation of the Canadian People in the United States."³²

³² On the first establishment of the Marists in this Diocese, and the history of their several parishes here, see especially *Notice historique sur les Maisons de la Société de Marie en Amérique* (Montreal, 1907), pp. 40-55, 88-98. Cf. also the

Henceforth, under such devoted and capable pastors as Father Godin (1882-1888) and Father Jean M. Portal (1888-1906), and thanks to rapid immigration, all went prosperously at St. Anne's. The handsome, brick, Gothic church was at last finished, and dedicated on April 20, 1884. Though it seated over one thousand persons, within ten years it had become inadequate for a teeming congregation. Hence Father Portal bought land almost directly opposite it, on the corner of Franklin and Haverhill Streets, and there built, in the years 1903-1905, a church of more than double the capacity of the old one — a massive, red-brick structure in the Romanesque style, which, with its lofty spires, nave, and transepts, is almost like a cathedral. The new church was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell, as Coadjutor, on July 1, 1906. By this time, with its eleven thousand people, its two great churches, its three schools, and its societies counting two thousand members, St. Anne's had become one of the strongest parishes of the Diocese, and the strongest parish served by the Society of Mary in America.

Meanwhile, to meet the needs of the growing French population of South Lawrence, in 1900 Father Portal had erected there a handsome school, which included a good-sized chapel. In 1905 this mission became the Sacred Heart parish, with Rev. Stephen Vinas, S.M., as resident pastor.

Very soon after assuming charge of St. Anne's, Lawrence, the Marists had been asked to take over another difficult heritage — that of the inchoate French church in Boston. Canadian immigrants had been slower to congregate in the metropolis of Massachusetts than in the manufacturing communities around it. When in 1878 a first experiment was made to see whether they were numerous enough to support a church, after a mission conducted for them by the Oblates, Fathers Bournigalle and Fournier, the Archbishop concluded that the time was not yet ripe. Two years later the attempt was renewed under the leadership of a secular priest, the Rev. A. Léon Bouland. Un-

pamphlet, *Cinquantième Anniversaire de l'arrivée des RR. PP. Maristes à Lawrence, Mass.* (*ibid.*, 1932). The *Episcopal Register* and other records in the Diocesan Archives usefully supplement the printed narratives.

happily, however, this founder of the French parish of Boston was to turn out a highly dubious personage, whose career recalls in not a few respects that of the Abbé de la Poterie a century before.

Born in France and educated at the University of Paris and at the Seminary of the famous Cardinal Lavigerie at Algiers, this young man had been brought to America and ordained by Bishop Hendricken, of Providence. Handsome, polished, clever, eloquent, and energetic, he might have had a brilliant career, had he only possessed judgment and solid piety. But his five years in Rhode Island, where he was a pastor in Woonsocket and then in Central Falls, seem to have been only a succession of tempests and broils. Then, in April, 1880, he betook himself to this Diocese, inflamed with the ambition to create a great French parish in Boston. Supported by the French Consul and by pleas from French-speaking residents, he obtained the Archbishop's permission to make the attempt.

At the outset, at any rate, everything seemed to go prosperously. After at first using the old Pro-Cathedral, by the end of the year Father Bouland had rented the Freeman Place Chapel, just off Beacon Street and close to the State House, for what he named the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires. Large congregations, including many of the Protestants of the Back Bay, streamed to enjoy his eloquence. His head swarmed with grand projects. Apart from the sumptuous church that was to be built on Columbus Avenue, he dreamed of founding a school, a social centre, a dispensary, a charitable bureau, and — it has been said — even a French *Université de Boston*.³³ In order to promote "the great patriotic and religious work of Notre Dame des Victoires at Boston," he went abroad, in October, 1881, to solicit donations in France and at Rome. Leo XIII was, apparently, impressed with him, and raised him to the rank of private chamberlain, thus making him the first priest of this Diocese to be honored with the title of Monsignor. Meanwhile, the congregation in Boston was being served by French priests tem-

³³ (Rev.) Édouard Hamon, S.J., *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle-Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891), pp. 386 f.; *La Société de Marie en Amérique*, p. 48.

porarily available, by Fathers Guillemet, Durin, and Godin, S.M., successively.

In June, 1882, Monsignor Bouland returned, bringing considerable funds and other donations for the church. But during his second stay in Boston matters went all awry. Precisely what happened remains obscure, but, at any rate, support dropped away until in December, 1883, the Freeman Place Chapel had to be closed for non-payment of rent, and its pastor once more went to France to seek funds.³⁴ Thanks to a generous benefactress, Miss Delétang, and to leading men in the congregation who offered to guarantee necessary expenses, the church was soon reopened, but the Archbishop now requested the Marists to take charge of it until some definite arrangement could be made.³⁵

When its founder came back in September, 1884, after failing completely to get financial help in France, he was allowed to leave the Diocese. Four years later he also left the Church, announcing his conversion to Protestantism in a public letter to the Pope in which he stated that for ten years he had been meditating the step, since he found it impossible to accept the Syllabus of 1864 and the decrees of the Vatican Council.³⁶ For seven years he functioned as a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New York, Paris, and Philadelphia. In 1895 he returned to the Catholic Church,³⁷ and his subsequent fortunes are lost to view.

Meanwhile, the work which this erratic genius had started was being brought to a happy issue by the zealous and patient labors of the Marists. Father Godin, while remaining pastor at Lawrence, had at first the general supervision. Fathers Touche, Audiffred, Rémy, Coppin, Police, and Renaudier are other priests of the early years whose names were long gratefully remembered in the parish. By 1885 the Archbishop had obtained the permission of Rome permanently to entrust Notre

³⁴ *Pilot*, Dec. 8, 1883; *Episcopal Register*, Dec. 3, 1883.

³⁵ *Episcopal Register*, Dec. 15, 16, 1883; *La Société de Marie*, p. 49.

³⁶ *The Churchman* (New York), April 28, 1888, has the text of this extraordinary pronouncement.

³⁷ *Clergy Records* (Boston Dioc. Arch.), Dec. 1895.

Dame des Victoires and St. Anne's, Lawrence, to the Society of Mary. On September 3, 1885, a site for a church was bought on Isabella Street, on the fringe of the Back Bay. In October of the following year the congregation removed from the Freeman Place Chapel to the basement of its new church. After six years more of hard work, economy, and good management, on November 13, 1892, the completed edifice was dedicated by the Archbishop—a tasteful brick church, in the Gothic style, with a remarkably beautiful interior.

By the end of the Williams era, Notre Dame des Victoires was serving twenty thousand French-speaking people, scattered throughout Greater Boston. The labors required of its clergy in constantly journeying around their vast “parish” to keep in contact with their people and attend sick-calls it is not easy to realize. Besides, the church frequently served hosts of other Catholics, drawn to it by its central location, its attractive services, or the devotion of its tireless priests to the duties of the confessional.

For the Canadian population of Cambridge, Somerville, and Medford, Father Godin, under instructions from the Archbishop, built the large wooden church of Notre Dame de Pitié (Our Lady of Pity), on Harvey Street, North Cambridge, in 1892. Attended at first from Boston, this mission had by 1895 its resident Marist pastor, and by 1896 its school.

The fourth French church to pass into the charge of the Society was St. Joseph's, Haverhill. Rev. Louis A. Casgrain, a secular priest, had attended the Canadians here from 1872 to 1886, building a small frame church on the corner of Grand and Locust Streets. His successor, Rev. Olivier Boucher, the former pastor of Lawrence, greatly enlarged this edifice, improved it with a brick exterior, founded a school, and defended the Catholic cause well in that Haverhill school controversy which has already been described. But the same traits that had gravely impaired his usefulness at Lawrence once more came to light, and once more the Marists were called to replace him (February 18, 1893).³⁸ Under Father Godin, again the pioneer of his

³⁸ *Episcopal Register*.

Society, St. Joseph's grew into a prosperous and united parish, of about five thousand people. This great missionary left it in 1903 to begin new foundations in Maine, and his long life, filled with successful labors, ended only in 1931, in Canada.

Among the French parishes that have remained under the diocesan clergy, the oldest is St. Mary's, Marlboro. The first pastor appointed here, Father Francis Gouesse (February, 1870), built the present commodious wooden church on Broad Street, on "French Hill," which was dedicated June 11, 1871. Finding difficulty in getting financial coöperation from his people, he resigned in the following year, and his successor, Father Octave Lépine (1872-1878), devoted himself to paying off the church debt. The third pastor, Rev. Joseph Zéphirin Dumontier (1878-1889), gave a vigorous impulse to all parochial affairs, restoring the church, building a rectory, starting the parochial school, for which he brought in the Sisters of St. Anne, and adding a boarding-school for girls, St. Anne's Academy, which he handsomely endowed in his will. If his last years were troubled by unhappy divisions in the parish, under his successor, Father Camille Caisse (1889-1914), learned, amiable, and tactful, tranquillity and concord returned. St. Mary's now had about four thousand people.

St. Joseph's, Salem, traces its beginning to a French congregation organized by Father Matthew Harkins, curate at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, on June 30, 1872. During the first seven years, under frequently changing pastors, matters did not go very prosperously.³⁹ Real progress began with the coming of Rev. F. X. Vézina (1879-1887). Although always in poor health, this good priest brought his congregation from the old "Sailors' Bethel," where they had worshiped since 1873, to the capacious wooden church which he erected

³⁹ The early pastors in charge of the French of Salem were:

Father Matthew Harkins, June 30, 1872 — May 16, 1873;

Father George Talbot, May 16, 1873, and a short time thereafter;

Father Harkins, again, until Nov. 19, 1873;

Father Olivier Boucher, Nov. 19, 1873 — March, 1875;

Father Talbot, again, until Jan. 5, 1878;

Father J. Z. Dumontier, Jan. 5, 1878 — Aug. 22, 1878;

Father O. Lépine, Aug. 22, 1878 — July 11, 1879.

on Lafayette Street in the best part of town, and which was dedicated on August 25, 1885. His successors, Fathers Joseph O. Gadoury (1887-1904) and George A. Rainville (1904-1920), brought the parish into highly prosperous condition, with over ten thousand people. Already in 1901 a second French church had had to be started in the southwestern, "Castle Hill" section of the city, which was dedicated as St. Anne's, on January 19, 1902, and which later in this year became the centre of a separate parish under Rev. Joseph A. Pelletier.

St. John the Baptist's, Lynn, is another fruit of Father Gadoury's zeal. While still only assistant at Salem, he preached a mission in the neighboring city (May, 1886), which led to the organization of a French parish, numbering at first only five hundred people (September 14, 1886). On land bought the following year at the corner of Endicott and Franklin Streets, he built the simple but neat wooden church which was blessed by Archbishop Williams on December 4, 1887. Immediately afterwards Rev. John B. Parent began the long and successful pastorate that ended only with his death on January 1, 1919.⁴⁰

St. Zepherin's, Cochrane, is a monument to the spirit of a tiny Canadian colony in that small village in the southern part of Wayland. Sent here by the Archbishop in response to their petitions, on March 19, 1889, Rev. George A. Rainville built the little frame church which he named in honor of his former pastor in Marlboro (Father J. Z. Dumontier), and which was dedicated April 29, 1890. Wayland Centre, whose Catholics were chiefly Irish, became a mission of Cochrane in 1892, some years later receiving its own church, St. Anne's, which was blessed on March 25, 1906.

Father Rainville had shown such energy at St. Zepherin's that in 1891 he was called away to organize a French parish in Brockton. There he bought the Torrey estate on Court Street, east of the railroad, near the heart of the manufacturing district, and built the two-story wooden edifice which was dedicated April 30, 1893, as the Church of the Sacred Heart. When

⁴⁰ Cf. *Noces d'argent de la paroisse St. Jean-Baptiste, Lynn, Massachusetts . . . 1886-1911* (n.p., n.d.).

Rev. Oscar Genest succeeded as pastor in 1904, Father Rainville having been promoted to Salem, the Brockton parish may have numbered one thousand souls.⁴¹

On November 11, 1894, Rev. Pierre Hercule Grenier said the first Mass for the mainly Acadian, French-speaking Catholics of Waltham. His coming as pastor to that little group of one hundred families crowned two years of effort on their part. For eight months Mass was said in an upper room in Mr. Geoffrion's house on Noonan Street. Then Father Grenier bought and remodeled the old Christ Church (Episcopal) on Main Street, which was dedicated as St. Joseph's on July 14, 1895. Through twenty years of faithful service here, he was, from humble beginnings, to build up a fairly strong parish, equipped with school, convent, and rectory, and nearly free from debt.⁴²

Early in 1903 Archbishop Williams created the parishes of St. Aloysius', Newburyport, and the Sacred Heart, Amesbury, under Fathers Joseph C. M. Lévesque and John B. Labossière respectively. The Newburyport people promptly built a creditable church, while the Amesbury people bought and adapted a Protestant one, and the two structures were dedicated within a few months of one another in 1905.⁴³

St. Anthony's, Shirley, whose small congregation was organized by Rev. Joseph H. Côté as pastor in 1905, represents the seventeenth and last French parish formed in the time of Archbishop Williams.

III

The Portuguese were, in point of time, the second of the newer Catholic races to appear on the scene. That the great bulk of their immigration into this country has been directed to southeastern New England is due primarily to the historic

⁴¹ Cf. the illustrated pamphlet, *1891-1941, Album-Souvenir, Noces d'or, paroisse du Sacré-Coeur, Brockton, Mass.* (n.p., 1941).

⁴² *Historique de la paroisse Saint-Joseph, Waltham, Mass.* (n.p., 1919).

⁴³ March 2, at Amesbury, May 30, at Newburyport. Cf. *Album-Souvenir des Noces d'Argent de la paroisse du Sacré-Coeur, Amesbury, Mass.* (n.p., 1929).

ties between New Bedford and the Azores, which date back to about 1830. Whether it was because New Bedford whalers used to stop frequently at the Islands and bring back natives as members of their crews, or, as some have said, because the Islanders formed the habit of coming to New Bedford in their own sailing vessels, at any rate, the oldest and largest Portuguese colony in the United States grew up in the once great maritime, and now great industrial, city on Buzzard's Bay. From that centre and normal port of entry, the Portuguese spread out to Fall River, the Cape region, Boston, Gloucester, Lowell, and Lawrence.

The early immigrants came principally from the Azores. In spite of the fertility and the delightful climate of those islands, overpopulation, widespread and intense poverty, and compulsory military service drove many of the inhabitants to the frigid but alluring land of opportunity in the West. Later the dark-skinned people of the Cape Verde Islands began to come — our familiar "Bravas." Natives of Portugal itself joined in the movement, and in such proportions that in Boston and the industrial cities around it they came to outnumber the natives of the Atlantic Islands.

As compared with other streams of immigration, that of the Portuguese never attained really large dimensions. The annual number of Portuguese admitted to this country down to 1890 seldom exceeded two thousand; and while it swelled appreciably after that, the maximum during this period was only 9,608 (in 1907). At any rate, Massachusetts, which got most of them, received 45,466 Portuguese immigrants between 1899 and 1910.

Virtually all the testimony is concurrent as to their good qualities and good conduct here. Industrious, thrifty, quiet, law-abiding citizens — so they are constantly described. "No nationality represented in this Commonwealth has so wonderful a crime record as the Portuguese," the *Boston Herald* once wrote. "Among the thousands of them that are here, arrests for crime . . . are almost unknown. If all the rest of the people of Massachusetts were as free from criminal offenses as

are our citizens of Portuguese birth, we could probably shut up as useless nine tenths of our correctional and penal institutions.”⁴⁴ While most of them found employment as sailors, fishermen, farmers or farm hands, mill-operatives, or artisans, they came to furnish their quota to the liberal professions and to produce not a few prosperous merchants.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that these immigrants came here handicapped by a great dearth of opportunities at home for any sort of schooling, and, often, without adequate religious instruction. Because of their small numbers, their wide dispersion, and the distance from their homelands, it was unusually difficult for them here to obtain or maintain priests, churches, and schools of their own. While they staunchly resisted proselytism from other religious bodies, it is to be feared that, because of the adverse circumstances just referred to, a considerable number of them here were lost to the Catholic faith.

Efforts to obtain a Portuguese priest for this Diocese began soon after Bishop Williams' accession. The first one who came, whose name seems to have been Rev. Antonio Felisberto Diaz, fell sick shortly after reaching New Bedford, and died there September 13, 1866.⁴⁵ A second Portuguese priest, a “Father Noya,” is said to have come to New Bedford in 1867, but to have stayed only a short time.⁴⁶ The third — the real founder of our Portuguese missions — was Rev. João Ignacio Azevedo da Encarnação, who arrived in the same city in January, 1869, sent by the Bishop of Angra in the Azores at the request of Bishop Williams. Amid great difficulties this young priest organized the first parish of his nationality in New England — St. Mary's, later called St. John the Baptist's, in New Bedford. Then, in 1873, he came to Boston.

⁴⁴ Quoted from *The Pilot*, July 15, 1905.

⁴⁵ *The Pilot* (Sept. 22, 1866) reports the death on that date of “Rev. Antonio Felisberto,” with some biographical details; and it seems altogether likely that this priest was the same as the “Rev. F. Diaz,” of the Diocese of Boston, who, according to the *Catholic Directory* for 1867, died on Sept. 13, 1866.

⁴⁶ Rev. Francis J. Bradley, *A Brief History of the Diocese of Fall River, Mass., Edited and Brought up to Date by Rev. Michael V. McCarthy* (n.p., 1931), pp. 30-31.

Almost nothing seems to have been known of the Portuguese colony in Boston until the Great Fire of 1872 and an ensuing epidemic of smallpox drew attention to "the suffering Azoreans." Then a relief fund was started on their behalf, and the North End Mission began a short-lived and perfectly fruitless campaign of proselytism among them.⁴⁷ Taught by these events, Bishop Williams, in June, 1873, bought the old Free Will Baptist Church, in North Bennet Street, in the North End, for the joint use of two new national congregations that were to be formed: of the Portuguese, for whom he called Father "John Ignatius" to Boston, and of the Italians, whom he entrusted to Father Angelo Conterno, O.F.M.

For two years the two national groups shared this "Church of St. John the Baptist," until the Italians acquired a church of their own, leaving the Portuguese in sole possession of the old one. Partly because of the added financial strain involved in this separation, and partly because of a factious opposition, headed by a Portuguese Consul who aspired to be "King of the colony," Father John Ignatius had to endure severe tribulations from malcontents. In September, 1878, he resigned and returned to the Azores, leaving, however, as the Archbishop noted, "with the goodwill of all the good Portuguese," and with the record of "a good and zealous priest."⁴⁸

His successor was that rather extraordinary person, Rev. Henry B. M. Hughes, O.P. Sprung from an old Welsh family, the son of an Anglican minister, and a convert to Catholicism at the age of sixteen, Father Hughes had been educated at the Dominican College in Lisbon and had joined the Order of Preachers. Thereupon he had labored as an apostolic missionary in many countries of Europe and Africa, he had learned to preach in twelve languages, he had served as a valued interpreter at the Vatican Council; and now, broken in health and so weakened in eyesight that he had to be led about the streets by a boy, he came, at the urgent request of his old friend, the

⁴⁷ The *North End Mission Magazine* for 1873 is full of interesting and often charmingly naïve accounts of the Portuguese.

⁴⁸ *Episcopal Register*, Sept. 16, 1878.

Archbishop, to serve the Portuguese of Boston. For eight years he served them valiantly, restoring harmony among a poor, scattered, and faction-rent congregation, renovating and enlarging the church, and starting a parochial school. But in 1886 he was recalled by his Dominican superiors to undertake a foundation in Wales, where he died the following year.

After some delay, St. John the Baptist's received a new pastor, Rev. Theodore de Serpa (1887-1892), an old priest from the Azores, who set an edifying example and did excellent work, although he felt himself obliged to abandon the parochial school. On his death he was succeeded by his assistant, Father Anthony Joachim Pimentel, who had been ordained in the Azores in 1890, and who, more than half a century later, is still a revered priest of the Archdiocese of Boston. Under him the parish continued to do splendid work for the three thousand Portuguese of the city, although the task was rendered difficult by the fact that the parishioners were leaving the North End and scattering to such places as Cambridge or East Boston.

Meanwhile, three other Portuguese parishes were arising. The first was Gloucester, where a colony of this seafaring people had commenced to gather even before 1870. Efforts to organize a congregation here began in 1888; land was bought on Prospect Street in 1889; and in November of the following year Father Francisco Vieira de Bem was appointed pastor — a Boston-born boy, who had been brought up and ordained in the Azores. Under his direction the Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage, commanding a splendid view of Gloucester's busy harbor, was started in 1892, and dedicated May 18, 1902.

St. Anthony's, Lowell, organized by Father Pimentel in 1901, received its first pastor, Rev. Joachim V. Rosa, in the following year. Father Paul Despouy, who came to Lowell as assistant in 1905, interested himself zealously in the seven hundred Portuguese of Lawrence, for whom he built the Church of SS. Peter and Paul (dedicated August 4, 1907), of which he became pastor.

IV

Italian immigration started but little later than the Portuguese, and as a mere rivulet. Down to 1880 it never rose as high as 10,000 a year. After that date, however, it increased mightily. Between 1881 and 1890 over 300,000 Italians came to the United States; between 1891 and 1900 over 600,000; between 1901 and 1908 over 1,600,000. By the end of the Williams era this stream had become the greatest of all foreign tributaries to our population.

Like the early Irish immigrants, the great majority of the Italians stayed in the Northeastern States, near the ports where they had first landed. While New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey drew them more copiously, Massachusetts between 1898 and 1910 received 132,820 immigrants from Southern Italy, and 22,062 from the North.⁴⁹

The causes of this extraordinary movement have often been set forth.⁵⁰ Italy in the late nineteenth century was the fourth most densely populated country in Europe, with a high birth-rate, a dearth of natural resources, and a sadly retarded economic development. The effort to play the part of a Great Power involved not only the unpopular universal military service, but a badly adjusted and exorbitant system of taxation, carried to the point of being for the poorer classes almost unendurable. Wages were extremely low, agricultural laborers in some regions receiving no more than fourteen to twenty, or even twelve to sixteen cents, a day.⁵¹ Conditions were at their worst in Southern Italy, which for centuries had been one of the most tragically misgoverned parts of Europe. The prevalence of large estates, absentee landlords, rents forced up to the highest pitch, backward methods of cultivation — natural when improvements would only raise the tax-rate — grinding poverty, the deterioration of the soil because of deforestation, and the

⁴⁹ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, III (Washington, 1911), 290.

⁵⁰ The standard work is Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1919).

⁵¹ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, IV, 156.

ravages of malaria, the scourge of the country — such were some of the causes that made this region the most prolific source of European emigration at that time.

The vast majority of the Italian immigrants to the United States were common laborers, usually farm laborers, from the South. They were, of course, unskilled, extremely poor, accustomed to low standards of living, and in large part without schooling. But, on the other hand, they were, as a rule, healthy, strong, and capable of great physical endurance; sober, industrious, and faithful workingmen; gifted with much natural intelligence, adaptable, quick to learn. The men, who very commonly came out to the New World without their families at first, were ready for any toil, privations, and sacrifices in order to save money enough to be able to return to Italy to live in comfort (as many of them did), or else, as more and more became the rule, to bring their families or relatives to this country. At first they might have to put up with the humblest occupations — in construction work on roads or trolley-lines or sewers, as unskilled mill-hands, fruit-vendors, etc. But very few among our immigrant stocks have shown a greater capacity to adapt themselves to American conditions, to rise in the world, and to furnish their fair share of leaders in the community. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remark that it is utterly unfair to judge our Italo-Americans by the misdeeds of an infinitesimal minority among them, which has generally been recruited, not from the sound and peaceful rural populations, but from the most unhealthy *milieux* of cities like Naples or Palermo.

There is no denying, however, that the Italian immigrants furnished an unusually difficult problem for the Church. More than with almost any other incoming Catholic stock, it seemed hard to draw them into normal contacts with the Church here, or to induce them to attend to their religious duties with the fidelity and regularity that American Catholics have commonly shown. Many an alarming report on this subject appeared in our Catholic press. Hosts of the newcomers, it was said, did not know even the rudiments of their faith; had never received

any instruction about their religious duties; had never received any Sacrament save Baptism. Hardly one in a hundred, it was affirmed, attended Mass, at least with any regularity. Most of them, it was charged, had abandoned their religion in the Bay of Naples, or, if they retained any, seemed to express it only in emotionalism, or in occasionally going to Mass on the feast of some national Saint. There was even talk of "the apostasy en masse of the Italian immigrants."⁵²

Much of this talk was, doubtless, exaggerated or unduly pessimistic. Much of it may apply chiefly to the early period of the immigration. Nevertheless, there was a grave problem here. The vast majority of our Italian immigrants were Catholics either by education and conviction or at least by tradition, custom, and sentiment. Very many of them were to display a faith as ardent and an example as edifying as any other group of American Catholics could show. But for very many others among them the conditions they had known at home combined with some of their early experiences here to imperil Catholic faith and practice. At home their religious instruction had, perhaps, especially in the rural districts of the South, been somewhat neglected. The political circumstances under which the still recent unification of Italy had been effected, and under which Italy then lived, had conduced powerfully to the growth of anti-clericalism and Freemasonry. Bad economic conditions had driven many men into Socialism or Anarchism, or — through absorption in the fight for bare existence — into religious indifference. When the immigrants first arrived in this country, ignorance of the language, poverty, weariness after a hard week's work, or the failure to find here many of the religious customs and devotions dear to them at home, led many to stay away from English-speaking churches. At home the clergy received salaries from the Government; and it was hard for the Italian immigrant to adjust himself to the idea that he should support his pastor, should give offerings for marriages or

⁵² Rev. A. Palmieri (*Il grave problema religioso-italiano negli Stati Uniti*, Florence, 1921, pp. 8 ff.) cites these and many similar cries of alarm. This volume contains an admirable and thoroughly objective study of the whole question.

baptisms much higher than were customary in Italy, or should, if he could, pay ten or fifteen cents in "seat-money" at the door whenever he came to Mass. He was all too likely to conclude — quite unjustly — that the American clergy were money-mad, or at least that religion in this country was something too expensive for him. Nothing would have helped more to smooth over the natural difficulties of the transition period than the presence here of an adequate supply of Italian priests, who would speak the language and understand the needs of the immigrants as no one else could. It was, therefore, unfortunate that Italian priests did not in that period come over to this country to serve their compatriots in anything like the same relative numbers as did the clergy of most other immigrant races.

It is true that at Bishop Williams' accession the Diocese of Boston had twelve Italian clergymen, and very few Italian laymen. But these priests had, most of them, come here because of the political upheavals of the mid-nineteenth century in Italy; they had served only English-speaking congregations, and few of them were to survive long into the new reign. At any rate, between these early *émigrés* and the Italian national churches of a later period there is one link — the Franciscans.

It has already been related that in Bishop Fitzpatrick's time plans were under discussion for the establishment of a house of this Order in the Diocese. These plans centred around Father Emiliano Gerbi, a learned and zealous friar whom the Bishop had appointed, in 1862, pastor of St. Mary's, Charlestown. It has also been seen that just before Bishop Fitzpatrick's death these plans appeared to break down because of a divergence of views between him and the Franciscan Superior. Soon after Bishop Williams' accession it was necessary for financial reasons to reunite the two Charlestown parishes under their former pastor, Father Hamilton, and Father Emiliano was, therefore, transferred to the Cathedral.⁵³ Two years later, however, he was appointed pastor of the Gate of Heaven Church, South Boston. There in the next five years he had always one

⁵³ *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*, April 15, 1866.

or two other Italian Franciscans assisting him, and it might have seemed that the former project of an establishment of the Order in Charlestown was being revived in South Boston. If such hopes did exist — and the matter is quite uncertain — they were thwarted by Father Emiliano's death on June 23, 1873. The parish was then entrusted to a secular priest. Of the two remaining Franciscans, one, Father Vincent Borgialli, continued to serve as a curate in various English-speaking parishes of the Diocese for many years. But the other, Father Angelo Conterno, was immediately selected to be first pastor of our first Italian parish.⁵⁴

Although a tiny Italian colony in Boston had existed even in the days of Bishop Fenwick, not much seems to have been heard of it until after the Civil War. By 1868 its members had become numerous enough to form an "Italian Mutual Relief Society" and to have special services started for them at St. Mary's Church by an Italian Jesuit, Father Simeon Dompieri⁵⁵ — services which may have continued until the parish was organized in 1873.

As co-pastor of the new Italo-Portuguese church in North Bennet Street, the gentle Father Conterno lacked the necessary energy, and early in 1874 he was replaced by Father Joachim Guerrini, sent from the Franciscan Custody at Allegany, New York, at the Bishop's request. This vigorous priest, in accordance with the desire of his flock for a separate place of worship, bought the Hooton estate on Prince Street, and built upon it the Church of St. Leonard of Port Maurice, which was dedicated February 23, 1876. His successor, Father Boniface Bragantini, O.F.M. (1878-1887), was one of the most distinguished priests of his Order, but it was his lot in Boston to fall upon troublous times.

He had inherited a church debt of \$28,000 — a circumstance that was likely to jangle nerves and breed misunderstandings

⁵⁴ *Episcopal Register*: (July 15, 1873) Father Higgins appointed pastor of the Gate of Heaven; (July 16) Father Conterno appointed to "attend the Italians of the City."

⁵⁵ *Pilot*, June 7, 1869, May 11, 1912.

among his people. The church was soon much too small for the growing congregation, the more so as many Irish Catholics attended it, drawn by the services and special devotions provided by the Franciscans. Presently an opposition movement developed, which aimed at obtaining an adequate church, and one that should be used by Italians alone, should have the trustee (*Fabbriceria*) system as in Italy, and should not be under the Franciscans. This movement led early in 1884 to the formation of the San Marco Society. In May this organization bought the meeting-house in North Square formerly called "Father Taylor's Seaman's Bethel." After fitting it up for Catholic use, the Society in June, 1885, requested the Archbishop to dedicate it as a church.

A regrettable disagreement ensued, the one serious dispute with a congregation that occurred during the Williams period. The Archbishop, who entertained a high regard for the Franciscans, regarded the San Marco Society as malcontents, rebels against legitimate authority, and champions of the dangerous trustee system. He was firmly determined not to allow the North Square edifice to be used as a church unless the title to it, as to all other churches in the Diocese, were transferred to him unconditionally. This, precisely, the Society long refused to do. Swayed by the customs of their native land and convinced that they were defending the necessary rights of the laity, they insisted on making this or that condition before they would surrender the title. A long deadlock resulted. While it lasted, the members of the Society attended Mass at English-speaking churches, but for all other devotions gathered in the North Square building, where laymen read and expounded the Gospel of the Sunday and led in the recitation of the rosary or the litanies. Meanwhile the Italian colony in the North End was split asunder, amid much bitterness and many regrettable incidents. Simultaneously the San Marco Society were striving, through the medium of various clergymen in Italy, to obtain a decision from Rome in their favor. The dénouement was furnished by the advent of a new group of Italian missionaries in America.

In 1887 Bishop Scalabrini, of Piacenza, had founded the community of priests called at first the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, and later, when they had been definitely organized as a Congregation (1908), the Pious Society of the Missionaries of St. Charles (P.S.S.C.). The purpose of the new institute, which was warmly welcomed by Leo XIII, was to uphold Catholic faith and practice among the Italian emigrants to the New World, to promote their moral and temporal welfare, to provide priests for them, and to maintain churches, schools, and missionary houses in the Italian colonies of North and South America. On July 20, 1888, the first two priests of the Society sent to this country arrived in New York. One of them, Father Francis Zaboglio, soon came on to Boston to intercede on behalf of the San Marco Society, whose cause had probably been commended to him before he left Italy. In the ensuing negotiations the Archbishop took a very firm line. He demanded that the building in North Square should at once be closed, and that no more unauthorized religious services should be held there. Before it should ever be reopened, the Society of San Marco must unconditionally transfer the title to him. Meanwhile, since a second place of worship was obviously needed by the large Italian colony in the North End, he would allow the Missionaries of St. Charles to seek one, provided it was, for the time being, in some place other than the building so long used without his sanction. These conditions having been accepted, Father Zaboglio rented a hall at 86 Beverly Street, where, on December 23, 1888, he opened a chapel. For a year and a half a crowded congregation worshiped here, until the Archbishop felt that the time had come to accede to their long-cherished wishes. The San Marco Society having ceded to him the title to the North Square building, it was, at last, dedicated by Father Zaboglio on May 25, 1890, as the Church of the Sacred Heart.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The history of this long-drawn-out affair is fully narrated (from a standpoint very sympathetic to the San Marco Society) in the volume *Venticinque anni di missione fra gl'immigranti italiani di Boston, Mass., 1888-1913* (Milan, 1913). The Archbishop's correspondence with Rome (preserved in the *Diocesan Archives*) presents the matter in a somewhat different light.

Henceforth the two closely adjacent churches in the North End, the one under the Franciscans, the other under the Missionaries of St. Charles, progressed peacefully enough, both rendering admirable service to the Italians of Greater Boston. In accordance with the aims of their institute, the "Scalabrini-ani" interested themselves especially in their compatriots who had just arrived in this country. For them they organized the St. Raphael's Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, an agent of which, along with a priest, was accustomed to meet every steamship arriving from Italy. Another creditable enterprise was the social centre, kindergarten, and industrial school for girls which was maintained by the parish for some years in a large building on North Square. Father Robert Biasotti, pastor from 1901 to 1907, gave a particularly vigorous impulse to all the missionary activities of his Society here.

The Franciscans, meanwhile, had replaced their small church with a new St. Leonard's erected on the same site — a handsome, red-brick edifice in the Roman style, which was dedicated by Bishop Brady August 4, 1892. By 1902 they had added the first Italian parochial school to be established in the Diocese. St. Leonard's was fortunate in having such pastors as the zealous and learned Father Ubaldus Pandolfi, who presided over it for almost a decade down to 1904, and his successor, the venerated Father Valerian Pianigiani, who — nearly forty years later — is still serving this parish.⁵⁷

For the Italians of the South End and adjacent districts, Rev. Pascal di Milla, newly arrived from the Diocese of Gaeta, began to hold services in the basement of St. James' Church, in October, 1900. Three years later he was able to acquire "Carroll Hall," on Harrison Avenue, near Dover Street, and this, after being suitably transformed, was blessed on October 25, 1903, as the Church of Our Lady of the Rosary of Pompeii.

⁵⁷ Much interesting information as to the earlier Franciscan Fathers who worked at St. Leonard's is to be found in Rev. Adalbert Callahan, O.F.M., *Medieval Francis in Modern America* (New York, 1936), and in the same author's "Thumbnail Sketches of Allegany Pioneers," in *The Provincial Annals, Province of the Most Holy Name, Order of Friars Minor, New York, I*, nos. 4-6 (July, 1937 — Jan., 1938), pp. 134 ff., 175 ff., 226 ff.

For the nucleus of what has now become the great Italian colony of East Boston, the Missionaries of St. Charles began to say Mass at Orient Heights as early as 1892.⁵⁸ Soon afterwards they built the Church of St. Lazarus on Leyden Street, which was dedicated June 18, 1893, and continued for over a decade to be served by priests from North Square. On September 19, 1905, Rev. Francis Sannella, P.S.S.C., was appointed resident pastor, with general charge of the Italians in the vicinity. This energetic priest within two years built up two new missions. At Revere, where the Italian residents had started to organize early in 1905, the first small Church of St. Anthony was dedicated on April 1, 1906. In the lower part of East Boston a temporary chapel was opened on the corner of Gove and Lubec Streets on July 29, 1906. It burned down in June of the following year, but by that time the basement of a new brick edifice on Gove Street, the present Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, was almost ready to replace it.

Some time in 1905 the Augustinian, Father Mariano Milanese, began to organize his fellow countrymen in Lawrence into the seventh and last Italian parish to be created under Archbishop Williams.

V

Polish immigration into this country may be said to have begun with the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in which the "Polonians" were a not inconspicuous element. Throughout the colonial period there was some infiltration into almost every colony from the Republic of Poland. During the American Revolution no other foreign country save France sent so many volunteers to fight for our cause — for Kościuszko and Pulaski were only two among scores of others. During the next three quarters of a century each struggle of heroic and martyred Poland for her own liberty evoked an outburst of sympathy in this country, and each, after its failure, drove a contingent of refugees to our shores. But this "political" immigration, that

⁵⁸ *Episcopal Register*, Aug. 28, 1892.

of a restricted élite, drawn chiefly from the aristocracy, was not of a size to leave a permanent impression upon this country.⁵⁹ The Polish immigration that has left a deep and increasing impress was that of the broad masses, which began about 1854.

If any European nation in the late nineteenth century had strong motives for emigration, it was surely the Poles. What other people was subjected to a more odious system of political and religious oppression and persecution than those of Prussian and Russian Poland? But economic motives also contributed to the movement, and for the peasant masses were probably the predominant factor. The prevalence throughout the three Polands of large estates, owned by the nobility, with the peasants reduced to the rank of ill-paid agricultural laborers or tenants of very inadequate little farms; high taxes; low wages and bad conditions in industrial establishments; overpopulation in the rural districts, particularly in Austrian Poland — such were some of the economic causes of emigration. The Prussian Poles, who had first learned the attractions of higher wages and better living conditions by temporary migrations to the industrial districts of Western Germany, were the first to go to America in considerable numbers. During the period of "the Little Immigration" (1854-1870), they furnished almost all the Polish contingent, and during the early stages of "the Great Immigration," down to 1890, they supplied the larger part of it. They were inclined to go to the Middle West and to settle upon farms. After 1890 the inflow from Prussian Poland tended to dry up, but that from Russian and Austrian Poland swelled like a torrent. These latter immigrants, who were, on the average, poorer than the Prussian Poles, were more likely to remain near their landing places in the Northeastern States, and to seek employment in factories, mines, or other rough labor.

It is unusually difficult to measure this movement statistically, since in most years the official returns included the Poles

⁵⁹ The patient and illuminating researches of Mr. Miecislau Haiman, of Chicago, have thrown a flood of light on the early history of the Poles in this country. Among his numerous monographs that of widest scope is *The Polish Past in America, 1608-1865* (Chicago, 1939).

among "Germans," "Austrians," or "Russians." From what data are available, one close student of the subject has presented the following estimates as to Polish immigration into the United States:

1851-1860	1,164
1861-1870	42,927
1871-1880	120,770
1881-1890	342,106
1891-1900	270,902
1901-1910	873,600 ⁶⁰

The Federal Immigration Commission reported that, from 1899 to 1910, 949,064 Poles entered this country, among whom 82,079 had Massachusetts for their destination.⁶¹ Certain it is that by the early years of this century Polish immigration had assumed an immense volume, surpassed at that time only by the Italians. Next to the Irish and the Italians, the Poles had, or at least have since, become the largest Catholic race in this country, and they boast more parishes than any other Catholic, foreign-language group.

Drawn in the main, though by no means exclusively, from the peasantry, our Polish fellow citizens have, in general, shown themselves a rugged, healthy, hard-working, and thrifty folk, handicapped often, it is true, by the lack of economic and educational opportunities in their homeland, a little less quick, perhaps, than the Italian to "catch on" to American ways, but patient and persevering, and making for themselves an ever larger and more honorable place in the life of their adopted country. With them, as with the Irish, historic circumstances had long tended to make Catholicism and national patriotism almost inseparable concepts. In general, the Poles have deserved to rank among the most staunchly Catholic nations. Nevertheless, their nationalism has sometimes been exaggerated to the detriment of their Catholicism, as in the case of the "independent Polish churches" that have sprung up here and

⁶⁰ Mieczysław Szawleski, *Wychodźstwo polskie w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (Lemberg, etc., 1924), p. 17.

⁶¹ *Reports*, III, 45, 290.

there in this country. Anti-clericalism is not unknown among them, and there is a small Socialist element. Like the French-Canadians, they have found in the church, the school, the press, and social organizations the four pillars of their national movement in the United States. Few other foreign-language groups have been so highly organized, but thanks to Polish individualism and to divergent views, especially over the question whether religion or mere nationality should be taken as the basis of association, these organizations have not been as harmonious or as well unified as might be desired.

While the great centres for Polish immigrants have been elsewhere, and chiefly in the Middle West, the cities of Eastern Massachusetts began to possess considerable colonies of them in the later years of Archbishop Williams. By 1905 there were said to be 10,000 Poles in Boston, 2,000 in Lowell, 1,800 in Haverhill, 1,000 in Salem.⁶²

The first Polish priest to work among his compatriots here was the Rev. John Chmielinski. Born in Russian Poland in 1868, he had gone as a young man to Piacenza, Italy, to join the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, and after being ordained there, he soon came to America, arriving in Boston May 28, 1893. As soon as his fellow countrymen here learned of his presence, they were inspired with the idea of forming a Polish parish, with him as their rector. A meeting of Polish residents, held in a hall on Hanover Street, enthusiastically accepted the project, pledged adequate financial support, and voted to send a delegation to lay their petition before the Archbishop. Father Chmielinski himself and the Superior of the Missionaries in North Square having given their consent, on October 2, 1893, Archbishop Williams appointed the young priest "to attend the Polish Catholics."⁶³

As most of his people lived near the border-line between South Boston and Dorchester, the new pastor directed his attention towards that section. By November 29, 1893, he had

⁶² (Rev.) Waclaw Kruska, *Historja polska w Ameryce*, I (Milwaukee, 1905), 137. (This 5-volume work is by far the most complete account of the Poles in this country.)

⁶³ *Episcopal Register*.

bought a tract of land extending from Dorchester Avenue to Boston Street, with the three thousand dollars quickly raised by his small but eager flock. While Mass was said for them at the German church and then at St. Margaret's, Dorchester, an adequate frame church on their own land was speedily erected, and dedicated November 18, 1894, under the patronage of Our Lady of Czenstochowa. Thanks, largely, to Father Chmielinski's talents for leadership and organization, this parish advanced from small beginnings to real strength and prosperity amid a peace and harmony rare in the history of first parishes of any race in Boston. Moreover, this pioneer of our Polish clergy for years displayed remarkable activity in going about the Diocese, ministering to his scattered compatriots wherever they could be found, organizing congregations where it was possible, paving the way for many a future parish. The harvest was slow to ripen, but in the years 1903-1906 five new Polish churches were dedicated.

At Salem, which had from the first been the most important of Father Chmielinski's missions outside Boston, he long said Mass for the Poles almost weekly in the basement of St. Mary's Church. Eventually he built the Church of St. John the Baptist on Herbert Street, which was dedicated July 5, 1903, and over which his former assistant, Rev. Joseph Czubek, was, on October 22nd, appointed resident pastor.

Holy Trinity Church, Lowell, was begun by Father Chmielinski in the summer of that same year, and completed by Rev. Stephen Duda, P.S.S.C., the first resident pastor, who was appointed October 22, 1903. It was dedicated September 18, 1904.

At Lawrence the same tireless missionary from South Boston built another Church of the Holy Trinity, which was blessed February 5, 1905. Its first pastor was Rev. Francis Wojtanowski, sent here on April 29th of that year.

Down to 1903 the Poles of Chelsea, though frequently visited by Father Chmielinski, were accustomed to attend Mass in South Boston. As the distance was great and their numbers were increasing, they petitioned the Archbishop for a separate parish and for a priest of their own choice. Their nominee was

Father George Jaskolski, of Chicopee, a member of the Order of Conventual or "Black" Franciscans (O.M.C.), which had but recently come into the Diocese of Springfield. After some delays and after obtaining the necessary permission from Rome, on June 27, 1905, Archbishop Williams signed the papers which erected the new parish and gave it to the Conventual Franciscans, who were thus for the first time brought into this Diocese. Soon after, the former First Congregational Church was purchased, and, after being refitted, was dedicated January 7, 1906, as the Church of St. Stanislaus.

Some time in 1905 Father Stephen Duda, who had retired from Lowell the previous year, became pastor of the Poles in Lynn, and set about procuring for them a church, which was blessed as "St. Michael's" on April 22, 1906.

VI

Historically, religiously, and culturally very closely connected with the Poles, but now separated from them by a great gulf, linguistic, political, and social, are the Lithuanians. This small nation of about three million people, speaks, not a Slavic language, like the Poles, but an Aryan tongue of the "Baltic" group — a language very melodious, very archaic, and very interesting to philologists. Its national history is almost unique. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it knew a period of imperial grandeur, when, pagan as it still was, it carved out a large realm extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea. In 1386 it united with Poland, through a marriage of rulers, accepting at the same time the Catholic religion. In this union, which lasted over four centuries, the Poles, as by far the larger and culturally the more advanced nation, inevitably became the predominant partners. Quite spontaneously, the Lithuanian nobility and bourgeoisie became Polonized, and it was left to an ever-diminishing section of the peasants alone to preserve the Lithuanian language and national customs. To the upper classes Poles and Lithuanians had become two brother nations, as inseparably joined as English and Scotch or French and

Bretons. And after the Partitions of the late eighteenth century had destroyed the common state, the brotherhood of the two peoples long seemed to be cemented by the dismal Russian régime of political and religious oppression. About 1883, however, there began a great revival of separate Lithuanian nationalism. It aimed to check the further progress of Polonization; to exalt, cultivate, and spread the national language; to save what was left of the Lithuanian nationality; as far as possible, to win back the Polonized elements; and ultimately to regain political independence. If the Russians were the eventual, the Poles were thought to be the immediate, enemies. Hence an intense campaign was organized to induce all Lithuanians in Europe and America to become "nationally conscious," to use their own language, to separate themselves in every way from the Poles, to build up a Chinese wall between the erstwhile brother peoples.

Even before this national movement had started, Lithuanian immigration to America had commenced. Its beginnings are commonly referred to the year 1869. While its causes were, in general, similar to those of the Polish exodus, the famine that ravaged Lithuania in 1867-1868 and the permanent decline in the price of rye and flax in the early 1880's are often cited as important factors. Statistical data are as hard to obtain for this as for the Polish movement. But it is recorded that between 1899 and 1910, 310,049 Lithuanians came to this country — an extraordinary quota for so small a nation — and that, among them, 24,740 were destined for Massachusetts.⁶⁴ New York, Chicago, and Pennsylvania attracted them more strongly than New England. While drawn almost entirely from the peasantry, these immigrants have seldom taken to farming, but have found employment in factories, shops, or mines. Although they have gone into commercial enterprises less frequently than the scions of most other immigrant races, and there have been few rich men among them, their progress as a group, since coming to America, does them the greatest credit. Most of them have shown themselves good Catholics. With some, how-

⁶⁴ *Reports of the (U.S.) Immigration Commission*, III, 45, 290.

ever, excessive nationalism has hampered faith, and a minority has succumbed to Socialism and irreligion.

The early Lithuanian immigrants commonly fraternized with the Poles, and often joined with them in founding and maintaining churches. Many a family, speaking both languages, would have found difficulty in deciding with which of the two nations they wished to be classified. But the nationalist movement of 1883 quickly spread to this country, and there began a great cleavage, a passionate effort to persuade all people of Lithuanian blood to renounce every Polish association and every trace of Polonism. From 1889 onward, separate Lithuanian parishes began to be formed, and a Lithuanian press and Lithuanian social organizations soon followed.

By the later 1890's there were about one thousand Lithuanians in Boston, gathered chiefly in South Boston, with smaller colonies in Brockton, Lawrence, Lowell, and elsewhere. In 1894 there arrived from Russia a Lithuanian theological student, Joseph A. Gricius, whom the Archbishop quickly adopted for the Diocese, and whose education he continued at his own expense at St. John's Seminary. As soon as he was ordained, this young man was, on June 11, 1895, appointed to the care of his fellow countrymen in the Diocese, with residence in South Boston. After saying Mass temporarily in the German church on Shawmut Avenue, in February, 1896, he bought land on Seventh Street, South Boston, on which there was a dwelling-house which he remodeled into "St. Joseph's Church." He also made occasional visits to the colonies of his compatriots outside Boston.

Unfortunately, however, almost from the beginning dissensions arose between the pastor and a large part of his flock. Father Gricius seems to have been sadly lacking in tact and powers of leadership. When his little chapel burned down, on February 8, 1899, most of his congregation refused any help to rebuild it. Instead, they presently combined to erect another church, in the more westerly part of the peninsula, St. Peter's, and applied to the Archbishop for a new pastor. Archbishop Williams supported Father Gricius' rights as long as he thought

prudent, but when it became clear that the great majority of the people were insuperably opposed to him, he finally consented to appoint Rev. John Žilinskas, or Žilius, as pastor of St. Peter's.⁶⁵ Father Gricius did not yield without a struggle. Supported by a minority, he had succeeded in rebuilding St. Joseph's Church, and there he continued to maintain services until 1914, while meantime multiplying fruitless appeals to the Apostolic Delegate and to Rome against this "intrusion" of another priest into "his parish." Defeated in the end, he departed for the Middle West, where he died at Sioux City, Iowa, in 1917.

The Brockton Lithuanians, who had been the first to set an example of insurgency against him, began early in 1899 to build a church, which was dedicated May 30, 1900, as St. Rocco's. Its first priest-in-charge was Rev. Casimir Matulaitis (appointed October 26, 1900), after whom there was, under Archbishop Williams, a succession of rapidly changing pastors.

The Lithuanian parish of Lawrence, St. Francis', was organized by the Augustinians, who purchased for it in 1903 the old St. John's Episcopal Church on Bradford Street. Rev. Joseph Shestokas, on June 12, 1903, was sent thither as the first pastor.

VII

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a movement towards the United States set in even from the remote, historic land of Syria. Overpopulation, primitive methods of agriculture, high taxation, the lack of industry, the oppressive Turkish rule; the frightful massacres of 1860, perpetrated on the Christians by their Mohammedan rivals, the Druses; the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869, which dealt a severe blow to Syria's commerce by altering the old routes of trade, and an equal blow to her chief export, silk, by opening the door to Japanese competition — such were some of the causes of emigration.

Starting in 1878, the movement grew slowly and attained no

⁶⁵ *Episcopal Register*, Feb. 2, 1904.

very large dimensions. In the first decade of the present century, about fifty thousand Syrians entered this country, of whom nine thousand came to Massachusetts. As born traders, they showed a strong tendency to go into business whenever possible, and while they might have to start very modestly, with peddling or small basement shops, many of them attained marked success. Factory work has usually attracted them less, although at Lawrence and some other New England mill-towns large numbers of them entered into it. It is notable that while the majority of the population of Syria is Mohammedan, nearly all our immigrants from there have been Christians, and the bulk of them have come from the region of Mount Lebanon. Probably over fifty per cent of them are Catholics.

These Catholic immigrants fall into two main groups, the Maronites and the Melkites. The Maronites, whose headquarters are in the Lebanon, and who form the largest Christian community in Syria, are a religious body that split off from the Imperial or Greek Church about the eighth century, and which has been in communion with Rome since the time of the Crusades. They use the Antiochene rite, and their liturgy is in the Syriac tongue, although the Gospel and some other parts of the service are read in the vernacular Arabic. The Melkites represent a section of Syrian Christianity that clung until a late date to the Imperial Church (hence their name, from *malok*, the Syrian word for "king"), but which since 1724 has been in union with the Holy See. They retain the Byzantine rite, but their liturgy is in Arabic.

The pioneer Maronite missionary to the United States was the Rev. Peter Korkemaz, who arrived in New York August 3, 1890, along with his cousin, Joseph Yazbek, then a theological student. His nephew, Rev. Gabriel Korkemaz, came to Boston two years later, and on December 14, 1892, was appointed to serve the Maronites of the city and Diocese, with his residence at St. James' Church.⁶⁶ When called to New York to replace his uncle, who was returning to Syria, Father Gabriel was succeeded in Boston (August 18, 1895) by his cousin, Rev. Stephen Korkemaz, and then by Father Joseph Yazbek (May 1, 1896).

⁶⁶ *Clergy Records (Boston Dioc. Arch.).*

This latter priest was the real founder of the Maronite Church here. Since his ordination in 1891, he had been doing valiant missionary work far and wide around the United States; in 1897 he was named Superior of all the Maronite missions of the country, and in 1900 raised to the rank of Chorepiscopus. In Boston, where there were about one hundred Maronites, he succeeded in establishing the little Church of Our Lady of the Cedars of Lebanon, created out of what had been a dilapidated junk shop on Tyler Street. It was dedicated January 8, 1899. Three years later, with the aid of generous friends, he was able to expand this into a handsome four-story brick building, which contained an enlarged chapel, a social centre for the congregation, and living quarters for himself and his assistant.⁶⁷

Through his efforts a second congregation had meantime been formed in the much larger Maronite colony at Lawrence. After worshiping at first in St. Mary's Church, this congregation set out to build for itself on Elm Street. In September, 1905, it received its first resident pastor, Rev. Gabriel Bastani, and on October 8, 1906, its (basement) Church of St. Anthony was dedicated.

The Melkites also had their largest centre at Lawrence. As early as 1896 a Basilian monk of their rite, Father Joseph Simon, was appointed their pastor and missionary-at-large for the Diocese,⁶⁸ but what he accomplished or how long he remained is uncertain. Rev. Philip Batal, sent here in November, 1901, built the first Melkite church, St. Joseph's, which was dedicated sometime in 1905.

Apart from the Syrians, there are traces, from 1895 on, of occasional efforts to organize one other group of Uniates, the Ruthenians. No lasting results were effected.

At all events, it was an impressive new world of varied Catholicity that had come into existence in the Diocese during the reign of Archbishop Williams. If at the beginning of that reign there was but one foreign-language parish, at the end there were forty-two. Namely, there were 17 French parishes, 7 Italian, 6 Polish, 4 Lithuanian, 4 Portuguese, 3 Syrian, and 1 German.

⁶⁷ *Pilot*, Jan. 11, 1902.

⁶⁸ *Episcopal Register*, Nov. 14, 1896.

CHAPTER X

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF SUFFOLK COUNTY (1866-1907)

I

SELDOM in any other equal period of its history has Boston undergone such a transformation as in the age of Archbishop Williams. Its area was multiplied many times over by the annexation of Roxbury in 1868, of Dorchester in 1870, and of Charlestown, Brighton, and West Roxbury in 1874. Its population grew from 192,318, according to the State census of 1865, to 595,380, according to that of 1905. The change in its mode of life was symbolized in the transition from the horse-car lines of the 1860's to the elevated railroad and the subways of the early twentieth century. The racial transformation was manifested in the ever more unmistakable numerical and political preponderance of the Irish-American element, and in the massive influx of the peoples of the New Immigration. The tendency was for the Yankees to retire from the older centres of population to new districts, like the Back Bay, or to the more remote sections of the city, in the face of the Irish; and for the Irish a little later to execute a similar movement in the face of the Italians, Poles, Jews, and other newcomers.

Of such transmutations the North End furnished the most striking example. Still two thirds Yankee in 1846, more than half Irish by 1855, and overwhelmingly Irish by the close of the Civil War, this historic section was then more and more flooded with other elements. By 1895 the Italians outnumbered the Irish, with the Jews not far behind; and in 1903 there were said to be representatives of twenty-five nationalities in the population.¹ The '60's and '70's were the golden age of the

¹ See Robert A. Woods (ed.), *Americans in Process; a Settlement Study by Residents and Associates of the South End House: North and West Ends of Boston* (Boston, 1903).

Irish-American element and of the two English-speaking parishes in the North End. It was at that time that Bishop Fenwick's severely plain Church of St. Mary was replaced by the present magnificent edifice in the Roman style (dedicated December 16, 1877), and that St. Stephen's Bulfinch-designed structure was raised upon a basement and greatly enlarged (1870-1875). Both churches built new and handsome schools. After ministering, each of them, to at least ten thousand people, both, after 1880, saw their parishes slowly but inexorably shrink in numbers, though both were able to mitigate to a large extent the effects of this decline, thanks to the excellence of their services, the new forms of social work that they undertook, and the loyalty of old parishioners even when removed to some distance. Outstanding among the pastors of St. Mary's were the two great organizers and builders, Father Robert W. Brady, S.J. (1864-1867, 1870-1877), who planned and started the new church, and Father William H. Duncan, S.J. (1877-1891), who completed it. At St. Stephen's the venerable Father George F. Haskins (†October 5, 1872) terminated his life of beneficence and unselfishness in characteristic fashion by bequeathing nearly all his property to the Bishop for "the support of orphans and deserted boys." His successor, Rev. Michael Moran (1872-1894), was likewise one of the most prominent and respected clergymen of the Diocese.

The West End developed much like the North End, although more slowly and without attaining quite so polyglot a character. The Irish became the most numerous race there only about 1880, and by 1905 had lost this position to the Jews. At all events, St. Joseph's, the one Catholic church in the district, served a teeming population and had to be enlarged repeatedly. It, too, was favored with a line of eminent pastors: Rev. Bernard J. O'Reilly (1866-1870), Very Rev. Patrick F. Lyndon, Vicar-General of the Diocese (1870-1878), the charitable and beloved Father William J. Daly (1878-1883), Very Rev. William Byrne, also Vicar-General (1884-1902), and Father Jeremiah E. Millerick (1902-1912).

The Old South End experienced very similar vicissitudes.

During the first half of the Williams era its population was overwhelmingly Irish and Catholic. St. James' was then, probably, the strongest parish of the Diocese, with an estimated population of at least 17,000.² Naturally, it had an unusually distinguished series of pastors. These were: Rev. James A. Healy (1866-1875), who left to become Bishop of Portland; his brother, the learned, gentle, pious, and beloved Father A. Sherwood Healy, who died prematurely on October 21, 1875; Rev. Thomas H. Shahan, who had been the Archbishop's schoolmate in the old Catholic Academy on Franklin Street, and throughout a long life was to be one of his most valiant and trusted collaborators, even though ill health obliged him in 1884 to retire to a country parish; Rev. Matthew Harkins, who was called away in 1887 to become Bishop of Providence; and Rev. William P. McQuaid (1887-19'3). The first St. James' Church, on Albany Street, which had been the pride of Catholics in the 1850's, had to be sold twenty years later to make room for the freight depot of the Boston and Albany Railroad. To replace it, Father James Healy on February 8, 1873, bought land a few blocks west on Harrison Avenue, between Kneeland and Harvard Streets. Here he erected, according to plans of P. C. Keeley, the architect of the Cathedral, the present stately church of brick and granite, in the Classical style, which was dedicated July 25, 1875. It was in Father McQuaid's time that the neighborhood began to be completely transformed, as Italians, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Jews, Chinese, and negroes swarmed in and replaced the Irish.

Once settled in the New South End, the Cathedral parish also long served a very numerous population, which in 1884 was estimated to contain at least ten thousand adult Catholics.³ Of very serious detriment was the building, in the first years of the new century, of the Boston Elevated line along Washington Street, directly in front of the church. The noise of incessantly passing trains was disturbing to services in the Cathedral, and probably helped to drive many residents out of the district. By amicable agreement, the Company paid Archbishop Williams

² *Pilot*, April 13, 1878.

³ *Pilot*, Nov. 15, 1884.

a sum of money by way of compensation,⁴ but whatever the amount may have been, it probably fell far short of the damage inflicted upon the parish.

The neighboring Church of the Immaculate Conception under the Jesuit Fathers remained throughout this period closely united with the adjacent Boston College, the offices of Rector and President being regularly combined. The huge debt created by the erection of this sumptuous church was, by skillful management, cleared off within thirteen years, and on August 15, 1875, the church was consecrated — the first edifice within the present limits of the Diocese to attain that distinction. While not vested with parochial rights and duties, the Immaculate Conception has ever continued to draw immense congregations and to do most valuable work, thanks to the exceptional beauty of its services, the high quality of its preaching and music, its well-organized Sunday school, sodalities, and manifold other activities.

St. Patrick's, the original parish of the South End, had transferred its headquarters to Roxbury in the early '70's. Twenty years later it was found that the lower South End, now turned into a congested tenement district, needed a church close at hand and pastoral attention. Hence, on December 10, 1894, Rev. Philip J. O'Donnell, then a curate in East Cambridge, was appointed rector of a new parish in that district, which later received the name of St. Philip's. While at first holding services in Old St. Patrick's, Northampton Street, this energetic young pastor quickly bought land between Harrison Avenue, East Lenox, and Reed Streets,⁵ on which he began the construction of a Gothic brick church, which was opened for services in the basement as early as April 24, 1899,⁶ but which was dedicated only on May 4, 1913.

Catholics were slow in penetrating the Back Bay, and even when they did so, Archbishop Williams was long hesitant about planting a church in that very Protestant district. When he finally set about it, he selected wellnigh the most inconspicuous location that was to be found — in the narrow streets just

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1905.

⁵ *Pilot*, July 20, 1895.

⁶ *Episcopal Register*.

beyond the railroad tracks. The site was bought on December 27, 1887. On September 26, 1888, Rev. Richard J. Barry, who had proved a highly capable pastor and church-builder in Hyde Park, was appointed rector of the new parish. From October 14th, services were held in a temporary chapel fitted up in Mechanics' Building. Vastly aided by the faith and generosity of the Irish maids, who were then so numerous in the households of the Back Bay, and who at first seemed to form the majority of the new congregation, Father Barry vigorously pressed forward the construction of the great red-brick church of St. Cecilia. Its rugged exterior is usually described as Norman, while its beautiful interior has been said to draw its inspiration in part from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.⁷ It was dedicated on April 22, 1894, by Archbishop Williams, with the Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Satolli, celebrating the Mass. After Father Barry's death, June 5, 1900, and the short pastorate of the lamented Father John J. McNulty, Very Rev. William Byrne was transferred to the charge of this church from St. Joseph's in 1902.

II

South Boston also experienced a great transformation during this period, but of a kind rather different from those hitherto described. Down to the Civil War the peninsula had retained a predominantly Protestant population, occupied chiefly in the then thriving industries of the locality. During the War, with the foundries and machine shops running day and night, there was a great influx of laborers, many of whom were Catholics. After the War many of the local industries declined and disappeared, but the Catholic influx steadily continued, coming mainly from the razed Fort Hill section or elsewhere in the North or the Old South End. By the end of the century this had become one of the most overwhelmingly Catholic and Irish parts of Boston.

At the close of Bishop Fitzpatrick's reign South Boston had

⁷ *Pilot*, Nov. 19, 1892.

just been divided into two parishes, the older one, SS. Peter and Paul's, retaining the western and more densely populated half of the peninsula, while the newly created Gate of Heaven parish embraced the eastern half. At SS. Peter and Paul's the gentle, charitable, and scholarly Father William A. Blenkinsop (1864-1892) — one of the most universally revered priests of the time — and his successor, Bishop Brady, struggled bravely to meet the needs of a flock which, no matter how many times the parish was divided, seemed always to be too large.

Of the three new parishes created here under Archbishop Williams — each time at Father Blenkinsop's request — the first was St. Augustine's, in the southwestern part of the peninsula. Its founder was Rev. Denis O'Callaghan, appointed August 22, 1868. For nearly half a century, down to his death in 1913, he was, quite literally, to reign here — a zealous, active, efficient, far-sighted pastor, a highly reputed preacher, a forceful and genial personality, a genuine father to all his people, and one "whose generosity is a living legend today."⁸ While at first holding services in the old St. Augustine's Chapel, of Cheverus and Father Lariscy, Father O'Callaghan soon purchased a desirable site not far away on Dorchester Street. Here he built the large and beautiful Gothic church in red brick (dedicated August 30, 1874), whose graceful spire stands out on the South Boston landscape. Although that edifice cost \$200,000, the debt was paid within ten years, so that on August 31, 1884, the church could also be consecrated. To it was added by 1893 a handsome parochial school, costing about \$100,000. By that time St. Augustine's had become probably the largest of the South Boston parishes, and one of the most united. Among the factors that helped to build up an unusually intense parish spirit were the Lyceum, which brought the young men together for debates, lectures, and social entertainments, and the annual Field days, which were famous for years in the athletic history of Boston.

Recognizing the need of providing more effectively for the people of Washington Village, Father O'Callaghan early in

⁸ *Boston Herald*, March 16, 1941.

1900 bought a wooden Unitarian church ("Unity Chapel") on Dorchester Street near Andrew Square. Dedicated on November 4, 1900, as St. Monica's Chapel, this remained in Archbishop Williams' time a mission of St. Augustine's.

St. Vincent's, the second parish to be cut off during this reign from SS. Peter and Paul's, is the successor of the old St. Vincent de Paul's, in the Fort Hill section of Boston. Between 1866 and 1872 that region was entirely transformed by the City, the hill being cut away in order to fill in along Atlantic Avenue, and the crowded tenements torn down in order to enlarge the business district. The granite church on Purchase Street, once, it will be recalled, a Unitarian meeting-house, was obviously doomed to disappear, both because of the intended widening of the street in front of it and because nearly all of its people were moving to South Boston. The last services were held there April 7, 1872, and in the next two months the building was demolished. About the same time Father Michael Lane was appointed to create a new St. Vincent's parish in the northwestern section of South Boston.⁹ The church which he erected on the corner of E and West Third Street, and which was dedicated July 19, 1874, was in its exterior severely plain. But the granite blocks that formed its eastern and southern walls, the bell in the little cupola above the front, and the altars, the statues, and many another thing within were all brought from the church on old Fort Hill. Among the pastors of the new St. Vincent's, the one who, perhaps, left the deepest mark on the parish was Father George J. Patterson, rector from 1897 to 1907, and again from 1915 to 1931.

In May, 1884, the triangle between Dorchester Avenue, D Street, and West Sixth Street, forming what was then the southern part of SS. Peter and Paul's territory, was detached to make the new parish of Our Lady of the Rosary. Its first pastor, Rev. John J. McNulty, built an inexpensive but attractive wooden church, in the Gothic style, which was dedicated October 18, 1885. This "bandbox parish" was wellnigh unique because of

⁹ Because of its dwindling congregation, the old church in Boston had in its last months been treated as a mission of St. James'.

its very small area, its congested and almost solidly Catholic population, and the unusually close relations that these conditions made possible between clergy and people.

Though growing at first more slowly than the more westerly parishes of the peninsula, the Gate of Heaven parish had by the 1890's come to have eight to ten thousand Catholics.¹⁰ By that time the plain brick church, erected in 1863, was far too small. Father Robert J. Johnson, "the second founder of the parish" (1890-1916), undertook to provide a new edifice that would be a monument of beauty and a source of pride to his people. The cornerstone was laid October 4, 1896; the basement was opened to worship June 17, 1900; but the completion and dedication of this cathedral-like structure were delayed until long after the death of Archbishop Williams.

Father Johnson also built for his parishioners around City Point the Chapel of St. Eulalia, at the corner of Broadway and O Street, which was first opened for services on May 6, 1900. It remained a mission of the Gate of Heaven until 1908.

III

Dorchester, down to the time of its annexation to Boston, was a quiet town given over to farming, fishing, and trading, with many old estates, many empty spaces, and little industrial importance. Its population in 1870 was only about twelve thousand. Its traditional conservatism was exemplified by the petition of the town meeting to the Legislature in 1842 to avert "so great a calamity to our town as must be the location of any railroad through it."¹¹ In such a community Catholics were not likely to be encouraged to settle. But with the annexation in 1870 there began a very rapid development. In the next thirty years the population of the district was quadrupled. And in few sections of Boston was there so rapid a multiplication of Catholic churches. This growth proceeded from two centres: in the southern part of the district from St. Gregory's, Milton

¹⁰ *Boston Post*, October 5, 1896.

¹¹ Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, III, 596.

Lower Mills, and in the northern part from St. Peter's, Meeting-House Hill.

St. Gregory's, the first parish, dated back, as has already been noted, only to 1862. Its original vastness was first reduced by the detachment of Hyde Park in 1870, the northern part of Quincy in 1871, and the northern part of Dorchester in 1872, but all South Dorchester and the whole of Milton still remained to it. The first pastor, Father Thomas R. McNulty, a veteran from the days of Bishop Fenwick, died on October 8, 1875, "a devoted and kind-hearted priest, sincerely loved by all who knew him."¹² His successor, Rev. William H. Fitzpatrick (1875-1913), carried through the much-needed enlargement of the church, gave it the present front (1894-1895), and contributed much to the foundation of a group of daughter-parishes.

The first of these was St. Ann's, Neponset. Here Father Fitzpatrick, having bought in 1879 the Heines estate on Minot Street, near Neponset Avenue, began in the following year the construction of a plain, wooden church, which, because of the poverty of the congregation, could be dedicated only on May 22, 1892. Meanwhile, the first pastor, Rev. Timothy Murphy (1889-1904), had been appointed.

At the opposite, westerly end of his parish, Father Fitzpatrick in 1887 bought a lot on the corner of Norfolk and Darling Streets, near Codman Square, on which in 1891 he erected St. Matthew's Chapel. As the congregation increased very rapidly, on May 1, 1900, this became an independent parish under Rev. David J. Power.

In the northerly section of his parish, in the Ashmont district, Father Fitzpatrick in 1899 built St. Mark's Chapel. On December 17, 1905, this, too, was turned into a separate parish, under Rev. John A. Daly, who still presides over it.

Still more remarkable was the Catholic growth in the northern half of Dorchester. As early as 1858 a small Sunday school had been started by a few devout women in the section called Glover's Corner, under the shadow of Meeting-House Hill. A

¹² *Pilot*, Oct. 16, 1875.

decade later, Father McNulty began to say Mass in Lyceum Hall (1869), and the Catholics of that vicinity commenced to petition for a parish in their neighborhood. In consequence, a large church lot on East Street, on the eastern slope of the hill, was purchased on January 11, 1870, by Vicar-General Lyndon, during the Bishop's absence in Rome.¹³ On the 27th Father Lyndon presided over an enthusiastic meeting of the Catholics of Ward 16, at which \$3,490 were subscribed and a committee was appointed to raise funds for a church.¹⁴ Collections went slowly, however, for there were only about two hundred Catholic families in the district. At all events, a much more desirable site was soon discovered — the estate of the deceased Captain "Jack" Percival, a naval hero of the War of 1812. It lay on the west side of Meeting-House Hill, on a commanding eminence, facing Eaton Square. Bishop Williams' attention having been called to this property by the local committee, he bought it on May 10, 1871.¹⁵ Here Father McNulty prepared to build a modest brick church that would accommodate about seven hundred people. The plans drawn up by his architect were accepted by the congregation, and in the summer of 1872 excavations began. But at this stage matters were, for some reason, placed in other hands. Whether it was because of Father McNulty's age and growing infirmities, or because of the multitude of his other burdens, on October 1st Bishop Williams appointed the Rev. Peter Ronan pastor of a new parish to be organized in northern Dorchester.¹⁶

Born in the County West Meath in 1844, and ordained at Troy Seminary in 1868, Father Ronan had for four years been serving as a curate at New Bedford under Father Lawrence S. McMahon, the later Bishop of Hartford. Here he had, to good purpose, watched the erection of the sumptuous Gothic, stone Church of St. Lawrence, designed by the architect Keeley. On his first visit to Meeting-House Hill, he discovered that underneath his church lot lay a vast ledge of Roxbury stone that

¹³ Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds* (Boston Dioc. Arch.).

¹⁴ *Boston Post*, Jan. 29, 1870.

¹⁵ *Memoranda*, May 10, 1871.

¹⁶ *Episcopal Register*.

would be invaluable for building purposes. At once he resolved to reject the existing plans, to call in Keeley — the prince of architects — and to build a grand Gothic, stone church that would be twice the size of the one hitherto contemplated and which would amply provide for the needs of the future.

Such bold proposals, coming from a new pastor, aged twenty-eight, whose very youthful face and curly hair made him look like a seraphic altar-boy, at first aroused grave misgivings. In later years Father Ronan loved to relate how Father McNulty, at their first meeting, inspected him and then told him: "Young man, I would advise you to go back to the Bishop and resign the parish into his hands. You will never do." Or of how, on that bright October Sunday when he first drove over to meet his congregation, awaiting him on the lawn before Lyceum Hall, "Some of them shook their heads and thought I was too young for anything serious."¹⁷ Very soon, however, people were to discover that beneath that very juvenile appearance was a calm, wise, patient, imperturbable spirit, "simple as a child and deep as a well," a warm Irish heart, and a genius for organization, management, and leadership. Confidence once established, there was then effected that combination that has produced marvelous results in so many Catholic parishes: the combination of "a generous people, willing to give its last dollar to the glory of God, led by a prudent, wise, and faithful pastor, who has great ideas and the ability to put them into a shape imperishable."¹⁸

The cornerstone of St. Peter's Church was laid August 24, 1873; the basement was ready for use by 1875; and on February 18, 1884, the edifice was dedicated. In both its exterior and interior it is a glorious church, one of the finest that this or any other diocese can boast. Particularly beautiful is the square, pinnacled Gothic tower, 150 feet high, which dominates the

¹⁷ *Pilot*, Oct. 16, 1897.

¹⁸ Words of Rev. F. J. Halloran at Father Ronan's jubilee in 1908 (S. L. Emery, *A Catholic Stronghold and Its Making: A History of St. Peter's Parish, Dorchester, Massachusetts, and of Its First Rector, the Rev. Peter Ronan, P.R.*, Boston, 1910, p. 91). (This is one of the finest parish histories that have been produced in this Diocese.)

Dorchester landscape and is visible far out at sea. Although this enterprise had cost about \$125,000 — and would have cost far more but for the fact that the stone was taken from the premises — the debt was quickly extinguished. In 1886 Father Ronan built a large and dignified rectory, in 1896-1898 a handsome parochial school, in 1905-1906 a spacious, four-story brick convent.

By the later years of its first pastor's life, St. Peter's parish was in the most prosperous condition. It had become numerically the strongest parish in the Diocese. Its buildings, second to none, were complete, free from debt, and valued at half a million dollars. Its pastor, honored with the title of Permanent Rector and later of Monsignor, was universally considered the first citizen of Dorchester, and Catholics and Protestants alike regarded that familiar face and smile as a benediction. And great as had been the material results achieved on the rocky slopes of Mount Ida, who can measure the spiritual results?

Meanwhile, three daughter-churches had arisen on the former territory of St. Peter's. To meet the needs of the people in the northeastern section of his parish, towards Washington Village, Father Ronan on December 5, 1892, bought a church lot on Boston, Mount Vernon, and Harvest Streets. Six months later Rev. William A. Ryan was appointed first pastor of the new parish to be formed there. The first services of the new congregation were held on July 16, 1893, in Athenaeum Hall, on the corner of East Cottage and Pond Streets, with eighty people packed inside that small auditorium and four hundred kneeling on the grass outside. Father Ryan quickly built a plain but capacious temporary church, the first St. Margaret's, which was blessed on November 26, 1893. For a permanent edifice he sought a more desirable and central location, and was fortunate enough to obtain, on March 2, 1895, an admirable site, at the corner of Dorchester Avenue and "the Parkway" (now Columbia Road). Here, four years later, he began the construction of the present beautiful and spacious church, built of red brick, with granite trimmings, in the Romanesque style. It was dedicated November 20, 1904. The rectory and the school soon

followed the church, and taken together these three edifices, standing side by side along the boulevard, form one of our most harmonious and impressive groups of parish buildings. Half a century after he began the creation of St. Margaret's, Father Ryan is still serving his beloved and devoted people.¹⁹

For the northwestern section of St. Peter's parish Father Ronan in 1896 built a fair-sized wooden church, called St. Paul's Chapel, on Woodward Park Street. Down to 1908 this remained a mission of St. Peter's. For the southwestern section Father Ronan, in December, 1901, bought the Bicknell estate on Esmond Street, a little east of Franklin Park. Rev. Thomas C. McGoldrick, appointed pastor here four months later, built the neat, wooden Church of St. Leo (dedicated November 27, 1902), which still serves what, because of changes in the population of that vicinity, has never grown into a large parish.

IV

Roxbury, at the time of its annexation to Boston, was a larger, busier, more industrialized community than Dorchester, but still it had only twenty-eight thousand inhabitants. Here, too, annexation was followed by a very rapid increase of population, especially of Catholic population.

At Bishop Williams' accession the Roxbury territory was divided among three parishes: St. Patrick's and St. Francis de Sales', which lay athwart the Boston line, and St. Joseph's, which included the great bulk of the city, and also the towns of Dedham and West Roxbury (detached from the parish in 1866 and 1869 respectively). At the old church on "Tommy's Rock," Father Patrick O'Beirne, one of the last priests surviving from Bishop Fenwick's time, died March 20, 1883. His successor was Rev. Hugh. P. Smyth. Born in the County Meath in 1839 and ordained in 1866, the new rector of St. Joseph's had already made a name for himself as a zealous and energetic priest and

¹⁹ He himself has simply and modestly told the story of his parish in the pamphlet, *A Little Story of Growth and Heavenly Blessings during Forty Years, 1893-1933: St. Margaret's Parish, Dorchester, Mass.*

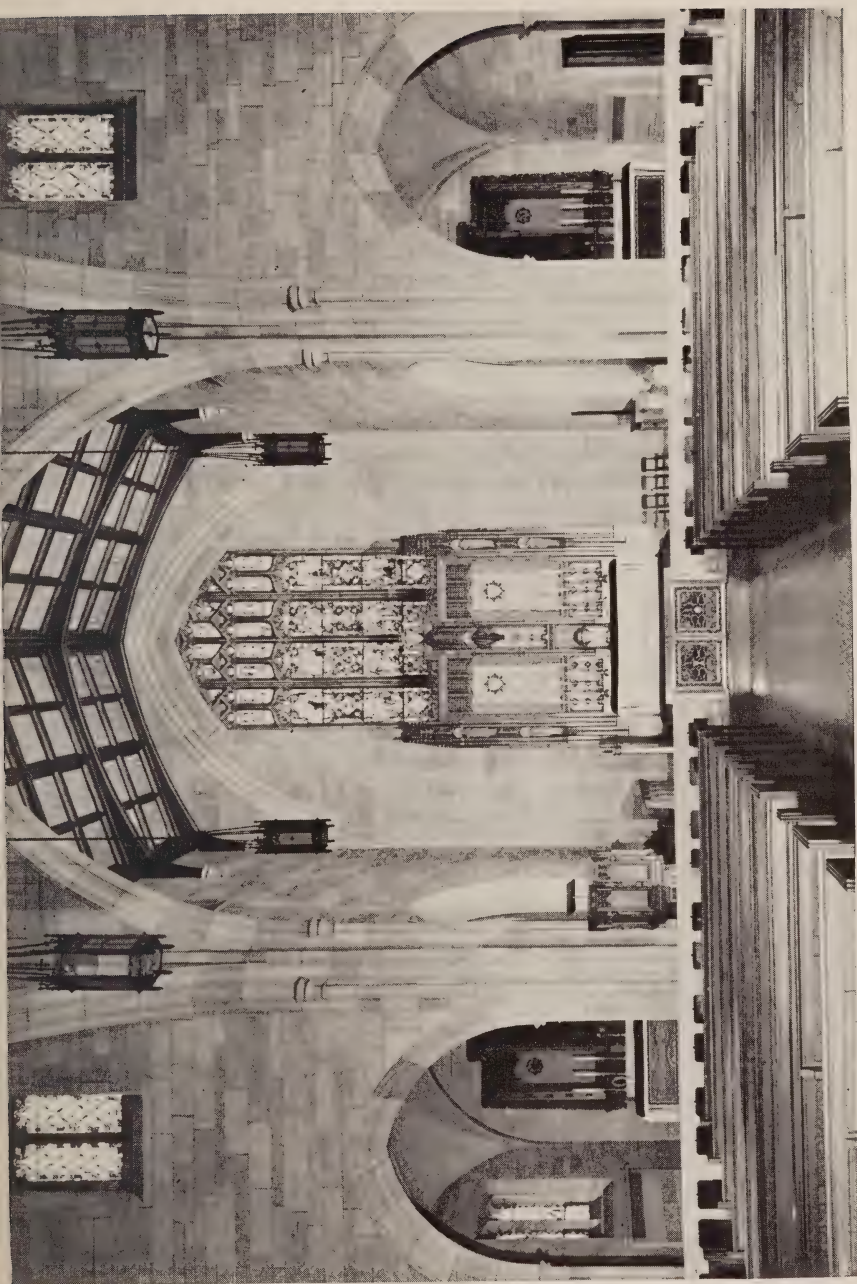
a great church-builder. He was, for the rest, what is called a "character," a genial and hospitable soul, an incessant talker, and an expert in drawing the long bow for the amusement of himself and his friends. Archbishop Williams, the most silent of men, was very fond of the company of this clerical Baron Munchausen. Father Smyth began by repairing and renovating the church, completely remodeling the interior according to the plans of P. C. Keeley. It was at that time that that interior received its most distinctive feature: its flat ceiling, made up of nine bays of quartered oak, each bay having its own intricate geometrical design. Thus rejuvenated, old St. Joseph's was consecrated on June 20, 1886. Next "Father Hugh P." erected St. Joseph's school and convent, and was then ready to direct his ceaseless activity to founding new churches.

One such venture was All Saints, erected for the benefit of the people in the northwestern part of the parish, at the corner of Centre and Penryth Streets. Begun in 1893, this church was dedicated on June 13, 1897. Already on January 1st of the preceding year a separate parish had been created here, under Father Thomas Moylan.

Even earlier Father Smyth, in the interest of the Catholics in the easternmost part of his vast parish, had bought land on Blue Hill Avenue, Dacia and Dalmatia (now Woodcliff) Streets in 1888.²⁰ Here he erected a school-chapel. The chapel, on the upper floor, was dedicated as "St. John's" on April 2, 1892,²¹ and the school was opened in the following September. This building, in the rear of the lot, still serves as the school of St. John's parish. In the front of the lot, on Blue Hill Avenue, Father Smyth by 1894 had begun the construction of the permanent church. Granite from the numerous buildings then being demolished to make way for the South Station furnished the material for the façade: the rest was finished in brick. So keenly interested was Father Smyth in his new creation that in 1901 he resigned St. Joseph's, in order to become pastor of the new St. John's parish. The basement had been in use since

²⁰ July 31, 1888 (date of record), book 1833, p. 357 (*Suffolk Land Deeds*).

²¹ *Episcopal Register*.



INTERIOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, DORCHESTER, TODAY

1899, but the spacious and impressive upper church could be dedicated only November 24, 1907.²²

Meantime, in order to provide for the Catholics of the Elm Hill and Grove Hall districts, Father Smyth in July, 1896, bought a Universalist frame church on the corner of Blue Hill Avenue and Schuyler Street.²³ This was dedicated on August 23rd as St. Hugh's Chapel. Three years later he purchased the adjoining lot, at the corner of Wayne Street. There he built the present St. Hugh's Church, whose interior is somewhat smaller than its imposing façade might suggest, but which is a truly beautiful Gothic edifice. It was dedicated on June 7, 1903.²⁴

One more new parish was carved out of St. Joseph's after Father Thomas Moylan was called there from All Saints' to succeed Father Smyth in 1901. This was St. Mary of the Angels', created May 26, 1906. Its first pastor, Rev. Henry A. Barry, lived scarcely long enough to start services for the congregation in a former car-barn in the Egleston Square district. His successor, Rev. Denis J. Sullivan (1907-1916), had only begun clearing the ground on the corner of Columbus Avenue and Walnut Street, and was planning a beautiful church, at the time of Archbishop Williams' death.

At St. Patrick's Father Thomas Lynch, the builder and first pastor of the church, died, full of years and merits, on March 27, 1870. He was succeeded by Father Joseph H. Gallagher, who, ordained just the year before, had come at once as an assistant to the parish over which he was to preside for nearly half a century, down to his death in 1916. It had long been evident that important changes were necessary. The old brick church on Northampton Street was far too small and antiquated to serve its large congregation, nor was it rightly situated. Since the creation of the new Cathedral parish St. Patrick's had lost territory in the South End and in exchange had received an extension in Roxbury, where its real centre of gravity now lay. Hence on July 27, 1871, Father Gallagher bought an excellent

²² *Pilot*, Nov. 30, 1907.

²³ July 22, 1896 (date of record), book 2376, p. 278 (*Suffolk Land Deeds*).

²⁴ *Pilot*, June 13, 1903.

site in the latter district, at the intersection of Dudley and Hampden Streets. Here he began, in the following year, the erection of a large, red-brick Gothic church, which was dedicated December 5, 1880. If the new St. Patrick's was somewhat plain on the outside — without the intended spire, which has never been added — within it was altogether satisfying. After the building of a rectory in the rear, and of a fine girls' school and convent on Mount Pleasant Avenue, Father Gallagher had a fairly well-equipped and a highly prosperous parish.

St. Francis de Sales', Roxbury, was, at Bishop Williams' accession, still a parish without a church. As has already been related, its services were held in the chapel of the House of the Angel Guardian. At any rate, Father Haskins, its first pastor, had bought the land on Vernon Street, had had plans drawn up by Keeley, the architect, and had probably accumulated funds for building. When at last the time was ripe for launching the enterprise, feeling, probably, that he had neither the time nor the strength for it, he resigned this one of his two parishes (March 22, 1867), and was replaced by his assistant, Rev. James Griffin. The latter then carried through the immense task in remarkably quick time. On June 20, 1869, Bishop Williams dedicated what he himself called the most beautiful church in his Diocese.²⁵ Built in the Gothic style, of red brick trimmed with yellow brick and brownstone, with a spire 180 feet high, an unusually fine interior, and an auditorium capable, with its galleries, of seating sixteen hundred persons, this was, indeed, a notable achievement. A spacious church was needed, for the parish soon had more than ten thousand people.²⁶ Among its pastors in the Williams era, Father Patrick J. Daly (1888-1906) distinguished himself particularly by his munificence to Catholic charities.

But the greatest of all the new foundations of the period in Roxbury was the Mission Church.²⁷ Already in the time of

²⁵ *Pilot*, July 3, 1869.

²⁶ *Pilot*, April 13, 1878.

²⁷ No other parish of the Diocese has had its history so fully recorded as in the volume by Rev. John F. Byrne, C.S.S.R., *The Glories of Mary in Boston: a Memorial History of the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help (Mission Church), Roxbury, Mass., 1871-1921* (Boston, 1921). Cf. also Charles W. Currier,

Bishop Fitzpatrick, as we have seen, attempts had been made to bring to Boston the sons of St. Alphonsus, who had been active elsewhere in this country since 1832. In 1869 a more successful effort was launched at the initiative of Rev. James A. Healy. In May of that year a band of Redemptorists gave an extremely successful mission in St. James' Church, Albany Street. So impressed was Father Healy with the results obtained that he strongly urged upon Bishop Williams the utility of permanently establishing this missionary Congregation in the Diocese. Heartily assenting to the idea, the Bishop summoned Father Wayrich, the leader of the band, and directed him to lay the project before his superiors. With equal promptness the Provincial and the Superior General agreed. In the late summer the Provincial, Very Rev. Joseph Helmpraecht, came to Boston. On August 15th the Bishop and he arrived at an agreement, providing that the Redemptorists might have a missionary church and house in the city for the purpose of giving spiritual exercises to the clergy and laity, but that this church should not have a parish attached to it.²⁸ Next arose the question of a location. The Bishop, while offering other choices, recommended Roxbury, and it was, apparently, Father Healy who first pointed to the old Brinley estate as an ideal site. After examining it, the Provincial bought it for \$75,000, on September 25, 1869.²⁹

The Redemptorists thus acquired not only one of the most picturesque, but one of the most famous spots in Roxbury. It took its name from Colonel Francis Brinley, who in 1723 had built here what is described as a very sumptuous mansion, named Datchet House in memory of his family's home in England. For over a century, amid many changes of ownership, this mansion had witnessed much of historic interest. There, during the Siege of Boston, General Artemas Ward had had his headquarters, and Washington had often come for consultation. There, subsequently, had lived General Henry Dearborn, once

C.S.S.R., "History of the Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succor in Boston," *Am. Cath. Hist. Soc. Rec.*, II (1886-1888), 206-224; reprinted in revised form in *Donahoe's Magazine*, XXI (1889), 583-589, XXII (1889), 19-25.

²⁸ The text in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*

²⁹ *Memoranda*, Sept. 28, 1869.

Secretary of War and commander-in-chief on the Canadian frontier during the War of 1812. There had lived his son, General Henry A. S. Dearborn. There the Ursulines had found a refuge after the burning of the Charlestown Convent. There Dickens had resided as a guest during his first American trip in 1842. Latterly, however, the glory of the old place had fallen off sadly: since 1866 it had been turned into a pleasure resort, called Franklin Gardens.

In February, 1870, Redemptorist lay brothers arrived to supervise the construction of a plain temporary wooden church. Datchet House was turned into a convent. At the beginning of the following year the first priests of the Congregation took up their residence here, and services were started in the church, which was blessed on January 29, 1871. The zeal and fervor of the Redemptorists, their earnest and vigorous preaching, and the beauty of the services which they provided, soon won them a large and rapidly increasing following. But one powerful factor in drawing crowds to them was the devotion which they inculcated, with a burning love and faith, to the Blessed Virgin as Our Lady of Perpetual Help. On Pentecost Sunday, 1871, they solemnly set up in their church her picture, under that title — a reproduction of a famous image, in the Byzantine style, which has for centuries been venerated at Rome and with which many miracles have been connected. On the very next day one miraculous cure was announced, and since then the rain of extraordinary favors to Mary's clients has never ceased.

As soon as the large debt incurred through the acquisition of the property had been cleared off, the Redemptorists began planning a worthy permanent church. On May 28, 1876, the cornerstone was blessed by the Archbishop, with Bishop James A. Healy delivering the sermon. In the night following that glad day fire destroyed two thirds of Datchet House, and drove most of the Fathers to seek a home with the hospitable Jesuits until their convent could be rebuilt. Two years later the majestic new Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Help was completed. On April 7, 1878, Archbishop Williams dedicated it, in the presence of an enormous throng, and with Father

Fitton preaching. It is, assuredly, one of the grandest temples to God that have ever been erected in America. It is built of Roxbury stone, trimmed with Quincy granite, in Romanesque style. It can seat two thousand, and hold four thousand people. The interior is unsurpassed for beauty, richness, and purity of line, while, externally, the great dome above the intersection of the nave and transepts and the twin spires of the front (which were added in 1909-1910) dominate the skyline of Roxbury.

When the Redemptorists first settled on the slopes of Parker Hill, the district around still retained much of a rural aspect. After their coming, it filled up very rapidly, and filled up almost entirely with Catholics. In 1883, therefore, the Mission Church was endowed with parochial rights. By 1904 the parish was estimated to contain eleven thousand Catholics. Its material equipment had meanwhile been completed by the building of a large and handsome school and convent for teaching Sisters (1887-1889) — and this school was soon serving nearly two thousand children; by the erection of St. Alphonsus Hall (opened in 1900), which was intended primarily as a clubhouse for the young men of the St. Alphonsus Association, but also as a general social centre for the parish; and by the replacement of the old wooden convent by a spacious brick residence for the Redemptorists (1903).

Nowhere in the Diocese, assuredly, was there a parish served more assiduously or in more manifold ways by its clergy, nor one in which the laity were more devoted to their pastors. A marvelous network of organizations and activities seemed to include every means proper to promote the religious, the intellectual, and the physical development of its people. But this church also served a far wider clientèle. Its shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Help and the weekly devotions that take place there have constantly drawn thousands from all over the community to what is often called "the Lourdes of Boston."

V

In Jamaica Plain, most of which in 1866 belonged to the

Town of West Roxbury, the Blessed Sacrament parish was an offshoot of the Mission Church. To meet the needs of the people living south of Parker Hill, the land at the corner of Centre and Creighton Streets was purchased in February, 1891,³⁰ and here Father John J. Frawley, C.S.S.R., built a capacious wooden school-chapel, which was dedicated May 22, 1892. With the cordial agreement of the Redemptorists, this district was immediately afterwards made a secular parish, under Rev. Arthur T. Connolly (appointed June 7, 1892). This energetic young pastor started the school (1893); erected the present commodious rectory (1894), and a parish social centre, "Columbia Hall"; drew his congregation together in numerous activities, including such unusual ones as a day nursery and a children's dispensary; and made long and careful preparations to build the beautiful church that was later to arise here.

The rest of what was until 1874 the town of West Roxbury was long attached to St. Joseph's, at "Tommy's Rock." On June 18, 1867, however, Father O'Beirne purchased a lot at Centre and Jamaica Streets, near the south end of Jamaica Plain,³¹ and it is possible that during the next year and a half he began the erection of a church and had services occasionally held in that vicinity by priests sent from St. Joseph's.³² At all events, on January 4, 1869, his assistant, Father Thomas Magennis, a very vigorous and able young priest, ordained but two years previously, was appointed pastor of Jamaica Plain and the rest of West Roxbury. Beginning with services in the old Town Hall for about a year,³³ he pushed through the construction of the large, handsome, and costly Gothic Church of St. Thomas Aquinas, which was dedicated August 17, 1873. In that same

³⁰ *Episcopal Register*, Feb. 3, 1891.

³¹ Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds* (Boston Dioc. Arch.).

³² The local tradition seems to be that nothing was done here until the coming of Father Magennis in 1869 (cf. *Boston Herald*, March 30, 1941). But more contemporary accounts (such as Winsor, *Memorial History*, III, 540) credit Father O'Beirne with beginning the church; and the *Catholic Directories* for 1868 and 1869 report "Church about to be built," or "Church building," and "Attended from St. Joseph's."

³³ Permission for its use was granted rather grudgingly by the selectmen Feb. 1, 1869 (*Records of the Town of West Roxbury*, *Boston City Archives*).

year he opened a school and convent for which the Sisters of St. Joseph were for the first time brought into this Diocese. During a long ensuing period of devoted service down to his death in 1912, he built up a well-organized and prosperous parish, of about eight thousand souls; and no priest of that time, perhaps, stood higher in the confidence of Archbishop Williams than Father, or as he became, Monsignor, Magennis.

From St. Thomas' three other churches developed. The first was St. Theresa's, West Roxbury, which, in marked contrast to what has since occurred, experienced rather dismal fortunes during the Williams era. As early as November 23, 1869, Father Magennis had bought a lot on Baker Street, not far from Charles River, on which he erected a small wooden church, which was dedicated October 29, 1871. On December 15, 1874, it burned down. On a new lot, on Spring Street, he built a second edifice, a school-chapel, which was dedicated October 17, 1875. Served at first from St. Thomas', St. Theresa's had for a brief period its own pastor, Father Richard J. Barry (January, 1877—February, 1880); then, because of the small number of its people, it was attached to Dedham, and, from 1893, to Roslindale. On January 1, 1896, however, it once more became an independent parish. Rev. Patrick F. Boyle, then appointed pastor, bought in 1899 as a rectory the fine old house at Centre Street and Cottage Avenue which had once been the residence of Theodore Parker. On the adjacent lot he planned to build an adequate new church. After his sudden death, on March 31, 1901, however, his successor, Rev. John F. Broderick, contented himself with renovating the old church, half a mile distant from the new rectory, and matters remained *in statu quo* until a much later period.

In the Roslindale section the Catholics in 1885 began to agitate for a church, and bought a site on Poplar Street. This first project collapsed for lack of money, but six years later it was renewed more successfully. In April, 1891, a better lot was obtained at the corner of Brown Avenue and Ashland Street (now Cummins Highway).³⁴ The following year building was

³⁴ *Suffolk Land Deeds*, April 29, 1891 (date of record), book 1980, p. 427.

begun under the direction of Father Magennis. From Christmas Day on throughout the winter Mass was said for the local Catholics in the bitter cold of a tent on the Poplar Street lot. On July 3, 1893, at Father Magennis' request, a separate parish was created, under Father John F. Cummins. By Christmas the basement of the new Church of the Sacred Heart could be used for services. With characteristic energy the new pastor pressed on the construction of the edifice and the raising of funds for it, employing, among other means, from 1894 on, those barbecues which became famous throughout New England; but the immense task was not completed during the reign of Archbishop Williams.

For the northeastern section of his steadily diminishing parish, Father Magennis in 1896 began the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes on Brookside Avenue, Jamaica Plain; but this structure was not finished nor was a separate parish created here until the next reign.

Hyde Park was annexed to Boston only in 1912, but it seems convenient to treat it here. This manufacturing town was organized in 1868, on land taken from Dorchester, West Roxbury, and Dedham. As early as July 13, 1868, a lot was bought on Hyde Park Avenue and Webster Street by Father McNulty of Dorchester,³⁵ who since the preceding year had begun to officiate here occasionally. On September 27, 1870, Rev. William J. Corcoran was appointed the first resident pastor. He built the first place of worship, the Church of the Epiphany, which burned down on January 2, 1875. So severe was this loss for a small congregation that for the next five years little was done towards rebuilding, except that a new site was bought at Maple and Oak Streets in 1875. Progress was resumed with the coming of the Rev. Richard J. Barry from West Roxbury in February, 1880. He carried through the construction of the tasteful Gothic, brick Church of the Most Precious Blood, whose lofty spire now towers over Mount Neponset. It was dedicated September 13, 1885. His successor, Father (later Monsignor) James J. Chittick (1888-1919), consolidated the parish, estab-

³⁵ *Norfolk Land Deeds*, book 369, p. 69.

lished schools, and made himself a beloved figure among Catholics and Protestants alike.

Brighton, for nearly twenty years a mission of St. Mary's Brookline, became a separate parish on July 1, 1871, under Rev. Patrick J. Rogers. He at once set to work to replace the little wooden church on Bennett Street — St. Columbkille's, or "St. Columba's" as it was more commonly called in the early days — by a large Gothic stone edifice. The site on the corner of Market and Arlington Streets was purchased April 1, 1872; the cornerstone of the new church was blessed September 22nd of the same year; the basement was first occupied for services April 25, 1875; but, because of financial difficulties, the upper church could be completed and dedicated only on July 4, 1880.³⁶ It was, after all, no mean achievement for a congregation not exceeding two thousand persons to have erected so ambitious and beautiful a temple, at a cost of \$80,000. The number of Brighton's Catholics swelled very rapidly under the second pastor, Father Anthony J. Rossi (1885-1907), a native of the Swiss canton of Ticino, a close friend of Archbishop Williams, and a priest "esteemed and loved by all."³⁷ His successor, Rev. (now Monsignor) Joseph V. Tracy, appointed July 1, 1907, is still presiding over what has become one of the strongest and best equipped parishes of the Diocese.

For the Allston portion of his flock Father Rossi in 1894 began the erection of a church on Holton Street, which was dedicated November 24, 1895. This very handsome stone edifice, of Romanesque style, was named in honor of St. Anthony of Padua, the seven-hundredth anniversary of whose birth occurred that year. It remained a mission of St. Columbkille's until April 18, 1899, when Father Patrick J. Hally became its first resident pastor.

VI

The two Charlestown parishes, old St. Mary's, for the south-

³⁶ *Pilot*, June 12, July 3, 10, 1880. The common statement that the church was dedicated in 1876 seems to have no foundation.

³⁷ *Episcopal Register*, Feb. 26, 1907.

ern part of the peninsula, and St. Francis de Sales', for the northern part, were briefly reunited from 1866 to 1868, and then finally separated, Father George A. Hamilton retaining the former while Rev. Michael J. Supple took charge of the latter. Father Hamilton, a learned, wise, and devoted priest, and, for the rest a genial Kentucky gentleman, a cousin of Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore, died July 31, 1874. Rev. William Byrne succeeded him until in 1881 he left to become President of Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. Father (later Monsignor) John W. McMahon then began a pastorate of wellnigh unsurpassed length, which extended from 1881 down to his death in 1937. Born and brought up in Charlestown, he had been one of the first students from this Diocese sent to the American College, Rome, and he was a brother of Bishop Lawrence S. McMahon, of Hartford.

The venerable church built by Bishop Fenwick on Rutherford Avenue, the oldest church in the Diocese then in actual use, had, with various enlargements and improvements, served the Catholics of Charlestown for over half a century, but a larger and more up-to-date one was obviously needed. Father McMahon bought a new site on Warren, Winthrop, and Soley Streets in 1885, and there built a new St. Mary's, which was dedicated October 2, 1892, and consecrated May 28, 1899. This Tudor Gothic granite structure, which cost about \$200,000, is, as *The Pilot* then remarked, "one of the loveliest of churches. Its interior is an education in religion and art."³⁸ Old St. Mary's was demolished in 1901.

At St. Francis de Sales' Father Michael Supple was in charge from 1868 until ill health compelled him to resign in 1887, but he remained there as assistant until his death in 1912. His brother, Rev. James N. Supple, who had been there as curate from 1879 on, was pastor from 1887 until he died on August 24, 1918. During the half-century of the Supple régime the heavy debt resting on the parish was extinguished, the beautiful church was consecrated (August 17, 1884), a handsome school and rectory were built, and this became a highly prosperous and well-organized parish.

³⁸ Oct. 8, 1892.

With 14,000 people to be served in 1887, Father James Supple felt that another church was needed. Hence, on a lot bought at Corey and Vine Streets at the northwestern foot of Breed's Hill, he began that year the construction of the Church of St. Catherine of Siena, a brick edifice which was dedicated on October 20, 1895. Already on July 2, 1888, a new parish had been created here, for the northeastern section of Charlestown, nearest the Navy Yard, under Father Matthew T. Boylan.

All East Boston, as well as Winthrop, had since 1855 been under the care of Father James Fitton. After spending the first half of his ministry in apostolic labors that carried him throughout the six New England States, that great missionary was to pass the second half of it in building up Catholicity in this rapidly developing section — his "island diocese." Not only the present stately stone Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, but also the three other churches erected at that time were in the main his work. Sooner or later, with the consent of the Archbishop, he parceled them out to his young assistants as pastors, but he remained the guiding spirit, and to the day of his death all the Catholics of the island regarded him as in some sense their parish priest. In 1877 the whole Diocese joined in celebrating the Golden Jubilee of this illustrious pupil of Bishops Cheverus and Fenwick, this favorite teacher of Archbishop Williams. He died on September 15, 1881 — wellnigh the last of our pioneer priests.

Not the least of his services had been his championship of Catholic education. Appropriately, therefore, his successor at the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer, Rev. Lawrence P. McCarthy (1881-1911), named the splendid, brick school and high school that he erected in 1893, the Fitton School.

That church, on Maverick and London Streets, served what was called "the First Section," in the western part of lower East Boston. For the Second Section, farther to the east, Father Fitton in 1867 bought land on Summer Street. The building of the church there, which began in July, 1869, was entrusted to the immediate direction of his nephew and curate, Rev. Joseph H. Cassin, who on December 7, 1870, was named rector

of the new parish of Our Lady of the Assumption. He completed the large Romanesque brick structure, which was dedicated November 6, 1873; equipped the parish with rectory, school, and convent; and presided over it, a hard-working and effective pastor, until his death in 1896.

As soon as the Second Section had been provided for, Father Fitton had taken the Third one in hand. On a site at the corner of Brooks and Paris Streets, bought in the summer of 1870,³⁹ he began three years later the Church of the Sacred Heart, which was dedicated June 12, 1874. Because of the sandy soil, the stone edifice originally intended had had to be replaced by a wooden, Gothic structure, with a handsome spire and an interior rendered distinctive by the series of mural paintings executed by a German artist. The first pastor of this parish, Father Lawrence McCarthy (appointed January 3, 1877), remained but four years until he was promoted to the Church of the Most Holy Redeemer. His successor, Rev. Michael Clarke (1881-1906), paid off a church debt of about \$100,000, and built up what was then the second strongest parish in East Boston.

The Fourth Section, as the more remote part of the island, had first received Father Fitton's attention. The small wooden Chapel of Our Lady Star of the Sea, which he had put up as early as 1864, gave way, four years later, to a somewhat larger, plain, wooden church, erected on Moore Street, between Saratoga and Bennington Streets. Dedicated on August 16, 1868, this was to serve that district for about forty years. During the Fitton era this then sparsely settled section had fluctuating fortunes. It was first made a separate parish on December 3, 1872, under Father Denis J. O'Farrell, who, however, was called away three years later to a more important assignment at Stoneham. The Star of the Sea Church was then served (1875-1877) from the Church of the Redeemer, then (1877-1880) from the Sacred Heart, then, as a separate parish once more, by Rev. Michael Clarke, until he was promoted to be rector of the Church of the Sacred Heart. It was only under the two brothers, Rev. John B. O'Donnell (1881-1883) and Rev. Hugh Roe O'Donnell (1883-

³⁹ Sept. 1, 1870 (*Suffolk Land Deeds*, book 1012, p. 316, and book 1013, p. 168).

1907), that the Fourth Section filled up rapidly and this became a thriving, well-organized, and debt-free parish.

The neighboring town of Winthrop, which was, for ecclesiastical purposes, long attached to East Boston, also experienced marked vicissitudes. At Point Shirley, where in the mid-nineteenth century the majority of the population was gathered, the mission which had been well attended during the boom at the copper works throughout the Civil War, went into complete eclipse for some years afterwards. It was revived about 1871, and led a languishing life until in 1894 it appears again to have been discontinued. In the rest of Winthrop neither the permanent residents nor the summer colony attained any large numbers until the establishment of good connections with Boston through the building of the circuit branch of the "Narrow-Gauge Railroad" in 1886. Then such a development set in on the beautiful peninsula that Father Hugh Roe O'Donnell promptly built a wooden church near the centre of the town, on Winthrop and Lincoln Streets. It was dedicated under the patronage of St. John the Evangelist on June 19, 1887. Served for twenty years from the Star of the Sea Church, this mission became an independent parish on January 3, 1907, under Rev. John H. Griffin.

VII

At Bishop Williams' accession the Catholics of both Chelsea and Lynn were under the care of Rev. (later Monsignor) Patrick Strain, the very efficient and successful brother of that very unsuccessful priest, the Rev. James Strain of Bishop Fenwick's time. At Chelsea the Gothic, brick church of St. Rose of Lima, on Broadway, which had long been building, was dedicated on August 30, 1866. On January 14th following, Chelsea and Lynn were made separate parishes, at Father Strain's suggestion. Being offered his choice of the two places, somewhat to the general surprise he chose Lynn, perhaps because of certain recent disagreements with Chelsea parishioners over the question of Fenianism.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, *An Historical Sketch of the Parish of St. Rose*,

His successor at St. Rose's was Rev. James McGlew (1867-1902), who was to be the great figure in the growth of the parish. Ordained in Dublin in 1848, this able and zealous priest had seen years of missionary labor in India and in the Diocese of Buffalo before coming to Boston. At the time of his advent to Chelsea he is described as a man of imposing appearance, straight as an arrow, with piercing eyes and a face that betokened firmness and determination.⁴¹ Strong in his convictions, outspoken in language, and something of an authoritarian, he was an excellent example of what is sometimes called "the Old School" of pastors. At all events, the progress made under him was remarkable. He embellished and enlarged the church, paid off the debt, bought a rectory, erected a convent and schools for girls and boys, inaugurated numerous societies and devotional practices, built up a flourishing parish of over eight thousand people, and, perhaps, stamped something of his own strong, ardent, Catholic spirit upon it.

Everett and Revere were attached to St. Rose's until 1885, when the parish of the Immaculate Conception, Everett, was formed. Its story may be reserved to a later chapter, but that of its offshoot in Revere (a part of Suffolk County) should be outlined here.

The town, first called North Chelsea (1848) and renamed Revere in 1871, was a very small community until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Its growth, like Winthrop's, was much stimulated by the construction of the Boston, Revere Beach and Lynn Railroad (the "Narrow-Gauge"), opened here in 1875. Father Joseph Mohan, the first pastor of Everett, soon began to say Mass in the Revere Town Hall, and in 1888 commenced building a church at Beach and Winthrop Streets. On June 15, 1889, a separate parish was inaugurated, under Rev. James Lee. The latter completed the Church of the Immaculate Conception, which was dedicated May 28, 1893; and he was to remain in charge of it until his death in 1917.

Chelsea, Massachusetts (n.p., n.d. [1924]), p. 27. This little volume is one of our best parish histories.

⁴¹ *Boston Post*, Feb. 15, 1902.

So rapid was the development, especially in the district nearest the oceanside, that Father Lee soon had to erect a second church in Revere — Our Lady of Lourdes, Beachmont — which was blessed on November 16, 1902. On January 7, 1906, a new parish was created here, under his assistant, Rev. Patrick M. O'Connor.

The magnitude of the growth that has been hurriedly sketched here may be summed up by saying that within the present limits of the City of Boston from 1866 to 1907 the number of Catholic parishes increased from sixteen to fifty-one, and the number of churches from eighteen to fifty-eight. Of the Catholic churches that existed in Boston in 1866, hardly half a dozen could be regarded as really large and impressive. But from the age of Archbishop Williams there have come down to us in this city at least a score of great temples that remain splendid monuments of the zeal of their builders for the glory of the house of God and of the boundless generosity of the faithful.

CHAPTER XI

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF MIDDLESEX AND ESSEX COUNTIES (1866-1907)

I

NO LESS REMARKABLE than the growth of the Church in Boston was its increase in that ring of suburban communities which during the Williams era coalesced into a compact settled area as populous as the metropolis itself.

Cambridge, which had but 29,112 inhabitants in 1865, had 97,434 by 1905, and its industrial eastern sections were swarming with Catholics. The city contained two parishes in 1866: St. John's, East Cambridge, and St. Peter's, in Old Cambridge, with Prospect Street forming the dividing line between them. At the first of these churches the outstanding figure was the learned, energetic, and somewhat combative Father (later Monsignor) John O'Brien, pastor from 1873 to 1917. He replaced the old St. John's Church on Fourth Street with the magnificent, Gothic, stone Church of the Sacred Heart, erected at Otis and Sixth Streets, at a cost of \$200,000, and dedicated January 28, 1883. The handsome rectory next door and the school and convent which he finally provided, despite his former stand on the School Question, were other contributions of his to the up-building of what was then a singularly thriving parish, with a Catholic population of at least ten thousand souls.¹

The long-delayed project of building a church in Cambridgeport began to move forward shortly after Bishop Williams' accession. Presumably because of the poor health of Father John W. Donahue, then pastor of St. John's, within whose parish the

¹ See *Souvenir in Honor of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Rev. John O'Brien's Ordination to the Sacred Priesthood, of His Thirty-Fifth Anniversary as Pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart, East Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., and of His Twentieth Anniversary as Founder of the Sacred Heart Review* (n.p., 1908).

site lay, the task was entrusted to Father Manasses P. Dougherty, of St. Peter's. To the latter belongs the credit for fixing the plans of the present beautiful Gothic, brick church, with the aid of the architects, P. C. Keeley and James Murphy, of Providence. Through his vigorous impulse work on the foundations was started in June, 1866; the cornerstone was laid by the Bishop on July 15th following — a sweltering day — in the presence of four thousand people; and by the next spring the exterior of the church was nearly completed. At that point Father Thomas Scully was appointed first pastor of what was already called St. Mary's (May 11, 1867). Under his driving leadership the work of construction was pressed through so rapidly that the church was dedicated on March 8, 1868.

Of Father Scully's subsequent activities, and of his success in equipping his parish with a rectory, a convent, boys' and girls' schools, a college, gymnasiums, a parish hall, and even a hospital, something has already been said here. His fame in earlier years as an arch-champion of Catholic schools was equaled later by his celebrity as a Temperance crusader. It was very largely through his exertions that the No License forces captured Cambridge in 1887 and retained their control for many years afterwards. A born leader and organizer, a perpetual student, eminently progressive, keeping his warm enthusiasm always, handsome, dignified, polished, cultivated, eloquent, masterful, aggressive, intense in thought and action, he was a man who made some mistakes and some enemies, but who won the fervent love of his own people and the deep respect of the whole community. He died September 11, 1902 — and Cambridge had never seen such a funeral. Protestant pulpits vied with Catholics in pouring forth encomiums upon him. One minister described him as "a strong leader for righteousness, a soldier of temperance and purity, an upright and beloved citizen." Another minister characterized him as "second to no man in Cambridge as a power for good . . . in many respects our chief citizen." ²

Under the next pastor, Rev. Michael J. Doody (1903-1925),

² *Pilot*, Sept. 20, 1902.

a former Chancellor of the Archdiocese, St. Mary's overgrown parish had to be divided. The portion between Massachusetts Avenue and Charles River was set off in the summer of 1905 as the Blessed Sacrament parish, under Father John A. Crowe.³ While the services were held in a building transformed into a temporary chapel, plans for erecting a church at the corner of Pearl and Lake Streets had already been completed at the time of Archbishop Williams' death.

St. Peter's, Old Cambridge, had never enjoyed the teeming numbers that were to be found in the eastern parishes of the city, but it was a prolific mother of daughter-churches. The vast area which that splendid missionary, Father Dougherty, had once served, had by 1866 been reduced to the western part of Cambridge, most of Somerville, and West Cambridge (Arlington). It was, as we shall see, to be much further cut down by the changes of the next thirty years. Father Dougherty died July 23, 1877; and his successors, Rev. James E. O'Brien (1877-1888), Rev. John Flatley (1888-1903), and Rev. Edward J. Moriarty (1903-1912) — all excellent pastors — gradually built up their parish, paid off the heavy debt resting upon it, provided convent and school (1901), and made their quaint old church, with its dignified rectory and spacious lawns, an ornament even to that stately neighborhood.

The first Cambridge offshoot of St. Peter's was St. Paul's, in the Harvard Square section. Here Father Dougherty purchased (May 23, 1873) and refitted for Catholic use the old wooden meeting-house of the Shepard Congregational Society, at the corner of Mount Auburn and Holyoke Streets. While attended at first as a mission of St. Peter's, this became a parish church with the appointment as pastor, on October 9, 1875, of the Rev. William Orr, who was to preside over it until his death on December 30, 1906. So simple and direct in manner that people did not always recognize his real learning and ability, Father Orr was also a zealous and warm-hearted pastor, whose strong North-of-Ireland accent, quiet humor, and quaint sayings endeared him the more to his flock. There are few priests

³ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1905.

of the olden times about whom so many pleasant anecdotes have come down to us. By 1891 his congregation and his resources had increased so signally that he was able greatly to enlarge and almost to remake the church, improving its appearance with a new façade and a handsome tower. Meanwhile, on February 9, 1889, he had bought the estate of the late Gordon McKay, a wealthy sewing-machine manufacturer, between Mount Auburn and Bow Streets, on which he built the present parish school and transformed an ancient dwelling into a convent. At the very end of his life Father Orr was deep in plans for a new church, which he intended to erect on lots purchased in October, 1906, still farther to the east, on the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Ellery Street.

St. John's, North Cambridge, is another offshoot of St. Peter's. As that district had become the most populous part of the mother-parish, and as it was fairly remote from the old church on Observatory Hill, Father Flatley in 1891 built for it a school-chapel on Rindge Avenue, in which the first Mass was said February 28, 1892. On December 12th following, at Father Flatley's request, a resident pastor was appointed, Rev. John B. Halloran. During his ten-year incumbency the latter devoted himself particularly to paying off the large debt already incurred. His successor, Father James P. F. Kelly (1902-1929) — the great figure in the early upbuilding of this parish — soon purchased an excellent and more central site at Massachusetts Avenue and Hollis Street; and there, on May 14, 1905, the cornerstone was blessed for the sumptuous church that has since arisen.

Somerville, which had been detached from Charlestown in 1842, long retained something of the atmosphere of convent-burning times, until the growth of industry and the rapid increase of population — from 9,353 in 1865 to 69,272 in 1905 — changed the situation. The beginnings of Catholic organization here were tardy and remain somewhat obscure. As late as 1869 most of the town (as far east as Dane Street) was included in St. Peter's parish, Cambridge; the rest belonged to St. Francis de Sales', Charlestown; and the Somerville Catholics, already

about two thousand in number, had to trudge long distances to church. Who first initiated the movement to remedy these conditions is uncertain: it may have been Father Manasses Dougherty, or Father Michael Supple, of Charlestown, or the people themselves. At any rate, on June 25th of that year three laymen, Michael Hanley, Patrick Sheridan, and Michael McCarron, bought a lot for a church at Bow Street and Milk (now Somerville Avenue), in the Union Square section.⁴ On November 29th following, Vicar-General Lyndon appointed Father Christopher T. McGrath "pastor of the town of Somerville."⁵ Ordained but four years previously, this hard-working, kindly, modest, and beloved priest was to remain at the post then given him for the term, unequalled in the history of this Diocese, of sixty-three years, until his death in 1932.

On December 23rd the Catholics of Somerville first gathered for services in their own town in Hawkins Hall, and there they continued to meet for nearly two years. Meanwhile, dissatisfied with the Milk Street lot, on January 20, 1870, Father McGrath bought the Mayo estate on Washington Street and Webster Avenue, just west of Union Square.⁶ On this fine site he soon began building the Gothic brick church, with lofty spire, which was dedicated by the Archbishop on November 14, 1875, under the invocation of the Patronage of St. Joseph. As rapidly as a very prudent management permitted, the new parish was then equipped with whatever else was needed: the present rectory (1881), the large wooden school for girls (1880), constructed out of a former Methodist church, the three-story brick boys' school (1893), and residences for the respective teachers, the Sisters of Notre Dame and the Xaverian Brothers. The congregation grew by leaps and bounds, and by the end of this period could vie with the largest in Boston or Cambridge.

Meantime, two other parishes arose in Somerville, in each case at Father McGrath's initiative. For the people in the northern part of his parish, in the Winter Hill section, he began about 1876 to hold services in a schoolhouse on Sycamore

⁴ *Middlesex Deeds*, book 1086, p. 619.

⁵ *Episcopal Register*.

⁶ *Middlesex Deeds*, book 1106, p. 482.

Street. In the following year the very desirable property at the corner of Medford and Thurston Streets was acquired;⁷ and four years later he erected the plain wooden church which was dedicated to St. Ann on September 25, 1881. Immediately afterwards Father John B. Galvin was appointed rector of a new parish here.⁸ His great achievement was to build the present handsome and spacious red-brick, Romanesque Church of St. Ann, which was begun in 1897 and dedicated October 21, 1906, by Archbishop O'Connell.

Desiring to provide equally for the western part of Somerville, and particularly the Spring Hill section, Father McGrath in 1891 secured the Pitman estate on Summer Street.⁹ On November 17th a new parish was then created under the Rev. James J. O'Brien, a son of Mayor Hugh O'Brien of Boston. The new pastor quickly put up a large but utterly unpretentious temporary wooden church, which was first used for services at Easter, 1892, and which was named in honor of St. Catherine of Genoa. In due time something much grander was to follow — but that came in the next episcopate.

Arlington (the new name adopted by the town of West Cambridge in 1867) developed during the Williams era from a quiet rural village into a thriving suburban community of about ten thousand people. Father Dougherty, of Cambridge, who had attended it since 1849 and occasionally said Mass in private houses, purchased land at the corner of Medford and Mystic Streets in 1868,¹⁰ and two years later began the building of a small brick church in the Gothic style. This edifice — the core of the present church — was dedicated as St. Malachy's on September 20, 1874. Somewhat before its completion, Arlington, along with Belmont, had been formed into a separate parish (December 30, 1872). Its early pastors were Fathers Joseph M. Finotti (1872-1876), Matthew Harkins (1876-1884), Thomas H. Shahan (1884-1891), and John M. Mulcahy (1891-1911). Father Shahan established the parochial school (1888),

⁷ Oct. 1, 1877 (*Middlesex Deeds*, book 1459, p. 465).

⁸ Oct. 17, 1881 (*Episcopal Register*).

⁹ May 11, 1891 (*Archbishop Williams' Book of Deeds*).

¹⁰ Aug. 4 (*Archbishop Williams' Book of Deeds*).

and Father Mulcahy greatly enlarged and improved the church, which was rededicated October 28, 1900, as St. Agnes'.

At Belmont Father Shahan on May 23, 1886, began to say Mass in the Town Hall for a very tiny congregation. On June 2nd following, he bought a lot on Common Street, where he presently erected a plain little wooden church, which was blessed as St. Joseph's on March 31, 1889. Eleven years later, when Belmont had come to have about one thousand Catholics, it was made a parish under Rev. Nicholas J. Murphy (July 27, 1900).

The quiet, historic towns of Lexington and Concord, having almost no industries, witnessed but a slow, though steady, increase of Catholic population. Lexington was a mission of Woburn from 1864 to 1867, joined to Concord from 1867 to 1873, and attached to Arlington from 1873 to 1886. With the appointment of Father Patrick Kavanagh, on March 29, 1886, it began to have its own resident pastors. The first Church of St. Bridget, the old Universalist meeting-house in East Lexington, was sold to the Town in 1874. In its place Father Finotti began in 1873 the building of the present church, a Gothic wooden structure on Monument Street, near Lexington Common, which was dedicated only on May 3, 1891. At Bedford, a mission of Lexington, Father Shahan in 1884-1885 built the plain little Church of St. Michael.

Concord, which was attached to Waltham until 1867, has retained to the present day the dignified old St. Bernard's Church on Monument Square, which was bought from the Protestants in 1863. Father P. J. Canny, named pastor of Concord and Lexington in 1867, chose to reside in the latter town; but with the appointment of his successor, Rev. John E. Delahunty, on September 7, 1870, Concord began to have its unbroken series of resident pastors. Father Mortimer E. Twomey, rector from 1903 to 1908, deserves particular credit for having erected the Church of Our Lady Help of Christians, Concord Junction, and St. Joseph's, Lincoln, both of which were dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on May 26, 1907.

Watertown, whose industrial importance dates from this

period, saw its population grow from 3,779 in 1865 to 11,258 in 1905. Its Catholic pastors were: Fathers John McCarthy (1863-1871), Michael M. Green (1871-1879), Robert P. Stack (1879-1895), and John S. Cullen (1885-1908). While the first two of these priests signalized themselves especially by the up-building of their missions, Father Stack, the best remembered and, apparently, the most beloved of the early pastors, enlarged old St. Patrick's Church, built the present capacious rectory, opened a school (1888), and was planning a new and splendid church at the time of his premature and much lamented death. Father Cullen then began in 1901 the construction of the new St. Patrick's, and this spacious and imposing Gothic edifice was dedicated by Vicar-General Byrne on May 20, 1906.

For the Catholics of industrial East Watertown and the adjacent parts of Cambridge and Belmont, Father Stack in 1892 had purchased a part of the old Bird estate on Mount Auburn Street.¹¹ Here he built the neat little Church of the Sacred Heart, which was in use by 1894 and was greatly enlarged five years later. This new parish received its first pastor in Father Thomas J. Coughlan (1896-1920).

Waltham, an older centre of industry than Watertown, grew from a town of 6,896 people in 1865 to a city of 26,282 in 1905. The stately, Romanesque brick Church of St. Mary, which Father Patrick Flood had begun in 1858, was substantially completed by his zealous and hard-working successor, Father Bernard Flood, by 1875. It is said to have cost about \$150,000.¹² The Catholics, whose early fortunes in Waltham had not been too happy, now had the largest and handsomest place of worship in the town. The next pastor, Rev. Timothy J. Brosnahan (1876-1919), further improved and adorned the church, which was dedicated on April 8, 1877. He also erected the present rectory, and a large brick parochial school (St. Joseph's), which is said to have cost nearly \$100,000 and which soon included High School departments for boys and girls.¹³

¹¹ Aug. 6 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

¹² *Pilot*, July 24, 1875.

¹³ Rev. James J. Baxter, *A History of St. Mary's Parish, Waltham, Mass., 1835-1935* (n.pl., n.d.), p. 7.

Watertown and Waltham were the centres from which Catholicity was implanted in Newton. The last-named community underwent a remarkable development during the latter half of the nineteenth century — from a loose union of many scattered villages into a compact and wealthy residential city of thirty-six thousand people (by 1905). As whatever industry existed here was in early days located chiefly around the Upper and Lower Falls on Charles River, it was at those villages on the southwest perimeter that the Catholic penetration of Newton began.

The services occasionally held at the Upper Falls by priests from Waltham and Watertown in the '40's and '50's had, since about 1860, become regular and weekly. A building fund was started by a small but zealous flock, eager to have a church of their own. Father McCarthy, of Watertown, who already in 1864 had bought a lot on the east side of Chestnut Street, three years later erected there the first Catholic church in Newton, the small wooden edifice of Gothic style which was dedicated on November 17, 1867, as St. Mary's. On April 10, 1871, Rev. Michael X. Carroll was named first pastor of a new parish that included all Newton south of Beacon Street. His successor, Father Michael Dolan (December 4, 1871-1885) greatly enlarged and embellished the church, which was rededicated on April 30, 1876, and brought the parish into flourishing condition. After the death of the third pastor, the excellent Father Martin O'Brien (November 10, 1890), a division became necessary, with two new parishes split off for the Lower Falls and for Newton Centre respectively. At St. Mary's Rev. Timothy J. Danahy — a pronounced example of the strong and original characters to be found among the pastors of "the old school" — now began a long and notable term of service (1890-1923).

At the Lower Falls the faithful from both sides of the river began to assemble for worship in Boyden Hall at some date not to be fixed with certainty, but apparently around 1870. Father Dolan in 1873 bought a lot at Washington and Ledyard Streets, on the Wellesley side; ¹⁴ and there in the following year

¹⁴ Feb. 6 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

he began building St. John's Church. It was dedicated May 8, 1881, a frame church of Gothic design. Rev. Patrick H. Callanan, the first pastor assigned to this parish (1890-1912), proved able, active, and popular. His principal achievement was the remodeling of the church, to which he added a new sanctuary, transepts, a new façade, and a tower. Thus reconstructed, St. John's was rededicated by the Archbishop on May 19, 1901.

When Newton Centre was detached from the Upper Falls parish, Father Denis J. Wholey became its first pastor (1890-1908). An excellent site for a church had already been purchased by Father O'Brien on Centre Street.¹⁵ While gathering his people for services in Association Hall, Father Wholey immediately began building operations, and on October 1, 1899, the Church of the Sacred Heart was dedicated. This handsome red-brick edifice, with its two square towers and roofed with Spanish tiles, is somewhat difficult to classify from an architectural standpoint, but it offered evidence that the long reign of the Gothic style in our churches was drawing to a close.

In the northern part of the city, St. Bernard's, West Newton, was the first church to be erected. The beginnings here were marked by one of those unpleasant episodes so common in our Catholic history. Father Bernard Flood, of Waltham, who seems to have said Mass in this section occasionally from about 1866 onward, bought a lot at Washington and Prospect Streets on May 17, 1869, and, wishing to gather all the local Catholics to discuss church-building, hired the Town Hall for services on Sunday, May 30th. The arrangement was made with Constable Cole, who had authority to let the building. It was announced from the altar in the Waltham church on Sunday, the 23rd. Two of the Newton Selectmen, however, having strong Evangelical convictions about "Popery," induced their colleagues to countermand this agreement and deny the Catholics the use of the hall. When this decision was noised about, it aroused much commotion, and the Unitarians, with characteristic courtesy, at once offered the use of their church. Father Flood, however, preferred to make other arrangements. On

¹⁵ In April, 1890 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

Sunday, June 6th, he assembled his people on their church lot, where Mass was said in a tent. Three hundred persons crowded within, while twelve hundred knelt in the open air. So indignant were the Catholics at the insult put upon them that \$1,600 were raised that day to build a church.¹⁶ Apparently that tent had to be used for many long months until in the following spring, when a new board of Selectmen came into office, the use of the Town Hall was finally obtained.¹⁷

The cornerstone of St. Bernard's was blessed on November 12, 1871, and on August 23, 1874, Bishop Williams dedicated the tasteful Gothic brick church, which had cost about \$45,000.¹⁸ Two years later West Newton was made a separate parish under Father Michael T. McManus (appointed April 20, 1876). Under its third pastor, Rev. Lawrence J. O'Toole (1886-1911), the church was almost completely destroyed by fire on the evening of June 23, 1889. Once more the congregation went for a season to the Town Hall, but, thanks to the resolute efforts of pastor and people, the church was promptly rebuilt — substantially along its old lines, but larger and more beautiful than ever — and rededicated on April 27, 1890.

Mass was first said at Newton Corner, the business heart of the city, on March 12, 1871, in Middlesex Hall, by Father Galligan, assistant at Watertown.¹⁹ Presumably services were henceforth held more or less regularly, and by the following year both the people themselves and Father Michael Green, the new pastor of Watertown, were eager to build a church. On October 7, 1872, an admirable site was secured at Washington and Adams Streets, midway between Newton Corner and Newtonville.²⁰ Begun soon afterwards, the splendid Gothic Church of Our Lady Help of Christians was completed only nine years later, and dedicated May 9, 1881. Father Green had

¹⁶ *Pilot*, June 12, 19, 1869, Nov. 25, 1871; *Newton Journal*, June 5, 1869.

¹⁷ *Newton Journal*, April 16, 1870: "The Roman Catholics celebrated Mass at the Town Hall, West Newton, on Sunday forenoon, April 3d." Cf. *Minutes of the Selectmen*, May 4, 1870 (*Archives, City Hall, Newton*).

¹⁸ *Boston Post*, Aug. 24, 1874.

¹⁹ *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*, March 12, 1871.

²⁰ *Archbishop Williams' Book of Deeds*.

become so absorbed in this enterprise that he had resigned the care of Watertown in order to devote himself entirely to the new parish created in Newton on July 23, 1879.

After the death of this zealous and indefatigable priest, Father Michael Dolan was brought from the Upper Falls to be his successor (1885-1915). He remodeled, enlarged, and embellished the church; built the present rectory; started the first parish school in Newton (1892); and presented to his people as a personal gift a \$25,000 convent. By the close of this period Our Lady's parish, with its complete and harmonious group of beautiful buildings, its spacious and well-kept grounds, its property valued at \$300,000, and the largest congregation in Newton, might well rank among the most prosperous parishes of the Diocese.

II

On the north side of Boston, Woburn and Malden were the centres from which Catholicity expanded.

Woburn, with its tanneries and its shoe industry, early attracted a larger Irish population than most towns of its size, and by the end of the century it is likely that at least half its fourteen thousand residents were Catholics. St. Charles' parish, which had been created here in 1862, was presided over from 1864 to 1897 by Father John Qualey. He replaced the first plain little church by the fine Gothic edifice, with a high and graceful spire, which was dedicated on September 12, 1869. He also established a parochial school (1884), and left a thriving and well-ordered parish to his successor, Father James J. Keegan (1897-1917).

Winchester (formerly "South Woburn") had become a town only in 1850, and, being less industrialized than Woburn, retained more of a Protestant character. The Catholics, nevertheless, were numerous enough to launch a first, unsuccessful movement for church-building as early as 1866.²¹ Six years later the project was revived by a generous Protestant, William

²¹ *Boston Post*, July 20, 1866; *Pilot*, July 28, 1866.

H. Chandler, who, after consulting with the leading Catholics and with Father Qualey, engineered the purchase of the present church lot at Washington and Elm Streets.²² Here Father Qualey in 1873 began the construction of St. Mary's Church, which was dedicated May 4, 1879. Meanwhile, on September 19, 1875, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor had been appointed first pastor of Winchester. His successor, Father Patrick D. Daly (1883-1888), remodeled the church, doubling its length and adding a tower; and Father Henry J. Madden (1894-1906) built a new front and covered the original wooden walls with brick.

The industrial Montvale section in East Woburn had in 1875 been attached to the new Winchester parish. Here Father O'Connor built the Gothic, wooden Church of St. Joseph, which was blessed May 4, 1879; and here a separate parish was created in October 24, 1906, under Rev. Patrick F. Higgins.

In 1866, the Church of the Immaculate Conception, on the border between Medford and Malden, was still the centre of a vast parish that included both those towns, Stoneham, South Reading (Wakefield), Reading, and part of Everett. The church itself stood on land which then belonged to Medford, but which in 1877 was ceded to Malden. Amid many reductions in area this parish continued to grow in numbers and strength in very healthy fashion. Among its early pastors the one who did most to build up its equipment was Father Thomas Gleeson (1868-1883), a former missionary in India. He twice enlarged the church, added the present tower and spire, and had the edifice at last dedicated by the Bishop (May 11, 1873). He also built the present rectory, and in 1881 opened the parochial school. After the successful pastorate of Father Michael J. Flatley, who erected a commodious brick school for girls, on October 14, 1896, this flourishing parish of about six thousand souls passed into the charge of Father Richard Neagle, who for ten years had been Chancellor of the Archdiocese. His pastorate was to last nearly half a century, down to his death in 1943.

²² *Sacred Heart Review*, V, no. 23 (May 2, 1891), 1; Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*, April 13, 1872.

Few of the northern suburbs of Boston grew as rapidly as Malden during the Williams era. Its population of 6,840 in 1865 had by 1905 swollen to 38,037. By 1891 the Catholics of the central and eastern parts of the city were petitioning for a separate parish and a church nearer to their homes, and the Archbishop felt the justice of their claims. The realization of this project was entrusted, at his own request, to Father Thomas H. Shahan, then rector of Arlington (June 8, 1891). Although past seventy and with a lifetime of strenuous priestly labors behind him, the great church-builder of the Diocese was still aflame with zeal to erect new temples and to undertake new campaigns for the glory of God. On the Sunday following his appointment he drove over from Arlington "in a democrat wagon, with a trunk containing his ecclesiastical vestments and sacred vessels in the rear. After the Mass he turned out both pockets and told his new parishioners that he did not have a cent, and that he even owed the driver for bringing him to Malden."²³ While services were held for the first year and a half in the Malden Opera House, Father Shahan on May 6, 1892, purchased an excellent site on Main Street, close to the centre of the city. Here he at once began the construction of the large and beautiful brick Church of the Sacred Heart, in the Romanesque style, which was dedicated by the Archbishop May 5, 1901. It is said to have cost over \$125,000, and to have been the last church designed by the celebrated architect P. C. Keeley. It was also the last church built by Father Shahan. That great laborer in the vineyard of the Lord died on November 28, 1902. Probably there was no more beloved priest in all New England. "The simplicity of his life, the kindness of his heart, and the nobleness of his character made him seem to his parishioners like one of the venerable saints of the Church."²⁴

For the people in the eastern (Maplewood and Linden) sections of the city, Father Shahan had built the wooden Church of St. Joseph, on Salem Street, which was dedicated April 8,

²³ See the very well-written story of this parish in *Malden Evening News*, June 21, 1941.

²⁴ *Malden Evening News*, loc. cit.

1894. On March 15, 1902, a new parish was created here under Father Timothy J. Holland.

Medford, while growing more slowly than Malden, had increased in population from 4,839 in 1865 to 19,686 in 1905. As the Catholics in the central and western parts of town found the Church of the Immaculate Conception somewhat remote, on March 23, 1876, they bought the old Congregational church and lot on High Street,²⁵ and had henceforth at least a place of worship of their own. They also wanted a separate parish and a resident pastor. Father Gleeson opposed their project, affirming that Malden and Medford could not support two parishes.²⁶ Finally the Archbishop gratified them with the appointment on February 2, 1883, of Rev. Richard Donnelly as first pastor of Medford. This gentle, kindly priest was already in delicate health, and died of consumption October 7, 1886. He had had time, however, to make himself "beloved by everyone in the town, Catholic and non-Catholic alike," for "he carried the charity of Christ in his heart wherever he went";²⁷ and he had had the advantage of possessing a strong and devoted curate on whom he could lean and who was one day to be Cardinal Archbishop of Boston.

The second pastor, Father Michael Gilligan (1886-1900), after acquiring additional land on the river side of High Street, began the construction of a large and stately new church. The basement chapel was dedicated October 18, 1896, and for many years served the congregation quite comfortably. The completion of the upper church was reserved to the third pastor, Rev. Thomas L. Flanagan (1900-1923), and, for financial reasons, was delayed until some time after the death of Archbishop Williams.²⁸

For the Catholics of West Medford, Father Flanagan began holding services in Holton Hall about 1902. Early in 1905

²⁵ *Middlesex Deeds*, book 1388, p. 401.

²⁶ *Boston Post*, Dec. 15, 1881.

²⁷ His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston and New York, 1934), p. 143.

²⁸ The story of St. Joseph's parish has been well narrated by Louise F. Hunt in *The Medford Historical Register*, XVII (1914), 1-8.

Rev. Nathaniel J. Merritt was named pastor of this district,²⁹ and he quickly erected a church on High Street which was dedicated as St. Raphael's on October 29th of that year.

Stoneham, where Mass had been said occasionally since, perhaps, the early '50's, was a mission of Malden until 1868. On March 25th of that year Father M. X. Carroll bought land on the corner of Central and Pomeworth Streets and, having purchased at the same time a Universalist meeting-house, moved it to his lot and refitted it as St. Patrick's Church. On August 31st following, Rev. William H. Fitzpatrick was made pastor of a new parish that included Stoneham, Wakefield, and Reading. He chose to reside at the first of these towns. This arrangement lasted until on May 23, 1873, Wakefield and Reading were formed into a separate parish, while in return Melrose was added to Stoneham. Father Denis J. O'Farrell, the second pastor of St. Patrick's (1875-1894), replaced the onetime meeting-house with a Gothic frame church, which was dedicated November 4, 1888, and which still serves the parish.

Melrose (formerly North Malden), which became a town only in 1850, grew slowly during this period into a pleasant residential community of about fourteen thousand people. While Catholic services may have been held here occasionally as early as the middle '50's,³⁰ it is probable that something like regular services began only with the Mass celebrated by Father Gleeson of Malden in Masonic Hall on Christmas, 1868.³¹ When Father Fitzpatrick, of Stoneham, took over the charge of this mission, he immediately bought land on Dell Avenue and placed upon it a Baptist church which he had purchased, and by October 26, 1873, the three hundred Catholics of Melrose were worshipping in "St. Bridget's."³² Two decades later Father O'Farrell erected the large Romanesque frame Church of St. Mary, on a new site at the corner of Hubert and Myrtle Streets.

²⁹ *Pilot*, Jan. 14, 1905.

³⁰ There is a tradition that Mass was said on Grove Street Dec. 25, 1854. See D. Hamilton Hurd (ed.), *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts*, III (Philadelphia, 1890), 211.

³¹ Eldridge H. Goss, *The History of Melrose* (*ibid.*, 1902), p. 180.

³² *Pilot*, Aug. 9, Nov. 1, 1873.

Begun in 1890, the new edifice was dedicated by the Archbishop on November 26, 1893. By this time the Catholic population was large enough to warrant a separate parish. On July 23, 1894, therefore, Melrose was detached from Stoneham and entrusted to Father Francis J. Glynn, whose long and exemplary pastorate lasted down to 1938.³³

The town of South Reading, which renamed itself Wakefield in 1868, enjoyed great prosperity in the late nineteenth century, thanks to its then famous rattan industry and other manufactures. By 1905 it had about ten thousand people, of whom, presumably, one fourth at least were Catholics. After being attached successively to Malden and to Stoneham, Wakefield received as its first resident pastor Rev. Michael F. Flatley (1873-1884), who was followed by Fathers Patrick H. Hally (1884-1887), Jeremiah E. Millerick (1887-1902), and John D. Colbert (1902-1913). Through most of this period church-building was always on the order of the day. Dissatisfied with the original little Church of St. Mary, which Father Shahan had erected, Father Fitzpatrick, of Stoneham, began the construction of St. Joseph's in 1870. He built the chancel and transepts. Father Flatley moved the new edifice, turned it about, and built a basement under it. Father Millerick carried through the original plans, completing the nave and the very handsome tower and spire. On November 9, 1890, St. Joseph's was finally dedicated. The result was worthy of such long pains and labors: an impressive Gothic church (of wood), which was a credit and a joy to the parish.

Reading, which was for over thirty years attached to Wakefield, began to have regular Catholic services in Lyceum Hall in February, 1883. Two years later Father Hally purchased a site upon which he erected the first plain little wooden Church of St. Agnes, which Father Millerick completed. On June 6, 1904, Reading was made a parish under the Rev. Denis F. Lee.

The one Middlesex community that owed its Catholic origins

³³ Some interesting biographical details about Father Glynn are to be found in Rev. Michael Earls, S.J., *Manuscripts and Memories* (Milwaukee, 1935), pp. 197-201.

to Chelsea was Everett. The town of this name was incorporated out of South Malden only in 1870, but it then experienced a very rapid growth, becoming a city in 1892 and boasting twenty-nine thousand inhabitants by 1905. As early as 1874 the Catholics of Everett began to agitate for a church.³⁴ Two years later two zealous laymen, Joseph Finn and William Power, took up a census of the Catholic population, and, finding it very numerous, went to the Archbishop to request that Mass might henceforth be regularly celebrated in the town.³⁵ The first result was that all Everett, hitherto divided between the Malden and the Chelsea parishes, was assigned to the latter. The second was that on Sunday, July 9, 1876, Father McGlew, of Chelsea, said the first Mass in Everett, in the Town Hall. As soon as this had been secured, Messrs. Finn and Power began collecting money for a church. On July 13, 1877, Father McGlew purchased a splendid site on the corner of Broadway and Mansfield Place;³⁶ and soon after he commenced the erection of St. Mary's Church, which was dedicated on May 14, 1882. It was a simple wooden structure, looking not unlike a schoolhouse.

As there were now well over one thousand Catholics in the town, on May 31, 1885, Rev. Joseph F. Mohan was appointed first pastor of Everett — a post which he was to fill down to 1920. As soon as he had attended, as has already been related, to the needs of the Revere mission, he faced the task of providing Everett with a church adequate for what was obviously destined to be a very large parish. The cornerstone of the present splendid Church of the Immaculate Conception was blessed on October 18, 1896; but the completion of the great enterprise came only in the next episcopate.

III

Among the cities of Essex County Lynn grew most rapidly during this period. Between 1865 to 1905 its population rose

³⁴ *Pilot*, April 11, 1874.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, July 22, 1876, Oct. 24, 1896.

³⁶ Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*.

from 20,747 to 77,042. As the native American element, however, maintained itself with unusual tenacity in the principal industry, shoemaking, this did not become so strongly Catholic a community as did most cities of Massachusetts.

Epoch-making for the development of the Church here was the long pastorate of Father Patrick Strain, from 1851 to 1893. It has already been noted that in 1867 he resigned his other parish, Chelsea, in order to reside at, and devote himself entirely to, Lynn. After completing the beautiful Gothic Church of St. Mary, which was dedicated October 2, 1870, he erected a \$60,000 brick school building, which opened its doors in September, 1881.³⁷ By this time the tiny congregation of three hundred which he had at first found here, had swollen to about eight thousand.³⁸ In recognition of his achievements Father Strain was in 1886 raised to the rank of Papal Chamberlain, and in 1891 to that of Domestic Prelate. He has often been called, with substantial if not complete accuracy, "New England's first Monsignor."

No less successful was the administration of his successor, Rev. Arthur J. Teeling (1893-1927). He enlarged and improved the school, and built a handsome brick rectory, a new brick convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame, and a convent for the Christian Brothers. In spite of all these undertakings, St. Mary's Church, as completely free of debt, could be consecrated on August 31, 1902. In the following year Father Teeling also received the title of Domestic Prelate.

Meantime, the great parish which originally included the whole of Lynn, Nahant, Saugus, and Swampscott was putting forth numerous offshoots.

The eastern part of Lynn was set off, on June 10, 1874, to form the new parish of St. Joseph. Its first pastor, Father John C. Harrington, was a true type of the hard-working, devoted, and charitable Catholic priest. He erected at the corner of

³⁷ The history of the school and much of the history of the parish are related in very interesting fashion in the pamphlet *An Unfinished Story: the Narrative of St. Mary's School on the Occasion of Her Fiftieth Birthday* (Lynn, 1931).

³⁸ *Pilot*, Oct. 20, 1883.

Union and West Green Streets an imposing red-brick Gothic church, with a beautiful interior and a graceful spire rising to a height of 196 feet, at a cost of \$70,000. While the cornerstone was laid July 4, 1875, the completed edifice was dedicated only on June 21, 1885. As soon as the debt was paid, a school was added (1899), and by the later years of this long pastorate (1874-1913), St. Joseph's parish was almost as large and prosperous as St. Mary's.

The Catholics of West Lynn long desired a church of their own, and in 1879 launched a movement to obtain one. Father Strain, however, refused his consent, feeling that for the establishment of a Catholic school the strength of his whole parish was needed.³⁹ Father Teeling adopted a different attitude. Very soon after his coming to Lynn, he bought two large lots for church purposes in Boston Street in the western part of the city; and with his hearty assent on June 13, 1894, a new parish of the Sacred Heart was created here under Father Denis F. Sullivan. The latter, while compelled to gather his congregation for Mass temporarily in a cigar factory, soon began the construction of a very handsome and spacious brick church in the Renaissance style. Its basement was in use before the end of 1895, but the completion of the enterprise was to wait for many years still.

For the southwestern section of Lynn, which had remained to St. Mary's, Father Teeling built a brick school-chapel on Light Street. It was dedicated December 10, 1896, under the name of St. Patrick's. This became the centre of a new parish in June, 1906, when Rev. Patrick Masterson was appointed rector.

The picturesque town of Nahant, which had but a scanty Catholic population in winter, but a large one in summer, had been attended from Lynn since the 1850's. It was, apparently, in 1872 that Father Strain built the neat little white frame Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, which looks rather like a New England meeting-house. On April 13, 1902, Nahant was made a parish under Father Francis P. Hannawin.

³⁹ *Boston Post*, July 15, Sept. 24, 1879; *Pilot*, Oct. 4, 1879.

Saugus, which had seen flurries of Catholic activity in the '30's and the '50's, was a mission of St. Mary's, Lynn, from 1868 to 1894; of the Sacred Heart, West Lynn, until 1905; and then of St. Joseph's, Maplewood. Father Sullivan, of West Lynn, erected on Adams Avenue the frame Church of the Most Blessed Sacrament, which was dedicated October 30, 1898.

In Swampscott, Mass is said to have been celebrated for the first time by Father Harrington, of St. Joseph's, Lynn, on July 20, 1879.⁴⁰ Henceforth services were regularly conducted by priests from the East Lynn parish. At length Father Harrington built the Church of St. John the Evangelist, which was blessed on September 10, 1905. On April 21, 1906, Father Patrick Colman became first rector of a new parish here.

Salem, the cradle of Catholicity in Essex County, grew but slowly during this period, its population advancing from 21,189 in 1865 to 37,627 in 1905. Gone was the glory of its Indiamen and of the China trade, but manufacturing and local commerce supplied a partial substitute. The two parishes already established here sufficed for the needs of the English-speaking Catholics. In the older one, the Immaculate Conception, the best remembered pastor of the period was Father William Hally (1868-1887), a priest of exceptional gifts, though always hampered by the ill health that finally forced his resignation. He paid off the debt resulting from the building of the church; adorned that edifice in many ways, particularly by frescoing the interior and by adding the fine tower and spire in the front; built a new rectory, school, and convent. Under his successor, Father Patrick J. Hally (1887-1897), the church was consecrated on October 5, 1890.⁴¹ The neighboring parish of St. James had two very able pastors in Fathers John J. Gray (1868-1893) and Michael J. McCall (1894-1924). The former undertook to replace the plain wooden church of the 1850's with the present Gothic edifice. The cornerstone was laid on

⁴⁰ *Pilot*, July 26, 1879.

⁴¹ It may be recalled that the history of this parish is fully set forth by Rev. (later Rt. Rev.) Louis S. Walsh, *Origin of the Catholic Church in Salem, and Its Growth in St. Mary's Parish and the Parish of the Immaculate Conception* (Boston, 1890).

August 30, 1891, and after some sore trials resulting from faulty construction work, this church, as beautiful within as it is without, was dedicated on October 21, 1900.

Marblehead, like Salem, was a dethroned queen of the seas. Shoe factories and the Bay fishery made up to some degree for the lost dominion of the Grand Banks, but the population remained stationary at seven thousand throughout this period. Rev. Charles Rainoni, the first pastor here (1865-1875), undertook to replace Father Shahan's little Star of the Sea Church on Rowland Street with a new structure on Gregory Street, close to the harbor. Only a few days before the new edifice was to have been put into use, however, it burned down, presumably as a result of being struck by a bolt of lightning (July 8, 1872). The next pastor, Father Daniel S. Healy (1875-1881), contented himself with enlarging and virtually rebuilding the old church, which was then dedicated by the Archbishop June 18, 1876, and which continued to serve the congregation for half a century still.

Father Rainoni had also been the first pastor of Danvers (1865-1872), where he resided until he resigned this parish in order to devote himself to Marblehead. He greatly enlarged and improved the former Universalist meeting-house which Father Shahan had bought in 1859, and had it dedicated on April 30, 1871, as the Church of the Annunciation. Of the later pastors of this period, Father Thomas E. Power (1885-1902) seems to have done most for the material and spiritual upbuilding of a parish which, although it also included Topsfield and Middleton, grew but slowly — like the quiet town of Danvers itself.⁴²

Much more rapid was the development in the adjacent town of Peabody (as South Danvers renamed itself in 1868), whose tanning, currying, and bleaching industries attracted large numbers of Catholics. These people long went for Mass to St.

⁴² For details of the Catholic history of this town see William B. Sullivan, "Celtic Danvers," *Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, I (1913), 74-86; and Elizabeth Ahern, "Sketch of the Roman Catholic Parish in Danvers," *ibid.*, VIII (1920), 71-83.

James', Salem. Father Gray, convinced that the time had come for church-building here, bought a parcel of land off Chestnut Street on December 15, 1869.⁴³ On August 20, 1871, all the Catholic societies of Salem marched out in procession to witness the laying of the cornerstone, and Father Hecker, of the Paulists, preached. On the following Christmas Day the first Mass in Peabody was celebrated — in bitter cold in an unheated and pewless church. When construction was about half completed, on November 9, 1874, a resident pastor was appointed in the person of Father Michael J. Masterson, whose faithful and fruitful service here was to continue until his death in 1910. St. John's Church was dedicated November 30, 1879. It was a red-brick Gothic church, which could seat twelve hundred people and is said to have cost \$100,000. A dozen years later Father Masterson erected a school, which was opened in 1893. By the end of the century he had a well-organized parish of five thousand souls, the finest church and by far the largest congregation in town.

For the region north of Salem important developments began with the appointment, on October 16, 1871, of Father Thomas H. Shahan as pastor of a new parish of Beverly, which also included Manchester, Ipswich, Hamilton, and Rowley. It was as a pastor in Salem twenty years before that he had begun his career as a planter of missions and builder of churches, and now, when ill health compelled him to resign his exacting rectorate at Taunton, he returned to very near the scene of his earliest exploits. The great Beverly parish then established was, apart from the loss of Ipswich in 1889, to remain virtually intact down to 1905.

Beverly, a centre of the leather and the shoemaking industries, grew from a town of about six thousand people in 1865 into a city of over fifteen thousand by 1905. Down to 1870 its Catholics attended Mass at the Immaculate Conception in Salem. On July 2nd of that year, however, Father John Delahunty, who was in charge of the Salem parish during the absence of Father Hally, gratified the long-cherished wishes of the Beverly

⁴³ *Essex Deeds*, book 788, p. 266.

people by buying an old Baptist meeting-house on Cabot Street, which was dedicated on July 23rd as the Star of the Sea Church. It was then attended from Salem until Father Shahan came. At Manchester and Ipswich no churches existed as yet, although for many years Mass had been said with some regularity by priests, in the one case from the Immaculate Conception, Salem, and in the other case from Newburyport.

Father Shahan remained in his new parish but four years, for in 1875 he was called away to take charge of St. James', Boston. But during those four years he accomplished much. At Beverly he greatly improved the church and property, and left them free from debt. At Manchester he erected, in 1872-1873, the simple little wooden Church of the Sacred Heart, on School Street. At Ipswich he was building at the same time on Mount Pleasant Avenue St. Joseph's Church, which was dedicated by Bishop Williams on November 9, 1873.

Of the later pastors of Beverly during this period the most outstanding were Fathers William H. Ryan (1885-1893) and Francis J. Curran (1893-1916). The former built for Beverly Farms the charming little Church of St. Margaret, which was dedicated October 9, 1887. Finding the care of four widely separated churches too much for him, he obtained the detachment of Ipswich. That historic and quiet little town, whose few factories had drawn six hundred to seven hundred Catholics, was on June 11, 1889, erected into a new parish (along with Hamilton and Rowley) under Father Patrick F. Boyle.

In Father Curran's time the Beverly church burned down (August 15, 1896), and he at once undertook to build a larger and worthier one. The basement of the new structure was dedicated on May 15, 1898, but the upper church was completed only ten years later. With this great enterprise on hand, Father Curran was all the more ready to give up the remaining missions of Beverly. Hence on January 8, 1905, Rev. John J. Downey was appointed first pastor of Beverly Farms and Manchester; and nine months later, on October 11th, Manchester itself became an independent parish under Father William F. Powers. The latter quickly erected a larger and more dignified

church, Gothic in style, which was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on August 4, 1907.

Gloucester, the capital of American fisheries, became by the end of this period a city of twenty-six thousand people. In its very cosmopolitan population the Irish were less strongly represented than in almost any other Massachusetts city, but French, Scots, Portuguese, and Italians helped to swell the number of Catholics. The first pastor, the gentle and universally respected Father Louis Acquarone, stayed until, at the age of seventy-eight, he retired to his native Italy. The advent of his successor, Rev. Jeremiah J. Healy (1871-1910), marked a new era. Active, aggressive, and confident, a man of great business capacity, and possessed of considerable means of his own, the new rector undertook to build up a first-class parish in a small city; and in spite of much shaking of heads and some overt opposition among the people at the outset, he succeeded. The quiet, easy-going régime of his predecessor brusquely gave way to a whirlwind of activity. A new rectory was built in a few months; a Sunday school and various pious societies were started; house lots all around the old church were bought up, the buildings removed, the ground cleared. A grand new church was to be erected — in the Gothic style — and of granite. With fairs and special collections in rapid succession, the building fund grew. On May 25, 1876, the Archbishop laid the cornerstone, and on July 31, 1881, he blessed the completed edifice. The new St. Ann's was a magnificent structure, noble and satisfying in all its architectural details, and giving an appearance of massive strength that harmonized well with the rough rocks and stormy gales of Cape Ann. "The Fishermen's Church," as John Boyle O'Reilly called it, became the pride of Gloucester. The large debt incurred from its construction was quickly liquidated: on July 25, 1886, the church was consecrated.

Around it Father Healy arranged a group of buildings as complete and harmonious as any parish in the Diocese then possessed. There was the new brick rectory (1880), the school, into which the old church had been transformed (1886), the convent (1886), and — his latest creation — a brick building which he at

one time intended to donate to the City for a public library, but which eventually became a library for the parish.⁴⁴

St. Joachim's, Rockport, which had been a mission of Gloucester, was made a parish on September 27, 1870, under Rev. Thomas Barry. His successor, Father Daniel S. Healy (1883-1887), a brother of the pastor of Gloucester, enlarged and improved the small church that Father Shahan had originally built, and it was rededicated by the Archbishop on August 24, 1884. On the same day there was also blessed the Church of the Sacred Heart, which had been erected at the mission of Lanesville.

IV

Next to the Boston metropolitan area, the zone of greatest Catholic strength in the Archdiocese was the Merrimack Valley.

Among the industrial cities with which that valley was studded, historic Newburyport had the slowest growth. Its population of 12,976 in 1865 had increased only to 14,675 by 1905. But its Catholic history was a singularly happy one. After the death of the venerated Father Henry Lennon, the real founder of the parish of the Immaculate Conception, Rev. Arthur J. Teeling, later so well known for his work in Lynn, began a pastorate of twenty-two years (1871-1893), which were filled with achievements. He reconstructed and enlarged the church, altering the front completely and adding a bell-tower and spire. On June 24, 1879, the edifice was consecrated. He also built a new rectory, a school (1881), a spacious convent (1886); he founded branch schools in the northern and southern parts of the city; he started a fine cemetery. By his courtesy and kindness to all and by his charity to the poor, the sick, or the unfortunate, he earned the reputation of a model pastor. His successor, Father William H. Ryan (1893-1929), formerly of Beverly, coming into a parish so completely organized, dis-

⁴⁴ Father Healy's own account of his work is to be found in D. Hamilton Hurd (ed.), *History of Essex County, Massachusetts*, II (Philadelphia, 1888), 1318-1321.

covered few new needs to be met, although he did establish the Home for Destitute Catholic Children. For the rest, he endeavored successfully to keep the parish in the excellent material and spiritual condition in which he had found it.

Amesbury, famous then, particularly, for its carriage manufactures, doubled its population during this period, though in 1905 it had only 8,840 inhabitants. St. Joseph's Church, which Father Lennon of Newburyport had been building here, was dedicated by Bishop Williams on August 26, 1866. Sometime in the following year Rev. John Brady was appointed first pastor of Amesbury. As has already been noted here, his long administration produced splendid results. The first church, though considered extravagantly large at the outset, was soon found too small, and was replaced by the present fine Gothic structure. The cornerstone of this was laid on July 27, 1873, and the dedication took place on May 7, 1876. Father Brady later built a brick school, convent, and rectory. It was a well-equipped and well-ordered parish which he bequeathed to his successor, Rev. John J. Nilan (1892-1910). As Bishop Brady he had the satisfaction of consecrating, on April 28, 1901, the church which he had built, and it was in the parish cemetery of Amesbury that he was buried in 1910.⁴⁵

Adjacent to Amesbury were several communities in which there were enough Catholics to induce church-building, but not enough to produce strong parishes. At Salisbury Beach, on the east, Father Nilan in 1896 built the chapel of St. Mary Star of the Sea, which has ever since been served from Amesbury. In Merrimac, a town set off in 1876 from the western part of Amesbury, Father Brady built the Church of the Nativity, which was dedicated on May 10, 1885. On July 13, 1891, a separate parish was created here under Father Thomas Moylan. It included also the town of West Newbury, which had been attached to Newburyport until 1867, to Amesbury until 1874, and then to Georgetown, and which possessed the small wooden Church of St. Ann, dedicated September 4, 1881. In the farm-

⁴⁵ The history of Catholicity in Amesbury is written up in the pamphlet, *The Golden Jubilee of Saint Joseph's Parish, October 28-31, 1917* (Amesbury, 1917).

ing village of Georgetown the first Catholic services had been held about 1849. The place had later been attended occasionally, first from Newburyport and then from Haverhill. On September 10, 1872, an old Congregational church was purchased, probably by Father Richard Cummins of Haverhill; it was refitted, and dedicated on June 15, 1873, as St. Mary's. About the same time in the neighboring village of Groveland, which then seemed to have bright industrial prospects, a lot for a Catholic church was given by Ezekiel Hale, the chief manufacturer of the town; and St. Patrick's Church was then erected, and blessed on November 15, 1874. Encouraged by these developments, Bishop Williams on February 16, 1874, made Georgetown and Groveland into a parish under Father John Cummins. This combination has lasted down to the present time, the pastor's residence remaining always in Georgetown, although Groveland seems regularly to have had a larger congregation.

The ancient town of Haverhill in the late nineteenth century renewed its youth. Thanks to its shoe factories and woolen mills, its population soared from 10,740 in 1865 to 37,830 by 1905. Rev. John T. McDonnell, O.P., it will be recalled, was the pioneer of Catholicity here and the founder of the first church, St. Gregory's, on Harrison Street (1850-1872). But the master-builder of this parish was Father James O'Doherty, pastor from 1878 to 1913. After first liquidating the large debt inherited from his predecessors, he set out to provide an adequate church. A central and commanding site was obtained by several purchases of land at Winter and Primrose Streets. The cornerstone of the new temple was blessed on September 7, 1884; the basement was in use two years later; and on October 25, 1896, the Archbishop dedicated the finished structure under the invocation of St. James. It was another spacious, red-brick, Gothic edifice, admirably designed within and without, adorned with a graceful spire 215 feet high — in short, one of the finest churches that have come down to us from that period. On September 9, 1900, it was consecrated.

The second chief need of the parish, Catholic education, was equally well provided for. The old church, remodeled, was

opened in 1887 as a parochial school, and when this burned down in April, 1901, it was within six months replaced by a handsome brick edifice. Three years later a second brick structure was erected on the grounds in the rear of the church to house the upper grammar grades and the high school.⁴⁶

Lawrence, the latest wonder-city to be created by the textile industry in New England, went through two boom periods during the Williams era. The first set in right after the Civil War, when the second canal was dug, south of the river, and when a host of paper mills, machine shops, iron and brass foundries, and shoe factories came to vary the production. The second began around 1890 and became spectacular about 1905, when the building of the mammoth Wood Mills started a decade of mill construction such as has probably never been witnessed in any other textile centre. From 1865 to 1905 the population rose from 21,698 to 70,050.

Church-building, which had proceeded very briskly at Lawrence ever since the creation of the town twenty years before, went forward still more vigorously during the good times that followed Appomattox. At St. Mary's, which, it will be remembered, had since 1861 been entrusted to the Augustinian Order, a new superior, Father Louis M. Edge, O.S.A. (1865-1870), straightway conceived the plan of erecting a new church that would be a thing of beauty, and of turning into a school the immense but not very artistic church completed only four years before. The congregation at first were far from enthusiastic about the project, but soon rallied to it with customary loyalty. Work was begun in the spring of 1866 on ground purchased years before by Father James O'Donnell, on the south side of Haverhill Street, across from the old church. Father Edge pressed forward the enterprise with tireless zeal and energy, but did not live to see its conclusion. The great cathedral-like edifice was dedicated by Bishop Williams on September 3, 1871. Designed by P. C. Keeley, built of Westford granite, exemplifying a peculiarly light and graceful form of Gothic, and ex-

⁴⁶ Cf. *History of Catholicity in Haverhill, Published by St. James' Parish on the occasion of the Consecration of the Church, September 9, 1900 (ibid., 1900).*

quisitely decorated in the interior, this is, undoubtedly, one of the most perfect churches of the Archdiocese, and, very probably, of the country. It had cost about \$300,000. Soon after its completion Father Gilmore, then Superior, built the present large rectory in its rear; and some years later he carried through Father Edge's plan of converting Old St. Mary's into a boys' and girls' school.

Meanwhile, at the elder church of Lawrence, the Immaculate Conception, Father James H. D. Taaffe, O.P., pastor since 1851, died on March 29, 1868. "Never in the history of Lawrence," said *The Pilot*, "was there such an outpouring of popular grief and filial affection; and never, probably, was there a worthier subject for a people's sorrow than the grand old man who is now no more."⁴⁷ Hitherto served successively by two Dominican rectors, this church now passed into the charge of seculars. The senior curate, Rev. Michael Doherty, remained administrator until June, 1869, when Father William Orr was appointed pastor.

These two priests showed great activity in developing the missions which Father Taaffe had started or projected. Father Doherty began a church at North Andover, which was dedicated on November 14, 1869, as St. Michael's. At South Lawrence, which since the building of the new canal was growing very rapidly, Father Taaffe had already bought a church lot on South Broadway.⁴⁸ Father Orr, immediately upon taking control, convened the leading Catholic men of the district at the Tiger Engine Hall and found them enthusiastic for building a church. A capacious wooden edifice was quickly erected, which was blessed on March 17, 1870, as St. Patrick's. Two years later South Lawrence and North Andover were set off as a new parish under Rev. James Murphy.⁴⁹ About the same time Father Orr bought land at the corner of Essex and Union Streets in the eastern part of North Lawrence, where he built the Church of St. Lawrence O'Toole (dedicated July 12, 1873).

⁴⁷ April 11, 1868.

⁴⁸ Nov. 13, 1866 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

⁴⁹ July 21, 1872 (*Episcopal Register*).

Creditable as these achievements were, they did not relieve but rather augmented the huge debt which Father Taaffe had left hanging over the parish. Against that debt Father Orr struggled tenaciously and at great personal sacrifice for six years, and then, discouraged, petitioned for his own removal. He left to begin a happier career as pastor of St. Paul's, Cambridge. On June 22, 1875, Rev. William H. Fitzpatrick, formerly of Stoneham and later rector of St. Gregory's, Dorchester, was appointed his successor at Lawrence. He came, looked over the situation, and resigned in despair. The Archbishop then decided to offer the Immaculate Conception Church and its mission, St. Lawrence's, to the Augustinians. Doubtless this was done both in recognition of the splendid services which the Order had rendered at St. Mary's, and in the hope that by combining under one management two parishes, each of which was heavily laden with debt, economies would be made possible that would alleviate the burdens of both. The offer was made by letter of July 9, 1875,⁵⁰ and two weeks later the Archbishop received the acceptance of the Provincial, Very Rev. Father Galberry.⁵¹

The Augustinians thus came to be entrusted with the spiritual care of the English-speaking Catholics of all Lawrence north of the river. They had, besides, the towns of Methuen and Andover, old missions of St. Mary's. To the four churches in their charge under this arrangement a fifth was added in 1878, when Father Gilmore erected the small, frame Church of St. Augustine, in the western or Tower Hill section of the city. Not long after this, unfortunately, a period of severe trials set in.

The impressive fabric of the Church, so rapidly built up in the Lawrence area, rested upon a very hazardous foundation. The root of the trouble was the unhappy financial system that had been practiced almost from the outset both by Father

⁵⁰ Rev. Francis Edward Tourscher, O.S.A., *Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia; with Some Records of the Work of the Austin Friars in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 135.

⁵¹ *Episcopal Register*, July 23, 1875.

O'Donnell at St. Mary's and by Father Taaffe at the Immaculate Conception. This system arose quite naturally under the peculiar circumstances of Lawrence. The immigrants who poured into the town in the early days were unaccustomed to dealing with banks and distrustful of strangers. They preferred to entrust their savings to their priests. The two pastors in question drifted into the habit of accepting money on deposit from their parishioners, partly in order to oblige them, partly in order to encourage the virtue of thrift, and partly because of their own need for ready money with which to carry through the great enterprises that were pressing upon them. Hence they were glad to treat these deposits as loans and to pay a higher interest than the banks did. In short, they themselves became bankers to a large part of their congregations. But it was a strange kind of banking, in which the assets were constantly being wiped out, while the liabilities swelled with accumulating interest. The inevitable result was a growing mountain of debts. But once the system was started, it was very hard to break away from it. Merely to speak of stopping it might have caused alarming rumors, a panic, a run on "the bank."

When at Father O'Donnell's death the Augustinians took over St. Mary's, they inherited a debt of \$146,000, most of which was owed to depositors. When they took over the Immaculate Conception, they assumed a debt of \$197,000, most of which originated in Father Taaffe's time in a similar way. Even under the new management the practice of receiving deposits and paying interest was to some extent continued. Even the Archbishop, who knew and disapproved of that practice, did not dare urge its abrupt discontinuance, for fear of the probable results. Other circumstances aggravated the situation. The erection of the new St. Mary's added about \$200,000 to the existing debt, other building operations increased it, and normal revenues shrank badly during the long period of hard times that followed the Panic of 1873. What finally brought matters to the breaking point was the great Pacific Mills strike of 1882-1883, which moved hundreds of people to leave Lawrence. A

small "run on the bank" set in, and, in view of the rumors that began to circulate, a worse one was to be expected.

Courageously facing a most unpleasant situation, the Augustinian Fathers, on the evening of February 19, 1883, held a meeting of the depositors. Here they made a frank statement of their financial position, avowed that they could not continue to pay interest on deposits, pledged their firm resolution to repay every penny of the principal involved, and asked only for time to enable them to do this. A detailed financial statement was also read in all their churches on the following Sunday (the 25th) and published in the press on March 1st. It showed the sum of \$437,352.32 owed to depositors in principal and outstanding interest; and various mortgages, added to this, brought the total liabilities up to \$567,352.32 — an amount greater than the market value of all the churches in North Lawrence.⁵²

The vast majority of the Lawrence Catholics rallied warmly to the aid of the Order in that difficult moment. At a largely attended mass meeting a committee of fifteen leading laymen, including the Mayor and City Treasurer, was appointed to render all possible assistance. It is true that a dozen or so of the depositors brought suit against the Order or against the Archbishop, and in one of these the latter had to appear in court and undergo "a long and at times exceedingly sharp examination."⁵³ But most of these suits were quickly withdrawn, and the few that were pressed were ultimately decided against the plaintiffs.

In spite of this outcome, and although the bulk of the debts in question had been contracted before the Order took charge of the several Lawrence churches, the Augustinians never wavered in their resolution to 'repay the just debts of the different parishes, from which their consciences would not absolve them,' and to pay "to the last penny." Collections to that end were taken up throughout the Diocese, with the warm support of Archbishop Williams, and in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere. Whatever economies were possible were introduced,

⁵² *Pilot*, March 3, 1883; *Boston Post*, March 2; *Catholic Herald*, March 3, etc.

⁵³ *Boston Herald*, March 25, 1884.

such as the abandonment of the rectory of the Immaculate Conception, that church being attended henceforth from St. Mary's. Now that the incubus of paying interest on the deposits was removed, large savings accrued that might be applied to reducing capital indebtedness. Naturally, the enormous task could not be quickly disposed of, but within thirteen years about half the debt had been paid off, and the last remains of it were extinguished by 1920.

As this dark cloud began to clear away, a new era dawned for the churches of Lawrence with the coming of Father James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A., as pastor of St. Mary's — a position which he was to hold from 1886 down to his death in 1925. A priest of marvelous versatility, a great executive and organizer, an indefatigable worker, an eloquent preacher, a model pastor, a moral reformer, and a man of strong civic spirit, Father O'Reilly infused new life into every Catholic activity and came to be universally recognized as the first citizen of Lawrence. While most conscientiously endeavoring to reduce the debt by a certain proportion each year, he made many improvements in the churches. He renovated and adorned both St. Mary's and the Immaculate Conception, adding to the latter its handsome spire; he built the present fine convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame; he brought in the Xaverian Brothers to teach the boys' school. Nearly all the foreign-language congregations of Lawrence owe him a great debt for having first brought them together at one or the other of his churches and trained and shepherded them until they were strong enough to have pastors of their own. In public affairs he took a large part, exerting himself as strenuously and as decisively for the No License cause as did Father Scully in Cambridge, campaigning for civic honesty and assailing crooked politicians who took refuge behind the "Catholic" label, rendering notable patriotic service during the Spanish-American War, and distinguishing himself in many other ways.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Cf. Alice L. Walsh, *A Sketch of the Life and Labors of the Rev. James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A., Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Lawrence, Massachusetts, since 1886 to 1924* (Lawrence, 1924). The earlier history of the Church in this city is most fully narrated by Katherine A. O'Keeffe, *Sketch of Catholicity in Lawrence and Vicinity* (Lawrence, 1882).

While St. Mary's and the Immaculate Conception were now treated as one parish with two churches, St. Lawrence's, because of its remoteness, was on October 1, 1898, made a separate parish with its own quota of Augustinian priests. Father John M. Fleming, the first pastor, began a new church at East Haverhill and Newbury Streets, considerably to the north of the first church, but the new edifice was not completed until 1908. St. Augustine's, Tower Hill, continued throughout this period to be served from St. Mary's, in close conjunction with the neighboring mission of Methuen. In this latter town, while the Catholics had from the earliest times been occasionally attended by priests from Lawrence, a more regular organization began with the Mass celebrated by Father Gilmore, O.S.A., in the Town Hall on Christmas, 1876. Then, or not long after, weekly services commenced to be held in that building. In 1894, when it was becoming a bit unpleasant to share the hall with the A.P.A.'s, Father O'Reilly bought a site upon which he presently erected St. Monica's Church. This was dedicated April 18, 1897.

Andover, which had long been attended from St. Mary's, Lawrence, became a parish in 1866, under Rev. Michael E. Gallagher, O.S.A. Twelve years later this parish, with its missions, was permanently entrusted to the Augustinian Order by the Archbishop.⁵⁵ The third pastor, Father Maurice J. Murphy, replaced the first St. Augustine's with a handsome Gothic church, which was blessed on September 2, 1883. This was destroyed by fire on November 8, 1894, but from its ashes there arose a still finer church — and this time a brick one — which was dedicated May 6, 1900.⁵⁶ In the two missions built up from Andover, St. Joseph's, Ballardvale, was dedicated October 23, 1881, and St. Thomas of Villanova's Church, Wilmington, on October 28, 1888.

If one adds the German and Italian parishes that they were then attending, it appears that at the end of the Williams era

⁵⁵ *Episcopal Register*, Oct. 17, 1878.

⁵⁶ The story of this parish is narrated in the pamphlet *St. Augustine's Church, Diamond Jubilee, 1852-1927* (Andover, 1917).

the Augustinian Fathers were serving not less than ten churches in Lawrence and vicinity. Their combined parishes in 1899 were estimated to contain twenty thousand Catholics.⁵⁷

In St. Patrick's, the one English-speaking parish of Lawrence that remained under the care of secular priests, Father Michael T. McManus built the present large and imposing Gothic church, which was dedicated June 17, 1894. The mission of North Andover was made a separate parish on February 12, 1900, under Rev. James J. Gilday.

Lowell increased in population during these forty years from 30,940 to 94,889. While Fall River and New Bedford had wrested away the leadership in the cotton industry and the spectre of Southern competition was beginning to loom up, the city retained a very important position in textiles, attracted new industries, made steady and substantial progress, and in the late '90's experienced an upsurge of prosperity that lasted through the First World War.

Perhaps the most important event in Lowell's Catholic history of that time was the coming in 1868 of the Oblates, whose work for the French-Canadians has already been described. It will be recalled that they had been promised an English-language parish, which was to be built up around the public chapel attached to St. John's Hospital. That chapel belonged to the Sisters of Charity. During the first half-year or more of their stay in Lowell the Oblates, residing at or, later, near the hospital and serving the chapel, found themselves in a somewhat embarrassing state of dependence on the Sisters. Naturally, they desired to have a church of their own. Negotiations were, therefore, started which led, not without some help from Bishop Williams, to an agreement signed January 22, 1869. Under its terms the Sisters leased the chapel to the Order for four years, as from April 1st, in return for an annual payment of twelve hundred dollars, while retaining the ownership of the land on which the building stood.⁵⁸

Thus assured, temporarily at least, of a place of worship

⁵⁷ *Sunday Register*, April 5, 1899.

⁵⁸ Text of the agreement in the *Boston Diocesan Archives*.

under their own control, the Oblates could begin the upbuilding of their "Irish parish." The new régime was inaugurated with a two-weeks' mission (May, 1869), which was as extraordinarily successful as that with which Father Garin the year before had begun the work among the Canadians. Sodalities were organized. The chapel was enlarged to double its former capacity, but still it could not contain the crowds that thronged to its services. In preparation for the great new church which they had doubtless all along intended to erect, in the summer of 1869 the Fathers began to buy lots; and by the following year they had pieced together, parcel by parcel, a large tract of land on Fayette Street, close to the great artery of East Merrimack Street. Father Garin, who as Superior of the Lowell mission seems to have directed the whole enterprise, engaged the services of P. C. Keeley as architect. The cornerstone was blessed November 30, 1871; the basement was in use for services by the following summer; and on June 10, 1877, the magnificent Church of the Immaculate Conception was dedicated by the Archbishop. Built of granite, in pure Gothic style, cruciform in shape, sumptuously decorated within and most impressive without (save that the great tower of the front has never been completed), this church has the grandeur and beauty of a cathedral. It had cost \$200,000, but thanks to the strenuous efforts of its clergy and the generosity of the people, at the time of the dedication it was not encumbered with a dollar of debt.

Three years later a parochial school was opened, and in 1889 the present rectory was built. Catholic activities of all sorts flourished under such admirable pastors as Fathers James McGrath, O.M.I. (1870-1883) or William D. Joyce, O.M.I. (1890-1901). The parish of the Immaculate Conception, as delimited in 1884, when parochial boundaries were finally established in Lowell, contained only three to four thousand Catholics, but its influence was vastly greater than those numbers might suggest. By the excellence of its services and preaching, this great church constantly drew throngs of worshipers from all around the city. And when in 1883 a new Oblate province

was created for the Northern United States, the rectory of the Immaculate Conception, as the residence of the Provincial, became the headquarters of an ever more widespread missionary activity.

The Oblates had long attended the City Farm (poorhouse) in the southern part of Lowell and had interested themselves in the welfare of the growing Catholic population of that section. Hence, when in 1883 it became clear that a parish was needed there, the Archbishop decided to assign it to the Fathers of that Congregation. The basement of the present Church of the Sacred Heart on Moore Street was built early in 1884, and blessed for worship on August 10th. Father William D. Joyce, O.M.I., became the first pastor. A parochial school was opened in 1892. On September 29, 1901, the attractive, red-brick church in the Renaissance style was dedicated by Archbishop Williams, for a parish that now had about three thousand people.

Throughout this period the Oblates also attended the Catholics gathered around the factories of North Billerica. The first place of worship there was the old Universalist church of Billerica Centre, which was bought and removed to the northern part of the town. It was dedicated on November 15, 1868, and renamed St. Andrew's—doubtless in honor of Father André Garin. A second, larger edifice was begun in 1890, and blessed on October 29, 1893.

Turning next to the Lowell parishes entrusted to the diocesan clergy: at St. Peter's the aged Father Crudden, who had been in charge since 1846, died on February 22, 1885. He was succeeded by the Rev. Michael Ronan (1885-1909), who had already been administrator for nearly two years. The new pastor, a brother of Father Peter Ronan, of Dorchester, was one who "did everything thoroughly and not superficially,"⁵⁰ and who soon earned the respect and affection of the entire community. His great achievement was the building of the new St. Peter's to replace the plain and now inadequate edifice of fifty years before. In February, 1890, the old church property

⁵⁰ Words of Archbishop O'Connell at his funeral (*Pilot*, July 10, 1909).

was sold to the United States Government to furnish the site for the new City Post Office. About the same time a location for the new church was obtained further south on Gorham Street, while a frame structure was put up to serve as a temporary place of worship. The cornerstone of the new church was laid on September 11, 1892. The dedication took place May 10, 1903, with Archbishop Williams officiating and eight bishops present. This was another great, granite, Gothic temple, designed by Keeley, massive and majestic, outstanding even in a city of beautiful churches.

The elder parish, St. Patrick's, had the unusual experience, or, as it turned out, the singular good fortune, of being ruled for three quarters of a century by what might almost be called the dynasty of the O'Briens. From 1848 to 1922 three successive and related pastors of that name presided over that church. The first of them, "Father John," as all Lowell knew him, had done the major part of his work in the time of Bishop Fitzpatrick. Assisted by his brother, "Father Timothy," he had built the beautiful stone church on Suffolk Street, founded one of our earliest parish schools (for girls), and turned a long faction-ridden and somewhat turbulent congregation into a united, loyal, and edifying flock. At the Silver Jubilee of the church Father Shahan described him as "dear Father John, the man of big frame and bigger heart, the tender father of his people, and the dear friend of all his brother priests. . . . His courtesy, his hospitality, united to every manly, sacerdotal virtue, made him truly loved, and his company sought after. A faithful priest and a true gentleman, he had a hearty welcome for all, but he knew how to combine politeness and duty." And the speaker declared that the two O'Briens had changed the face of Catholic Lowell, and that "their reign here was the dawn of religion and piety."⁶⁰

"Father John" was succeeded by his nephew, Father Michael O'Brien (1874-1900). Of his character it may be sufficient to recall the words of Archbishop Williams in 1899: "Father O'Brien of today has reached the place in history which was

⁶⁰ *Pilot*, Oct. 6, 1877.

held by his predecessor in the church. . . . He has been loyal to everything that is good and uplifting.”⁶¹ “Father Michael” in many ways improved and adorned the church, which was consecrated on September 7, 1879. Three years later he opened a boys’ school, using as a building the old St. Mary’s Church, which had been closed most of the time since the death of its pastor, Father James McDermott, in 1862. By the end of the century St. Patrick’s, with its stately church edifice, its schools, its Academy, its Home for Working Girls, its convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame, and its residence for the Xaverian Brothers, its numerous sodalities and societies, its Lyceum, its cadet corps and band, etc., was probably the most highly organized parish in Lowell, and certainly one of the most prosperous.

“Father Michael” was followed by his cousin, Father (later Monsignor) William O’Brien (1900-1922), who maintained the fine traditions of the family and of the parish. On January 11, 1904, the church was badly devastated by fire, but it was promptly rebuilt, substantially along the original lines, and was rededicated on November 18, 1906, by Archbishop O’Connell.⁶²

From St. Patrick’s two other parishes developed during this period. Departing for Rome in the autumn of 1883, the Archbishop entrusted to Father Michael O’Brien the creation of one in Centralville, Lowell, on the north side of the river. Quickly obtaining a site on Sixth Street, Father O’Brien began building operations before the end of the year, and on June 22, 1884, the basement of St. Michael’s Church was dedicated for worship. That same day Rev. William O’Brien was made first pastor of the new parish. The large and handsome red-brick, Romanesque edifice, designed by Keeley, was long in building; it was dedicated by Archbishop Williams only on June 24, 1900. Some months later, when Father William O’Brien was called to the succession at St. Patrick’s, Father John J. Shaw began at St. Michael’s a pastorate that lasted until 1939.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1899.

⁶² None of the other English-speaking parishes in Lowell has had its story so fully recounted as St. Patrick’s. Basic are the accounts by Katherine A. O’Keeffe in D. Hamilton Hurd (ed.), *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts*, II (Philadelphia, 1890), 150-178; and by P. F. Lynch, in James S. Sullivan (ed.), *The Catholic Church of New England* (Boston, 1895), pp. 272-290.

From the Centralville parish a mission was started at Collinsville, a small manufacturing village in the neighboring town of Dracut. Michael Collins, the owner of the mills here, had built a chapel for the use of his employees, and since these were nearly all Catholics, he (an Episcopalian himself) generously offered to place the building at the disposal of the pastor of St. Michael's. On August 17, 1884, Father William O'Brien blessed it as St. Mary's Church, and inaugurated regular services there. On January 15, 1901, Father Shaw purchased from Mr. Collins the land and building.

St. John's, North Chelmsford, was a mission of St. Patrick's, Lowell, from 1860 until January 2, 1893, when Father John J. Shaw (later of St. Michael's) was named first resident pastor.⁶³ He greatly enlarged and quite made over the church, which was rededicated September 29, 1895. He also began in 1893 to say Mass regularly for the little flock in Chelmsford Centre. In the rest of this extensive parish, which included the towns of Tyngsboro and Westford, the only considerable group of Catholics was in the latter town, at Graniteville, where Father Michael O'Brien had built the small Church of St. Catherine in 1892.⁶⁴

V

Along the western borders of the Archdiocese lay a tier of communities in which Catholicity had first been implanted from Worcester or Fitchburg.

In the northern part of this zone the centre of growth was the small town of Ayer, which was incorporated in 1871 around the village formerly called Groton Junction. St. Mary's Church here, previously a mission of Fitchburg, had as its first resident pastor Rev. Joseph N. Baratta, who on January 14, 1867, was set over a parish that included the towns of Groton, Littleton, Harvard, Shirley, Pepperell, and Townsend. Father Baratta

⁶³ For strict accuracy it should be remarked that from 1867 to 1870 St. John's was attached to Groton Junction.

⁶⁴ Dedicated Nov. 24, 1892 (*Episcopal Register*).

was an excellent business man. He promptly bought the present church lot on Shirley Street, and erected there a larger house of worship. At the same time he was building St. Joseph's Church in East Pepperell, where a considerable Catholic colony had gathered around the paper mill. Both churches were dedicated by Bishop Williams on December 4, 1870. The third pastor of Ayer, Father Henry J. Madden, built the third (the present) church there on the site of the second one. The Archbishop blessed this on September 24, 1883, and on the following day St. John's Church, which the pastor had just erected at Townsend. Not long afterwards (April 16, 1885) the now somewhat overgrown parish was divided, Father Madden removing to Pepperell, to which Townsend was attached, while Rev. John H. Fleming succeeded him at Ayer. From the latter town one further mission was started, at Groton, where Father Patrick H. Sheedy bought the former chapel of Groton School and, after removing it to a new site, had it dedicated on October 8, 1905, as the Church of the Sacred Heart. In February, 1907, a parish was established at Groton, with Rev. Charles A. Finnegan as first pastor.

Towards the south the next mission centre was the flourishing little shoe-manufacturing city of Marlboro, which by 1905 had about fourteen thousand inhabitants. The large majority of them were Catholics, of Irish or French extraction. The parish created here in 1864 originally included also the present towns of Hudson, Maynard, Southboro, and Stow. In view of the rapid increase of Catholic population in Marlboro, the question of a second and larger church early came upon the order of the day. The first pastor, Rev. John A. Conlon, began building it in 1868; his zealous but short-lived successor, Father Michael T. Maguire (1869-1870), continued it; and under Father John Delahunty (1870-1876) it was dedicated on August 6, 1871. This capacious, Gothic, brick church, with a very beautiful interior, was completed in 1886 with a commanding tower and spire. Among the later pastors of the Immaculate Conception parish were Father Peter A. McKenna (1886-1896), an indefatigably active priest, famed far and wide at that time

as an orator, Temperance worker, and champion of Irish Home Rule; and Father Thomas B. Lowney (1896-1929), whose memory is still very green among Marlboro Catholics.

Hudson, formerly called Feltonville, and Maynard, previously known as Assabet, were two new manufacturing towns, incorporated in 1866 and 1871 respectively. Each had about six thousand inhabitants in 1905. At Hudson, Father Conlon of Marlboro bought the church lot on Maple Street October 28, 1867;⁶⁵ and Father Maguire built the first St. Michael's Church, which was blessed on January 14, 1870. Hudson was made a parish on January 27, 1876. Its first pastor was Father Peter A. McKenna, its second the very able Father Thomas F. Cusack (1886-1907). The latter, removing the old church to the rear of the lot, erected the present St. Michael's, a long, wooden church, of Gothic style, with twin towers rising over the front. It was dedicated October 25, 1891.

The first church in Maynard was built by Father Conlon, and blessed on October 30, 1866, as St. Bridget's. For a brief period (1871-1873) this church enjoyed resident pastors; but when the second, Father Timothy Brosnahan, was also appointed to Concord, he removed to that town, to which Maynard was then attached for twenty years as a mission. During that time Father Michael J. McCall erected the present Gothic, frame church, which was dedicated on September 21, 1884. Maynard came again and definitively to have resident pastors with the appointment on January 2, 1894, of Rev. John A. Crowe, who also received Acton and Stow as fields for missionary effort.

South of the Marlboro region the next centre of Catholic expansion was the town of Framingham. Its population, which in 1865 was under five thousand, had risen to nearly twelve thousand by 1905, and showed a steady tendency to concentrate around the growing industries of South Framingham. The oldest, however, of the Catholic colonies of that region was to be found at the little manufacturing village of Saxonville, in the northern part of the town; and St. George's Church in that

⁶⁵ Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*.

village was the first Catholic place of worship erected anywhere in the western reaches of Middlesex County. The great Saxonville parish which had existed in the Fitzpatrick era, sometimes combined with Milford, in 1866 still included the towns of Framingham, Natick, Needham, Dover, Sherborn, Wayland, and Sudbury, of which only the first two, however, contained any large number of Catholics. The pastor, Father John Walsh, who since 1857 had been covering this immense circuit, came of a family of athletes. That was fortunate, for he was frequently known to get home from his long winter drives covered with snow, ice, and sleet, and almost frozen. In December, 1869, the great parish was divided. Father Walsh, who since 1867 had commonly resided at Natick, now arranged to confine himself to that town and the adjacent missions, while Father Anthony J. Rossi became rector of Saxonville and the other Framingham villages. Within the next decade these latter missions were detached, and the Saxonville parish was reduced to its present modest dimensions. Since then its history has been relatively uneventful. Father Rossi built the present fine, colonial rectory. Other pastors have from time to time renovated and adorned St. George's, and Father Patrick B. Murphy (1894-1907) added the colonnaded porch and the cupola which lend dignity to this quaint, old, brown, wooden church.⁶⁶

At Framingham Centre the former St. John's Episcopal Church on Main Street was purchased for Catholic use on October 12, 1869, and dedicated as St. Bridget's on November 18th following. On June 18, 1876, Father Rossi celebrated the first Mass in South Framingham in Waverley Hall.⁶⁷ The regular services then initiated aroused such interest that on July 28, 1877, Rev. John Stephen Cullen was named pastor of South Framingham and Ashland. On March 14, 1878, Framingham Centre was added to the new parish, and for some reason Father Cullen transferred his residence there. In 1884, however, he returned to South Framingham, and St. Bridget's

⁶⁶ He also published an interesting history of the parish entitled *Fifty Years of Catholic Faith, and Historical Sketch of St. George's Church, Saxonville, Mass., from 1834 to 1897* (Worcester, 1897).

⁶⁷ Rev. P. B. Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Church at the Centre again became for many years merely a mission. At South Framingham he began the erection of a large and ornate, Gothic, frame church on Concord Street. The cornerstone was laid on December 16, 1883, and within about a year services could be held in the basement. It was, however, only under the second pastor, Father John F. Hefferman (1895-1926), that St. Stephen's Church was dedicated, on September 12, 1897.

The little industrial town of Ashland, whose population fluctuated around two thousand, had seen Catholic services in the Town Hall since 1858, and had been successively a mission of Milford, of Hopkinton (1866), and of South Framingham (1877). St. Cecilia's Church was begun in 1874 and dedicated December 16, 1883. On January 21, 1884, Ashland became a separate parish, with Father Michael F. Delaney as its first rector.

After his removal from Saxonville to Natick, Father John Walsh continued his long and fruitful labors until his death on March 19, 1890. His successor, Father Delaney, called here from Ashland, was to have an even longer and no less fruitful term of service. It was on April 21, 1890, that he was named pastor of Natick, and today, over half a century later, he is still vigorously filling that position. One of his first capital achievements was to replace the old St. Patrick's with the beautiful, Gothic, brick church whose cornerstone was laid on May 29, 1892, and which was dedicated by Archbishop Williams on October 12, 1902.

The Church of the Sacred Heart, South Natick, was begun as early as 1873, but dedicated only on September 23, 1888. After Father Walsh's death, this mission was set off as a separate parish, its first rector, Father John A. Donnelly, being also appointed on April 21, 1890.

In the southwesternmost corner of Middlesex County lay the towns of Holliston and Hopkinton, which were of about equal size and had rather similar fortunes. Both were boot-and-shoe towns which for some decades enjoyed a considerable importance and prosperity (Hopkinton particularly). Both, before

the end of this period, were to see their business fall off and their populations decline. Both towns were at first missions of Milford.

Father Cuddihy, of that great Catholic centre, established the first church in Holliston in 1867 by buying the old Universalist meeting-house. When the creation of the Diocese of Springfield, which included Milford, rendered a separation necessary, on November 29, 1870, Holliston was made a parish under Rev. Richard J. Quinlan, who remained pastor until 1912. Finding the worn-out church unsafe, he replaced it by the present St. Mary's, a frame edifice of Gothic style, which was begun in 1873 and dedicated on June 8, 1884.

The parish of Hopkinton was created on June 30, 1866, under Rev. Thomas Barry. The first small church, St. Malachy's, having proved inadequate, the third rector, Father John P. Ryan (1872-1881), purchased a new site on Church Street,⁶⁸ on one of the highest spots in that hilly town, and began in 1876 the construction of a very ambitious new edifice. Financial difficulties long impeded its completion. It was only under the excellent Father Michael D. Murphy (1885-1891), the outstanding figure among the early pastors of Hopkinton, that the Church of St. John the Evangelist was finished, and dedicated on September 2, 1889. It was a magnificent Gothic, granite church, erected at a cost of \$125,000, an edifice that would do credit to a rich and populous metropolis — an extraordinary achievement for that little congregation of about two thousand souls.

⁶⁸ Oct. 28, 1873 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF NORFOLK AND PLYMOUTH COUNTIES

I

THAT PART OF THE ARCHDIOCESE that lay south of Boston offered less favorable conditions for the upbuilding of the Church than did the region north of the metropolis. Even in 1905 the two southern counties together had not nearly so large a population as Essex County alone, nor half as many people as Boston; they contained, indeed, only four communities with over ten thousand inhabitants. The Catholics here were scattered through a multitude of small towns, in which they usually found themselves decidedly in the minority—sometimes a minority of only one sixth or one seventh of the population. This region had scarcely been seriously touched by the Church at all before the days of Bishop Fitzpatrick, and in 1866 its ecclesiastical conditions still savored of the pioneer age. At all events, very considerable progress was to be made here in the time of Archbishop Williams. By the end of that period there were very few towns in the two counties that did not contain a Catholic church, and very commonly one that drew a larger throng of worshipers than any other; and fairly strong Catholic centres had arisen in a few places, such as Quincy, Brockton, and Brookline.

The town of Brookline saw its population increase from 5,262 in 1865 to 23,436 in 1905. Catholics by 1900 were thought to form at least one third of the inhabitants.¹ With this growth the original plain wooden Church of St. Mary of the Assumption, in the alleyway near the railroad station, would no longer suffice. Its replacement became the great aim

¹ *Pilot*, Jan. 20, 1900.

of the fourth pastor, Father Lawrence J. Morris, an able, modest, hard-working, and far-sighted priest, who took charge of the parish in July, 1873, after the resignation in the previous year of the learned Father Finotti and the premature death of the latter's lamented successor, Father Peter F. Lamb. Father Morris began by purchasing an admirable new site, the old Homer estate on Harvard Street (October 22, 1873). This was supplemented five years later by the acquisition of the Wood estate at the corner of Harvard Street and Linden Place. As soon as these lots had been paid for, the construction of the new edifice was started in 1880, and completed with the dedication by the Archbishop on August 22, 1886. The new St. Mary's was a very impressive brick and brownstone structure, of a modified Gothic style, which is said to have cost over \$150,000. Of the numerous other achievements of Father Morris' busy pastorate, the most important was the opening in 1899 of a parochial school. It was a strong and rapidly growing parish that he left to his successor, Father (later Monsignor) Michael T. McManus, whose scarcely less notable rectorate was to last from 1900 to 1928.

For the western part of Brookline, Father Morris had erected on Boylston Street the attractive wood-and-stone Church of St. Lawrence, which was dedicated by Archbishop Williams May 2, 1897. On December 23rd following, Rev. Thomas F. McManus was appointed pastor of a new parish here.

Dedham, the capital of Norfolk County, was throughout this period a quiet, residential town of about seven thousand people, with little industry except in its eastern section. Its Catholics, who had previously been attended from St. Joseph's, Roxbury, received their first resident pastor early in 1866 in the person of Father John P. Brennan. With many good qualities, Father Brennan does not seem to have been blessed with a head for money matters. He launched out upon numerous enterprises: a site for a much-needed new church (the present church lot on High Street), a rectory next door, a cemetery, a parish school. In June, 1866, Martin Bates, the owner of the Norfolk House hotel, had given that property to the Sisters of Charity, who,

with Father Brennan's very active coöperation, set up there, first St. Mary's Orphan Asylum and Industrial School for Girls, and then (1876) St. Mary's Day School. This latter was the first parochial school attempted within the present limits of Norfolk County. But these and other undertakings involved both the parish and the pastor personally in debts that were difficult to meet in the hard times of the '70's. In January, 1877, finding himself unable to cope with the situation, Father Brennan resigned. His successor, Rev. Denis O'Donovan, also resigned after but a year because of ill health. Then appeared Father Robert J. Johnson (1878-1890), who at last put this struggling parish on a firm basis.

The new pastor, able, energetic, and soon highly popular with all classes in the community, undertook both to pay off the parish debt and to begin the construction of the new St. Mary's. For the former purpose he resorted, among other economies, to abandoning the parish school. Generous Protestants also came to his assistance. Albert W. Nickerson, an Episcopalian, is said to have helped largely to pay off the church debt, and gave \$10,000 for the new church. John R. Bullard, likewise a non-Catholic, donated the Dedham granite of which the new edifice was to be constructed. Already on October 17, 1880, the cornerstone was blessed by the Archbishop, and ere long the basement was in use. After that, however, the prosecution of the work was delayed until funds were accumulated for each stage of it. The exterior of the upper church was in great part finished when Father Johnson was promoted to the Gate of Heaven Church, South Boston. His successor, Rev. John H. Fleming (1890-1923), completed the enterprise, the dedication by Archbishop Williams taking place on September 9, 1900. The new St. Mary's, with its stately Gothic architecture and its exquisite windows, altars, and statues, was undoubtedly one of the finest churches erected during that period.

In East Dedham, Father Richard Barry, of West Roxbury, in 1878 built a church that was dedicated to St. Raphael. After his transfer to Hyde Park in 1880, this, along with West Roxbury itself, was placed under the care of Father Johnson. On

December 17, 1887,² St. Raphael's burned down, and it was never replaced, since the location and the large capacity of the new St. Mary's seemed to render unnecessary a separate church in East Dedham.

Norwood, the former South Precinct of Dedham, was incorporated as a town in 1872, its population rising to nearly seven thousand by 1905. St. Catherine's Church, the old Universalist meeting-house acquired in 1863, remained a mission of Dedham until it received its first resident pastor in the zealous and active Father James B. Troy (1890-1907).

The small town of Needham remained in the mission stage even longer. The *Catholic Directories* indicate that it was attended from St. Joseph's, Roxbury, from 1853 to 1855; from Natick 1868-1872; from Natick and Newton Upper Falls from 1873 to 1889; and from the latter place alone from 1890 to 1917. Father Martin O'Brien, rector of Newton Upper Falls (1885-1890), showed a marked interest in this mission. He bought the old Congregational meeting-house on Church Street, which he made over into St. Joseph's Church; and he established a Sunday school and sodalities. His successor, Father Danahy, built the second St. Joseph's, a wooden edifice "somewhat after the Gothic style," which was dedicated on May 30, 1894.

The still smaller town of Medfield (with 3,314 inhabitants in 1905), was occasionally attended from Roxbury (from 1854), and then from Dedham (after 1866). Father John P. Brennan, after his retirement from Dedham, resided here for three years and was allowed to serve the Catholics of the town. When he was made pastor of Foxboro in 1880, Medfield was attached to that place for the next decade; then (1890-1901) to South Natick; then (1901-1903) to Walpole. Mass was said here down to 1870 in private houses, and thereafter in various halls. Father John A. Donnelly, of South Natick, built St. Edward's Church, which was dedicated by Bishop Brady on October 15, 1893. On February 11, 1903, Rev. Hugh M. Smith was named the first pastor of Medfield.

² *Episcopal Register*. Virtually all previous accounts have erroneously stated that St. Raphael's disappeared in 1879.

The old town of Medway and Millis, which was detached from it in 1885, had, taken together, about four thousand inhabitants in 1905. The Catholics of the two towns, who, at the beginning of the period numbered only about forty families, had towards the close of it increased to about sixteen hundred souls. Organized first as a mission of Milford and then of the new parish of Holliston (1870), they received as their first resident rector Father Matthew T. Boylan, appointed May 31, 1885. The first church, St. Clare's, which had formerly been a schoolhouse and was later known as "the old straw shop," soon proved inadequate. Father Quinlan, of Holliston, in 1872 bought additional land adjacent and soon after began work on the present St. Joseph's. Here, too, as with so many other small but zealous congregations, tradition tells how the men of the parish turned out to toil for their church with their own hands, moving the old building to the rear of the lot, digging the cellar, and laying the foundation of the new edifice. Goodwill was more abundant than money, however. While the exterior of the stone basement was completed by 1874,³ the lower church was first put into use on August 12, 1877, and the upper church was dedicated only on November 21, 1886. A fairly large and handsome Gothic frame church, with a lofty spire, located in the heart of town, St. Joseph's was a credit to the Catholics of Medway.⁴

From this parish a still existing mission was developed at North Bellingham, where the little Church of St. Brendan, built by Father Thomas B. Lowney, was blessed by the Archbishop September 8, 1895.

At Bishop Williams' accession most of the towns in the southwestern corner of Norfolk County — Franklin, Wrentham, Foxboro, and Walpole — were being attended from North Attleboro by its very active pastor, Rev. Philip Gillick. A change became necessary in 1872, when North Attleboro was transferred to the Diocese of Providence; and on November 11th of

³ *Episcopal Register*, Nov. 22, 1874. (Some accounts have had it that the new church was begun only in 1876.)

⁴ Cf. *History of St. Joseph's Parish, Medway*, an excellent short account published for local circulation in 1938.

that year the four missions in question were assigned to Father Francis Gouesse, who took up his residence in Walpole. This excellent priest, born in France in 1817, had already spent half a lifetime in strenuous labors in the American South and West before coming to the Diocese of Boston in 1869. We have already encountered him as the founder of the French parish of Marlboro.

Walpole affords a striking example of the legends that have sometimes encrusted our parish histories. The traditional account of Catholic beginnings here is almost melodramatic. Walpole, we are told, was so bigoted a place that when Father Gouesse first settled there, he did not for a year dare to say Mass in the town because of threats made by fanatics. Then for three years he ventured to say Mass clandestinely, the Catholics assembling as secretly as possible in the large room of the Union Mill while their priest was driven to and from the place in a closed carriage. Finally, in 1876, he picked out a lonely and forbidding spot, on the edge of a forest, as a site for a church, and bought it through the medium of a non-Catholic friend, he himself removing to Boston for a few months about that time in order to throw the bigots off the scent and lull them with the hope that they had seen the last of him.⁵ Now whatever modicum of truth may underlie this tale, the story is certainly badly garbled as to dates and probably grossly exaggerated.

In fact, Walpole had been occasionally attended by Catholic priests from various quarters for nearly twenty years before Father Gouesse arrived there. Very soon after his arrival he bought the present church lot at East and Diamond Streets, on May 8, 1873 — and apparently without resorting to any special measures of secrecy.⁶ By the spring of 1875 the building of St. Francis' Church was well under way.⁷ Just when it was com-

⁵ This tale is set forth in *History of the Catholic Church of New England*, pp. 755 f.; *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, 1, 335; *Pilot*, Jan. 19, 1901, and elsewhere.

⁶ *Norfolk Deeds*, book 440, p. 4. The land was not bought through a "dummy" from a violently hostile widow: it had been out of the possession of the lady in question since 1865.

⁷ Letter of "Viator" from Walpole, *Pilot*, Sept. 25, 1875.

pleted and dedicated by its pastor is not quite certain, though probably this had occurred by 1880 at the latest.⁸ Father Gouesse remained as its rector until his death in 1901.

Franklin, the largest town of this group, had somewhat over five thousand inhabitants by 1905. After Catholic services had been held for twenty years in the Town Hall, Father Gillick on December 11, 1871, purchased the dignified old meeting-house of the First Congregational Society, which had been built in 1788 and which occupied a fine location opposite the Common. Readapted, this became St. Mary's Church. After Father Gouesse had paid off the debt incurred, Franklin was detached from Walpole on February 6, 1877, receiving Rev. James Griffin (the builder of St. Francis de Sales', Roxbury) as its first rector. Under its second pastor, Father John M. Mulcahy (1885-1891), the church, which had just been much enlarged and redecorated, was dedicated by Archbishop Williams on November 18, 1888. In view of the growth of the town and of the parish, which now contained about seventeen hundred Catholics, fine prospects seemed to be dawning at the accession of the third rector, the zealous and amiable Father Martin J. Lee. The early years of his régime saw many new enterprises, but especially the purchase of the Fitzpatrick estate with a large dwelling-house, which he converted into a parish school (1893). Then catastrophe came. On June 26, 1900, the church was totally destroyed by fire, with a loss of \$30,000, only partially covered by insurance.⁹ As matters stood, the erection of a new church was out of the question. The school had to be sacrificed. Its basement was made over as a place of worship by early 1901, after the congregation had for months been meeting in the Opera House; and the upper part of the edifice was later transformed into a church, which Bishop Brady dedicated on November 13, 1904. Meanwhile, in January, 1903, Father Lee resigned his position. His successor, Rev. Daniel P. Scannell (1903-1924), by years of patient labor extricated the parish from

⁸ The church is first listed under its proper name in the *Catholic Directory* for 1881.

⁹ *Pilot*, July 7, 1900.

its difficulties and paved the way for the large developments that have since taken place here.

St. Mary's, Foxboro, also had a somewhat checkered history. The first church here having burned down in 1862, Father Gillick about 1868 began a second one, which Father Gouesse completed. This one, too, burned down on September 17, 1877 — its insurance policy having expired a week or two previously! Father Gouesse replaced it, but with a very small and, it has been said, an almost barn-like chapel. Then, feeling the need of reducing his burdens, he procured the transfer of this mission in 1878 to Franklin. Two years later, Foxboro was made independent under Rev. John P. Brennan (February 23, 1880). His successor, the energetic Father Patrick H. Callanan, reorganized and revived what had hitherto been a poorly administered and a divided and discouraged parish. He also gave it at last an adequate new church, which was dedicated by the Archbishop on May 6, 1888.

The ancient town of Wrentham, once the third largest in Norfolk County, had only about three thousand inhabitants in 1865, and after the detachment of Norfolk (formerly "North Wrentham") in 1870, its population sank to 1,428 in 1905. Throughout this period, therefore, Wrentham remained a mission, attached successively to North Attleboro, to Walpole, to Franklin, and after 1889 to Foxboro. The little Church of St. Mary, erected in Bishop Fitzpatrick's time, was still ample for the needs of the congregation.

II

In central Norfolk County Canton, in spite of the early development of its industries, remained a small town, its population growing slowly from 3,318 in 1865 to 4,702 in 1905. Its first Catholic pastor, Father John Flatley (1861-1888) replaced the original small St. Mary's Church at South Canton with the present Church of St. John the Evangelist on Washington Street at Canton Centre. This was another Gothic frame church, with high, tapering tower, and a richly decorated in-

terior. Its cornerstone was, apparently, laid in May, 1866, and the dedication by Bishop Williams took place on April 7, 1867. Fifteen years later, Father Flatley bought, at a surprising bargain, the adjacent James Davis estate, turned the mansion into a convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame, and then erected in the rear of the church a school, which was opened in 1883. It was not a very large but a well-ordered and well-equipped parish that he transmitted to his successor, that sturdy descendant of the Puritans, Father Josué P. Bodfish (1888-1908).

Stoughton, a slightly larger town than Canton, was for Catholic purposes attended from the latter place until the Rev. Thomas Norris was sent to it as first pastor (June 17, 1872). The Church of the Immaculate Conception, which dates from 1859, has continued to serve the congregation even down to the present. The second pastor, Father James Kiely (1878-1907), supplied the parish with a school (1884), a gymnasium for the young men, and various other improvements. For the rest, he was a good but eccentric priest, whose oddities in speech and action gave him a certain celebrity at that time.

Sharon was originally a mission of South Boston, then of Canton (1861), then of Stoughton (1872). Its first tiny chapel of St. Aloysius was replaced by Father Kiely with the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows, which was built in the years 1891-1894. On June 27, 1906, Rev. George A. Costello was made rector of a new parish here.

The old shoe-manufacturing town of Randolph, as the result of a reduction of its territory, had in 1905 only 4,734 inhabitants — one thousand less than forty years earlier. Of this population the Catholics formed, probably, not far from one half. St. Mary's parish, under somewhat frequently changing pastors, had a relatively uneventful history during this period, retaining its old church, attempting no school, but developing missions at Holbrook and Avon that were ultimately to become parishes.

Holbrook and Avon were two new towns incorporated, the one out of South Randolph, the other out of East Stoughton, in 1872 and 1888 respectively. Both may be considered exten-

sions of the Brockton industrial area. At Avon, Father Michael Burns, of Randolph, in 1872 built an unpretentious wooden church which was dedicated as St. Michael's by Bishop Williams on August 11th of that year. At Holbrook, though it was but two miles from the centre of Randolph, the people were eager to have a church of their own, and were encouraged in this desire by Father Thomas O'Brien, then rector of St. Mary's, and his assistant, Rev. James J. Kelly. Funds were raised, therefore, a church lot was bought,¹⁰ and on March 3, 1887, Father Kelly was appointed pastor of Holbrook and Avon. Within a year the Catholics of the former town were worshipping in the basement of their new St. Joseph's Church. Thereafter, however, progress was necessarily somewhat slow. The upper part of St. Joseph's remained unfinished and Avon remained a mission of Holbrook until the next episcopate.

The largest and the most rapidly growing community in Norfolk County was Quincy, whose population rose from 6,718 in 1865 to 28,076 in 1905. The vast Catholic missionary district that had centred here in earlier times had by 1866 shrunk to a parish that included only the city of Quincy and the town of Braintree. It contained two churches: St. John's at Quincy Centre, where the pastor resided, and the older St. Mary's Church in West Quincy. The outstanding pastorate here was that of Father Francis Friguglietti (1871-1903). A Neapolitan by birth and for a time a member of the Franciscan Order, "Father Francis," as all Quincy came to know him, was a zealous and devoted priest and a genial, open-hearted man, who won the love and respect of the entire community. He met the problems raised by increasing Catholic numbers with all desirable energy. He began by virtually rebuilding St. John's, constructing a stone basement in the centre of the church lot, moving the church onto it, enlarging the old edifice to the dimensions of its new foundation, and thoroughly renovating the interior. Thus transformed, St. John's was rededicated by Bishop Williams on June 14, 1874. In the following year St. Mary's was enlarged to double its original capacity. Three

¹⁰ Dec. 30, 1886 (Archbishop Williams' *Book of Deeds*).

years later the wooden Church of the Sacred Heart, Atlantic, was erected on Hancock Street for the northern section of Quincy. It was blessed by the Archbishop on September 15, 1878. Meanwhile, services had been started in South Braintree in Holbrook's Hall in 1877. A site was purchased on October 20th of that year, and on October 21, 1879, the Church of St. Francis of Assisi was dedicated. Father Friguglietti's last creation was the small St. Francis' Chapel, Hough's Neck, which was opened on August 13, 1893, for the summer, and ere long also for the winter, residents of that peninsula.

Already in 1884 it was stated that the three Catholic churches of Quincy had more worshipers than all the eight Protestant churches taken together.¹¹ It is surprising that Father Francis and his assistants kept up the care of what was soon five churches as long as they did. The break-up of the Quincy-Braintree parish began with the appointment, on December 9, 1899, of Father Ambrose F. Roche as pastor of St. Mary's, West Quincy. He at once set out with plans for a magnificent new granite church, the cornerstone of which was blessed by the Archbishop on September 23, 1900. The division of the old parish was carried further after Father Friguglietti's death, with the appointment of Father Matthew F. McDonnell as pastor of South Braintree (June 29, 1903), and Father John P. Cuffe as first pastor of Atlantic (June 30, 1903).

Weymouth in 1865, with 7,975 inhabitants, was a larger town than Quincy. In 1905, with 11,585 residents, it was not half so large. The first Catholic church to be erected here, St. Francis Xavier's (1859), had been located on Middle Street, near the Town Hall, close to the geographic centre of this cluster of sometimes contentious villages. On July 16, 1866, Weymouth was detached from Abington and erected into a parish which included all the adjacent coastal towns as far as Scituate, under the Rev. John Hannigan. If his pastorate was not a particularly successful one, spectacular progress began under his successor, Father Hugh P. Smyth (1869-1883). That heroic

¹¹ D. Hamilton Hurd (ed.), *History of Norfolk County, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 359.

church-builder found here the first free field for his energy, and eight new churches were the fruit of his labors.

His régime began with a disaster: three months after his arrival, St. Francis Xavier's burned down (November 27, 1869). Far from being discouraged, the young pastor at once announced his determination not only to replace the edifice destroyed, but to provide churches for each of the three chief Weymouth villages and also one for Hingham. He was as good as his word — even better. A drive to collect funds was happily launched with a fair, which proved “an unprecedented success” (for the South Shore) and which netted six thousand dollars.¹² And almost immediately a great campaign of lot-buying and church-building began.

The first enterprise was the erection of the new St. Francis Xavier's, which this time was to be located in South Weymouth, on Pleasant Street. The cornerstone was laid on October 9, 1870, and on May 21st of the following year the Bishop dedicated the Gothic frame church, which, like most of Father Smyth's churches, is said to have been designed by the architect Keeley.

At Weymouth Landing, the business centre of the town, a first church-lot, bought in 1870, did not prove satisfactory. Two years later, Father Smyth acquired the Wales estate on Commercial Street, in the very heart of the village. On it stood a famous old tavern, familiar to travelers as the Half Way House. This quaintly built hostelry was turned into a temporary place of worship, its long dining-room and barroom being transformed into a chapel. Later it served as the rectory, and even today it is used as a convent for the Sisters teaching in the parish. Alongside it Father Smyth in 1874 began the construction of the brick, Gothic Church of the Sacred Heart — the largest and most expensive of his creations along the South Shore — which was dedicated only on June 18, 1882.

In East Weymouth the wooden Church of the Immaculate Conception, on Broad Street, was started in 1873 and dedicated November 23, 1879. For the then thinly settled village of

¹² *Pilot*, Feb. 19, March 19, 1870.

North Weymouth the smaller, frame Church of St. Jerome, at Lovell and Neck Streets, was built in the following year and blessed by the Archbishop on September 30, 1880.

At Hingham, where the Catholics had long been eager to have their own place of worship, Father Hannigan had already secured an excellent site on North Street, close to the railroad station.¹³ Here Father Smyth erected the earliest and one of the handsomest of all his churches. St. Paul's was dedicated by Bishop Williams on July 23, 1871. Scituate was provided for in the following year, when Father Smyth built the Church of the Nativity. Cohasset's turn came in 1875, with the construction of St. Anthony's Church on South Main Street.¹⁴

The next stage in developments along the South Shore was, naturally, the division of Father Smyth's overgrown parish into smaller units. The break-up began when he obtained the appointment of his assistant, Rev. Peter J. Leddy, as first pastor of Hingham, to which Cohasset and Scituate were attached, on August 15, 1876. It was continued when, on September 23, 1882, Father Jeremiah E. Millerick became rector of East Weymouth, with North Weymouth as a mission. Father Smyth then retained only Weymouth Landing, where he had since 1873 resided, South Weymouth, and East Braintree, a district which had been transferred to his care from Quincy in 1871, but for which, since it lay so close to Weymouth, it had not seemed necessary to build a church. This division of the town of Weymouth lasted until January 3, 1907, when the Rev. John A. Butler was named rector of a third parish made up of South Weymouth and East Braintree. Meanwhile, Cohasset and Scituate had been detached from Hingham with the appointment of Father Michael J. Phelan as their first pastor (August 17, 1886).

The one part of this area in which further church-building took place during this period was the town of Hull. That picturesque peninsula then had few Catholic residents during

¹³ The land was bought on Aug. 10, 1866 (*Plymouth Deeds*, book 337, p. 147).

¹⁴ It is difficult to learn the dates at which the Scituate and Cohasset churches were dedicated. That ceremony seems to have been performed by Father Smyth himself in both cases.

the winter, but an ever-increasing number during the summer months. It was in response to the demands of the latter class that the first Mass in the town was said, on August 21, 1870 (the first, at least, since the French were there during the American Revolution). On that occasion the use of the Town Hall was obtained, through the courtesy of the Methodists, who had the regular lease of it for Sunday mornings, and Father James A. Healy, the later Bishop of Portland, offered the Holy Sacrifice and preached an eloquent sermon before a packed congregation of Catholics and Protestants.¹⁵ No further Catholic activities here are then reported for over a decade. Father Gerald Fagan, pastor of Hingham (1880-1896), within whose jurisdiction Hull lay, took the next forward step by purchasing land on Atlantic Avenue, Nantasket, in 1885.¹⁶ After several years in which summer and winter residents alike did their best to raise funds for the much-desired church, by 1890 Father Fagan was able to open the present Church of St. Mary of the Assumption, which was henceforth served as a mission of Hingham.¹⁷

Father Fagan also interested himself in the Catholics of the northern end of the peninsula, for whom it meant a rather long journey to go to Mass in Nantasket. For their benefit services began to be held at Hull Village, as often as circumstances permitted, first in the Town Hall (1894), and then at the Corinthian Yacht Club (1896). Eventually Father Hugh Mulligan, of Hingham, was able to buy an estate at Stony Beach (1900), and on it to erect the Church of St. Catherine, which was dedicated by Bishop Brady on August 28, 1904.

III

Apart from Hingham and Hull, the growth of the Church in Plymouth County proceeded from two centres: the Bridgewater and Abington.

¹⁵ *Pilot*, Sept. 3, 1870.

¹⁶ Feb. 19, 1885 (*Plymouth Deeds*, book 517, p. 485).

¹⁷ *The Pilot* of May 3, 1890, announced that this church would be ready for dedication in June, but as no record of that ceremony appears in the *Episcopal Register*, it was probably performed by Father Fagan himself.

North Bridgewater, which adopted the name of Brockton in 1874 and became a city ten years later, experienced a phenomenal growth during this period. Its population soared from 6,332 in 1865 to 47,794 in 1905. By the latter year it ranked as the first city in the United States in the boot-and-shoe industry.

Father Thomas B. McNulty, the founder of Brockton's first parish, presided over it from 1857 until his death in 1885. He lived to see the two hundred Catholics, whom he met in Tyler Cobb Hall when he first came to the town, increase to seven thousand. He left as his memorial the dignified St. Patrick's Church, with its stately spire, in the centre of the city. He was, as Archbishop Williams noted in his journal, a priest "remarkable for his faith and charity."¹⁸ His successor, Father Michael Doherty, who had for thirteen years been his invaluable assistant, had barely time to found St. Patrick's school before death interrupted his labors. The third rector, Rev. Edward L. McClure (1887-1902), was another tireless and fruitful worker. He paid off a parish debt of \$40,000, renovated the interior of the church, bought a convent for the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, built up an unusual number of parish societies, and exerted himself to supply the need for more churches. For the northern part of the city (Montello), he erected a capacious wooden edifice, intended to be used only temporarily as a church and ultimately as a schoolhouse. He dedicated it as St. Edward's on July 25, 1897. A few weeks before, Father James J. Kelly, previously pastor of Holbrook, was named rector of the new Montello parish (June 1, 1897). In the southern section of Brockton (Campello), Father McClure early in 1902 bought a site and intended to begin construction, but failing health prevented him. The enterprise was, therefore, entrusted to Father John J. Kelleher, appointed on July 14, 1902, pastor of Campello. The latter confined himself for the time being to the building of a basement-church, which was dedicated as St. Margaret's on December 6, 1903.

St. Thomas', Bridgewater, had a relatively uneventful history during the Williams era. At its mission of East Bridge-

¹⁸ *Episcopal Register*, Aug. 10, 1885.

water, the church, at first known as St. Bridget's, was finally dedicated by the Archbishop on June 15, 1879, under the name of St. John's. On March 5, 1893, it was destroyed by fire. Father William E. Kelly, of Bridgewater, then replaced it with a far larger and handsomer Gothic edifice, which was blessed by Archbishop Williams on April 29, 1894. On May 1, 1903, East Bridgewater became a separate parish under Rev. Edward J. Curtin.

At Middleboro, another mission of St. Thomas', Father Conlon bought a site for building on March 11, 1873. For financial reasons construction could be started only seven years later, but on July 12, 1881, the Archbishop dedicated the unpretentious wooden Church of the Sacred Heart. On June 27, 1885, a parish was created here under Rev. Olivier Boucher, who has already been mentioned in these pages in connection with the French churches of Lawrence and Haverhill. Middleboro was in area one of the largest parishes in the Diocese, but in a total population of nearly seven thousand, the Catholics formed barely one seventh. It was only in the last years of Archbishop Williams' reign that the number of the faithful began to increase markedly and that plans were formed for an adequate new church.

The old town of Abington in 1865, with 8,576 inhabitants, was the largest community in Plymouth County. Subsequently East Abington split off in 1874 to become the town of Rockland, and in the following year South Abington detached itself, adopting in 1886 the name of Whitman. Both of these offshoots were by 1905, with somewhat over six thousand residents, slightly larger than their mother-town.

St. Bridget's, Abington, was the mother-church of most of the Catholic parishes in eastern Plymouth County. It had a notable series of pastors. Father Aaron L. Roche, the founder of the parish, presided over it for only six years. "If ever a man had a benevolent, warm, and generous Irish heart, Father Roche was that man."¹⁹ He had been a great builder of churches and a most zealous pastor; he had a splendid library

¹⁹ Words of Father O'Brien at the funeral Mass (*Pilot*, Feb. 12, 1870).

and much learning; and he died poor. Next came Father Michael Moran (1870-1872), later well known as pastor of St. Stephen's, Boston. Then Rev. James C. Murphy (1872-1876), the founder of the church in Plymouth. Father William P. McQuaid (1876-1887) was the great church-builder in the Abington missions, and was later to be the distinguished rector of St. James', Boston. Father John F. Mundy (1887-1888) had been the right arm of Father Scully of Cambridge, and after a brief pastorate here felt impelled to return to serve again as lieutenant to so great a chief. Rev. George J. Patterson (1888-1897), after notable achievements in Abington, was to preside over St. Vincent's and SS. Peter and Paul's, South Boston, and to be Vicar-General of the Diocese. Father Patrick H. Billings (1897-1927) is still remembered in the parish as an intensely religious man, with a stern sense of justice and charity, a crusader for righteous living, and an ardent educator of the young people.²⁰

The beginnings of Catholic organization in Whitman can be traced back to a meeting held by a few zealous laymen on March 10, 1878, at the home of James Fitzgibbons to consider buying land for a church. As a result of that meeting there was formed the South Abington Catholic Church Fund Society. By a procedure common enough in pioneer days, very rare in the late nineteenth century, but quite innocuous in this case, the Directors and Trustees of this Society in April, 1878, purchased in their own name the church lot on School Street, and held it for two years before conveying it gratis to the Archbishop. Meanwhile, they exerted themselves to raise money for building. Thanks to such active lay coöperation, Father McQuaid, of Abington, was able to begin the erection of a church in the spring of 1880 and to have the basement ready for use by the following Christmas. The completed edifice, a Gothic, wooden structure, with high-pitched roof and a spire rising from the left of the façade, was dedicated by Archbishop

²⁰ "History of St. Bridget's" parish by State Auditor Thomas H. Buckley, published in the *Brockton Enterprise*, Nov. 10, 1937, and also in the pamphlet *St. Bridget's Parish, Diamond Jubilee Reunion* (1938).

Williams on November 14, 1886, as the Church of the Holy Ghost. Father Patterson some years later acquired the adjacent fine estate on Washington Street for a rectory. On his departure from Abington, Whitman was set off as a parish, on March 15, 1897, under Father James F. Hamilton, a devoted, gentle, and modest priest, who remained pastor until his death in 1935.²¹

At Rockland, Father James C. Murphy, of Abington, as early as September 15, 1873, purchased the hotel property on Union Street where the Church of the Holy Family now stands.²² Stirred up, perhaps, by the example set in Whitman, in 1879 the laymen of Rockland and Hanover organized the Rockland Catholic Church Fund Society.²³ Building operations began three years later, the cornerstone being laid on June 25, 1882. Father McQuaid had almost completed the exterior of the structure and had the basement in use for services when he was removed to Boston. Thereupon, on May 23, 1883, Rev. John D. Tierney was appointed first pastor of Rockland and Hanover. He finished the construction of the present dignified, brick, Romanesque church, which was dedicated by Archbishop Williams on May 30, 1886.

In Hanover and the neighboring small towns of Hanson and Pembroke Catholics were few in number, but services had for some time been held in private houses by priests from Abington. In 1879, Father McQuaid bought a site on Broadway, Hanover, upon which in the following year he erected a neat, wooden chapel. It was blessed by the Archbishop on June 25, 1882, under the invocation of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. The three towns here in question remained under the jurisdiction, first of Abington, and then of Rockland, until the end of this period.

Historic Plymouth increased from a population of 6,068 in 1865 to 11,119 in 1905, but its growth became marked only around the turn of the century. After the visits of Bishop

²¹ The history of this parish is well retraced in the pamphlet *Silver Jubilee and Reunion of the Holy Ghost Parish* (Whitman, 1922). On the beginnings here see *Whitman Times*, April 8, 1938.

²² *Plymouth Deeds*, book 402, p. 51. ²³ *Pilot*, Jan. 18, 1879.

Cheverus, the first priest who is known to have officiated in the town came and said Mass in 1849. Very probably, this was Father Roddan of Quincy.²⁴ By this time, as the result of Irish immigration, Catholics were settling here in appreciable numbers. Father William Moran, pastor of Sandwich (1850-1864), soon began to say Mass for them once in three months in the Town Hall or elsewhere, and his successor, Father Peter Bertoldi, came monthly. The question of church-building was now to the front. Already in 1858, Father Moran had purchased on Russell Street a lot which he doubtless intended for that purpose; but in Father Bertoldi's time a part of the congregation objected to that location, and wrote to Bishop Williams in opposition to it. Finally a much more advantageous site was found on the principal thoroughfare of the town, the Barnes estate on Court Street. This was bought by Father Bertoldi on November 19, 1870.²⁵ Two years later, when Sandwich was annexed to the Diocese of Providence, Plymouth passed under the care of Abington.

Father James C. Murphy, of the latter parish, at once began the long-delayed work of church-building. The cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1873, and on October 25, 1879, Archbishop Williams dedicated the Gothic, wooden Church of St. Peter. Father Murphy had been so absorbed in the enterprise that he had renounced Abington in order to become first rector of Plymouth (August 12, 1876). He lived scarcely three months after the completion of the church which he had erected in the face of great difficulties. The next four pastors served for only brief periods, most of them being quickly promoted to larger parishes. The Plymouth parish was large enough in area, for it extended from Bourne in the south to Marshfield in the north, but in numbers it was for a time rather weak. The only one of its outlying towns in which church-building seemed possible was Kingston. There Father Hugh P. Smyth, who was in temporary charge of Plymouth during the absence of its rector,

²⁴ Katharine A. O'Brien, *The Catholic Church in Plymouth, Massachusetts* (*ibid.*, 1936), p. 15. Father Roddan's baptismal register shows him to have been there on March 4, 1849.

²⁵ *Plymouth Deeds*, book 369, p. 141.

put up the small, wooden Church of St. Joseph, which was dedicated July 9, 1882. Conditions began to change during the long pastorate of Father John J. Buckley (1891-1918). The growth of industry and especially of the cordage works in North Plymouth was now rapidly enlarging and transforming the population. What with the influx of French-Canadians, Portuguese, Italians, and Germans, St. Peter's was by 1907 both a large and a cosmopolitan parish, requiring the services of four priests. Thanks to new pilgrims from beyond the seas, the Catholic Church was now the strongest religious body in the original home of New England Puritanism — with results, it may be hoped, far more consonant with the best ideals of the Pilgrim Fathers than Governor Bradford would have anticipated.

CHAPTER XIII

DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION. CATHOLIC EDUCATION

I

How IMMENSE WAS THE GROWTH of the Church here in the age of Archbishop Williams appears in the fact that within the present limits of the Archdiocese, between 1866 and 1907, the number of Catholic churches increased from 63 to 248, the number of priests from 79 to 598, and the number of the faithful from not much more than 200,000 to about 750,000. At the end of the period, Boston ranked second among the dioceses of this country in total Catholic population, third in the number of clergy, and seventh in the number of churches with resident pastors. Its relatively lower standing in the respect last mentioned may easily be explained by the high degree of concentration of its Catholic people. All in all, it was an amazing development for what had been regarded at the time of its creation as the weakest and least promising of American dioceses.

So profound a transformation naturally called for some change in the old, simple methods of diocesan administration. In pioneer days the bishop had been virtually the sole organ of central government, assisted only at certain times and for certain purposes by a vicar-general. In Bishop Fitzpatrick's time the office of chancellor and secretary had been created. Beyond that, however, organization progressed very little for the next thirty years. Loving simplicity and directness in all things, and possessing a great talent for handling business and turning it off quickly, Archbishop Williams preferred as far as possible to continue the somewhat patriarchal methods of the predecessors under whom he had been trained. He long attended personally to nearly all diocesan affairs, save those of the most subordinate and routine nature. He carried on the great bulk of the correspondence — with his own hand, for down to the end he dis-

dained such an ultra-modern innovation as a typewriter. He was to a large degree his own bookkeeper, as well as his own secretary. The numerous volumes of diocesan records which he kept up conscientiously throughout forty-one years, attest both his careful attention to every detail of the task entrusted to him and his joy in the work of his hands.¹ So vast an amount of clerical work, as well as of audiences and conferences, could be attended to only because the Archbishop was the embodiment of order, regularity, punctuality, and industry; because he was willing to toil daily at his desk for hours that might well have exhausted a man of half his age; and because of an economy in the use of words that was part of his system as well as of his character. "If he was terse in speech," it has been said, "he was still more terse in writing. If a letter could be answered in one word of one syllable, it got no more. Four lines were a long letter, and the entire page of a letter sheet represented an extraordinary case."²

Archbishop Williams had but two vicar-generals: his great friend, Father Patrick F. Lyndon (1866-1879), and the Very Rev. William Byrne (1879-1907). The office of chancellor and secretary was held successively by the following priests:

Fathers William Byrne (1866-1874)
 Theodore Metcalf (1874-1879)
 Bernard O'Regan (1879-1881)
 Josué P. Bodfish (1881-1886)
 Richard Neagle (1886-1896)
 Michael J. Doody (1896-1903)
 Thomas J. MacCormack (1903-1907)

From 1900 on, there was an assistant chancellor.

Mention has already been made of the one administrative innovation effected by Bishop Williams at the beginning of the

¹ The old diocesan journal (the *Memoranda of the Diocese of Boston*), which Bishop Fenwick had kept up throughout his episcopate, and Bishop Fitzpatrick also, though with considerable interruptions, was continued by Archbishop Williams only down to 1881. Its disappearance, however, was amply made up for by the *Episcopal Register*, in which from 1866 to 1907 the Archbishop recorded almost every important official transaction.

² Katherine E. Conway, in *Pilot*, Sept. 7, 1907

reign, the establishment of the Diocesan Council; of the renaming of the members of that board in 1868 as "Diocesan Consultors"; and of the decrees of the Baltimore Council of 1884 relating to the choice, tenure, and functions of consultors, which were put into force here by the Fourth Boston Synod, in 1886.

In general, the elaborate provisions laid down by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore for the organization of diocesan administration were applied here only somewhat tardily and incompletely, as the Archbishop deemed that local conditions and practical needs required it. At any rate, the last half of this episcopate saw a very considerable development of administrative machinery. A board of six examiners of the clergy was appointed at the Synod of 1886 in accordance with the Baltimore decrees. By 1907 its numbers had grown to sixteen. The nomination in 1893 of Rev. John J. McNulty as *Defensor Vinculi Matrimonialis* marked the beginning of a rudimentary ecclesiastical court for marriage cases. Hitherto such cases had happily been so rare — normally only about six a year — that they had been handled by the Archbishop and the pastors of the interested parties. Henceforth, as the number of cases slowly increased, the Archbishop, the Chancellor, and the *Defensor Vinculi* acted as a matrimonial tribunal. The origins of a second court, for hearing disciplinary causes of clerics, may be traced back to the Synod of 1879, when, in obedience to an instruction from Rome, a board of five judges was set up for this purpose. It is doubtful, however, whether this court was ever called upon to function, for, happily, here again cases requiring formal action were almost unheard of in the Diocese of Boston. In this connection it may be noted that, more fortunate than many of his fellow bishops, Archbishop Williams seems never to have had an appeal against him transmitted by any of his clergy to Rome.

The growing parochial school system was a matter that obviously demanded supervision and unifying direction. As a first step towards this end, in accordance with the recommendations of the Baltimore Council, a school board for the Archdiocese

was established in 1889.³ It is said to have been composed of about a dozen pastors, who, having schools in their own parishes, might be considered experienced in educational problems. Soon it was realized, however, that there was need of an official who could give his whole time to this work, and who, by frequently visiting and inspecting all the parochial schools, could keep informed of existing conditions and help to create higher and more uniform standards. The result was the appointment of Rev. Louis S. Walsh as first Diocesan Supervisor of Schools on October 1, 1897.⁴ When, after nine years of effective service in this position, he was made Bishop of Portland, the plan was tried of having two supervisors, Rev. John J. Graham being charged with the schools of Middlesex and Essex Counties, and Rev. George A. Lyons with those of the other three counties.⁵ Meantime, the Diocesan School Board seems to have dropped out of existence.

Another diocesan office arose to advance the cause of Catholic foreign missions. The chief means by which the faithful in this country could then assist in that great work was by joining, and making their regular contributions, however small, to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, whose headquarters were at Lyons, France. Already in the time of Bishop Fitzpatrick efforts had been made to establish branches of the Society in the various parishes of the Diocese. In the early part of the Williams era such branches seem to have existed in a fair number of parishes, and an annual collection was taken up in all the churches for this good cause. The Archbishop himself was, perhaps, the most zealous and active friend of the Society in the American hierarchy of that time; ⁶ and to him especially belongs the credit of commencing the process of making this Diocese "mission-minded," and of winning for it the honorable preëminence that it has since enjoyed in this respect. By 1887

³ Rev. Louis S. Walsh, *Historical Sketch of the Growth of the Catholic Parochial Schools in the Archdiocese of Boston* (Newton, 1901), p. 5; *Episcopal Register*, Feb. 28, 1889.

⁴ *Episcopal Register*. ⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1906.

⁶ Cf. the tributes to him in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* (Dublin), 1901, p. 264; 1907, p. 218.

Boston was beginning to send to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith \$5,000 to \$6,000 a year; and, small as this contribution was according to present-day standards, it sufficed to make this for many years the banner diocese of North and South America.

A decade later, when in an effort to organize the Society more effectively in the United States, its delegates here requested that in each diocese a Director of the Propagation of the Faith should be appointed, Boston was the second diocese in the country to act upon this suggestion. On June 21, 1898, Rev. Joseph V. Tracy, an extremely able, energetic, and devoted priest, was named to this position (and also appointed as a professor in St. John's Seminary). Under his vigorous impulse, the cause of the missions began to make redoubled progress here. Within three years branches of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith were to be found in more than three fourths of the parishes of the Diocese.⁷ And the contributions swelled from \$6,446.23 in 1898 to \$83,029.25 in 1904. By the latter year the Diocese of Boston had the proud distinction of leading the whole Catholic world in the amount of its donations to the missions; and if this preëminence was due in part to certain legacies, even without them Boston would have ranked second, yielding only to the Archdiocese of Lyons. Meanwhile, Father Tracy, who found his double task too great a strain upon his health, had been appointed rector of St. Anthony's, Allston. On March 1, 1903, he was succeeded as Director by Father James Anthony Walsh, whose work on behalf of the missions was to be of worldwide fame and significance and epoch-making in the history of the American Church. That work, however, can best be described in connection with the events of the next episcopate.

One more new diocesan office, a kind of inchoate charitable bureau, began to take shape in Archbishop Williams' last years, but its rise, also, will be reserved to a later chapter of this work.

⁷ *Pilot*, Jan. 18, 1902.

II

One important administrative problem which Archbishop Williams inherited was that of establishing a safe and satisfactory system for the tenure of Church property. His predecessors, in order to avert the dangers of lay "trusteeism," which had wrought havoc in many parts of the country, had uniformly and successfully insisted that property acquired by the several parishes (unless held by religious orders) should be deeded to the bishop, to be held by him in fee simple or, in rare cases, "in trust" for the congregation. This system, which was then the one most widely followed in this country, had obvious disadvantages. Archbishop Hughes, of New York, once declared:

The bishops themselves feel it as an oppression to be the owners in fee simple of such an amount of property; and it would be an additional security to the people as well as a relief to the prelates . . . if some general law were passed by which it might be transmitted in trust to their successors, without the necessity of providing against the contingencies which result from the uncertainties of life and of last wills and testaments.⁸

The same Archbishop in 1863 succeeded in getting through the New York Legislature an Act which was regarded as embodying the most perfect system yet devised in this country. It authorized any Catholic church or congregation to incorporate itself under a board of trustees made up of the archbishop or bishop, his vicar-general, the pastor, and two laymen chosen by them. This plan placed Church property under the protection of an undying corporation while avoiding the perils of lay domination. Bishop Fitzpatrick was so much impressed with its advantages that he petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for a similar enactment, but no action had been taken at the time of his death.

Immediately upon his accession, Bishop Williams renewed

⁸ Rev. Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784-1932)* (Catholic University of America, *Studies in Church History*, XIV) (Washington, 1933), p. 187.

the request, only to meet with a complete rebuff based on motives of purest bigotry. Our good legislators obviously felt that in the Catholic Church laymen ought to have more power and bishops less, and that in this land of religious liberty it was their duty to do all in their power to compel Catholics to reorganize their Church along Protestant lines.⁹ Thirteen years later, taking advantage of a brief lull in religious warfare, the Archbishop had a new bill presented, which conformed closely to the New York plan. This time it went through and with no substantial modification.¹⁰

Once the privilege of incorporation had been granted, however, no great use was made of it. The pastors, apparently, were disinclined to embark upon a system which involved the necessity of an annual corporation meeting, an annual report to the State authorities, and other obligations which they did not always clearly understand. The Archbishop did not press it upon them, and very few parishes seem to have become incorporated. Eventually it was decided to try another plan, which had been introduced in the Archdiocese of Baltimore as early as 1833, and had since been adopted in many other places. In 1897 a bill was, without much difficulty, passed by the Massachusetts Legislature by which the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston was made a corporation sole. In other words, this marked a reversion to the plan by which nearly all the Church property in the Diocese was to be held in the name of the Archbishop, but no longer in his name as an individual, but rather as a moral personality who through his successors would exist in perpetuity.¹¹ This system was at once put into effect as regards most forms of Church property, although Catholic educational and charitable institutions continued to be separately incorporated under their own boards of trustees.

Archbishop Williams deserves the credit of having inaugurated several practices intended to uphold the spiritual and intellectual standards of the secular clergy. In the first place,

⁹ Cf. *Boston Transcript*, April 10, 1866; *Pilot*, May 19, 1866; *Boston Recorder*, June 8, 1866.

¹⁰ *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, 1879, Chapter 108.

¹¹ *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts*, 1897, Chapter 506.

he was the real founder in this Diocese of the system of annual clergy retreats. Bishop Fenwick, it is true, had gathered his priests in 1842 for a week of spiritual exercises, and Bishop Fitzpatrick had done the same in 1847. But the custom appears to have been revived only in 1863, when, during Bishop Fitzpatrick's absence in Europe, Vicar-General Williams was in charge of the Diocese; and it has been continued annually from that date down to the present time. These gatherings were held, first, at Holy Cross College, and, from 1884 on, at the Seminary in Brighton. Chiefly, it would seem, because of the limited accommodations of these places, it remained the rule throughout the Williams era that each secular priest was required to make the retreat only every other year. The keen interest with which the Archbishop followed these reunions appears in many places in his journal, where for over forty years each retreat was faithfully chronicled, and often with a wealth of details.

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore had recommended that, in default of annual synods, the clergy of each diocese should be brought together at least twice each year in "Theological Conferences," for the reading of papers and the discussion of problems in the field of the ecclesiastical sciences. Bishop Williams began to hold such meetings in 1869. Henceforth to the end of his life he seldom failed to preside over them in person and to report them in his journal with a fullness that shows the importance which he attached to them. After some diversities of practice in the earliest years, it soon became the established rule that both in the spring and in the autumn two Theological Conferences were held, half of the clergy being summoned to each meeting (and with pastors and curates intermingled).

In order to make sure that younger priests continued their studies and perfected their ecclesiastical education, the Third Council of Baltimore had urged that during the first five years after ordination all secular clergymen should be required to pass an annual examination. This system was accepted for this Diocese at the Synod of 1886, and immediately put into practice.

Another plan for the benefit of diocesan priests that received the Archbishop's warm support was embodied in the Clergy Fund Society. While started under Bishop Fitzpatrick, this association gained a firmer organization and a much enlarged membership under Archbishop Williams, who frequently exhorted all his priests to join it, although he never required them to do so. In return for an annual subscription of ten dollars, the Society assured to its members assistance to the amount of fifty dollars a month in case they were incapacitated by old age or illness.

Much might be said, if space permitted, of the wisdom, the justice, the kindness, the patience, the paternal benevolence that were shown by Archbishop Williams in his dealings with his priests. In one of his rare moments of self-revelation, at a dinner tendered him on his eightieth birthday, he expressed his feelings towards them in words all the more touching because of his habitual reticence:

To you, the reverend clergy of the diocese, I can say in all the sincerity of my heart: "You are mine." As Our Lord said to St. Peter once, twice, a third time: "Peter, lovest thou me?" and Peter said: "Lord, thou knowest that I love thee," so I can say today: "The Lord knows that I love you." Such is the supreme affection in which I live and in which I hope to die.¹²

He was not less the friend of the religious. One of the marked features of the reign was the multiplication here of orders and congregations both of men and women. Within the present limits of the Diocese there were in 1866 but 17 "regular" priests, nearly all of them drawn from two religious orders, and 105 nuns, drawn from two congregations. By 1907 there were 110 regular priests, representing eight religious families; 120 brothers, divided among five congregations; and (including novices and postulants) 1,567 religious women, drawn from twenty-nine congregations.

Several of these communities established headquarters of one kind or another within the Diocese. When in the summer

¹² *Boston Post*, April 30, 1902.

of 1883 the Oblates created a province for the United States, its first Provincial, Father James McGrath, made Lowell his residence. On November 10th of that year a novitiate was opened at Tewksbury, after the purchase of the Kittredge estate with its fine mansion, terraces, and gardens. The house burned down on February 7, 1895, but was quickly replaced by a much larger and handsomer building, which was occupied in November, 1896. In addition to the novitiate, a juniorate was briefly maintained here (1888-1891), and later a scholasticate (1904-1916).

The Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, after first conducting a novitiate at their Roxbury academy (1877) and then at their convent on Berkeley Street, Boston (1882), established it finally (1890) at its present location on an estate acquired in Waltham.

The Sisters of St. Joseph, whom Father Magennis of Jamaica Plain had first brought into the Diocese in 1873 at Bishop Williams' suggestion,¹³ soon constituted themselves as a diocesan community, with the Archbishop as their Superior. Their mother-house and novitiate, first set up in Jamaica Plain, were transferred to Cambridge in 1886 and to Allston in 1891, and the novitiate was finally removed to Canton in 1902.

While most of the religious communities were engaged in educational or charitable works that are to be sketched later, the two which devoted themselves to the contemplative life may well be noticed at this point.

That a community of women whose sole business was to worship, to pray, and to meditate, could be established in Puritan and pragmatic Boston was not the least marvel of the late nineteenth century. That its establishment was due primarily to a son of the Puritans and a daughter of the Puritans makes the story still more marvelous. Miss Eulalia Mary Tuckerman, a daughter of the convert Samuel Tuckerman and a godchild of Archbishop Williams, had been received into the Carmelite Monastery at Baltimore in 1887. Two years later her father, visiting that convent during the national Catholic Congress, learned that the number of its members was complete (their

¹³ *Pilot*, Oct. 1, 1898.

rule limiting them to twenty-one), and that numerous applications for admission, including some from New England, had had to be refused. Mr. Tuckerman thereupon conceived an ardent desire to see a house of Mount Carmel founded in Boston. Returned home, he began to agitate the matter among his friends, with the approval of the Archbishop. The Catholic Union took up the project. At a meeting held under its auspices at Boston College on April 10, 1890, an eloquent address by the Rev. Charles W. Currier, C.S.S.R., on the glorious record of the daughters of St. Teresa quite carried the audience by storm, stirring up a lively interest in what had hitherto been an order almost unknown here. Ten leading Catholics, including such men as Charles F. Donnelly, Patrick Donahoe, Thomas Ring, and John Boyle O'Reilly, then sent out an appeal for funds to about eight hundred of the clergy and laity. The results were so gratifying that on May 31st the Archbishop formally invited the Rev. Mother Prioress in Baltimore to establish the Order in Boston.

On August 27, 1890, therefore, five Carmelite nuns arrived here, including Sister Augustine, the former Miss Tuckerman. Temporarily they took up their residence in a dignified but somewhat cramped house that had been rented for them at Centre and Cedar Streets, Roxbury. From the first the foundation was a great success spiritually. People thronged the public services in the little chapel and the "speak-room" of the convent, drawn as by a magnet by the sheer holiness of these consecrated women, whose mortified lives exemplified the most perfect self-renunciation and who were at the same time so cheerful and buoyant, so radiant with faith, peace, and joy. Soon larger quarters were necessary. In September, 1894, the Carmelites bought the Morrill estate on Mount Pleasant Avenue, Roxbury. It contained about an acre of ground on a quiet street, with a secluded garden and a dwelling-house, to which they at once removed. Not long after they began to erect the present large brick-and-brownstone monastery, modeled on the houses of their Order in Spain, and a truly beautiful public chapel. When these buildings were blessed by the Archbishop

on October 15, 1897, Bishop Healy, of Portland, preached a sermon that did justice to the occasion.

For the first time in New England [he declared], we dedicate a house devoted solely to the purposes of prayer. There are other places used for the worship of God, but here for the first time there is a place where its inmates' sole duty is to sit at the feet of the Lord, drinking in His divine inspiration and giving Him the homage of their hearts and their prayers. . . . Our venerable Archbishop should be congratulated, for here in his diocese are angels on earth, or rather women on earth who imitate the angels in heaven.¹⁴

Nine years later a somewhat similar community, the Franciscan Poor Clare nuns, established themselves in Boston, with the permission of the Archbishop and of Rome. They purchased the former Working Boys' Home, on Bennet Street in the South End which, after being remodeled, was blessed by Vicar-General Byrne on June 28, 1906. Their lives are devoted to contemplation, to reparation for the sins of the world, and to intercession for the needs of the Church. They observe perpetual silence, which is interrupted once a day for a brief period of recreation and at other times only through necessity. In what time is left free to them from their collective and private devotions, they are employed in the work of the house, in making vestments, altar linens, and altar breads, in painting, and in similar occupations. Without endowment of any kind, they are wholly dependent for support upon the work of their hands and the generosity of the faithful. They, too, have served and helped and inspired a large clientèle among the laity.

III

Next to the multiplication of churches, the greatest advance made by the Diocese under Archbishop Williams lay in the upbuilding of the parochial school system. From 1879 on, this

¹⁴ *Pilot*, Oct. 23, 1897. On this monastery and Order cf. *Carmel: Its History and Spirit*, Compiled from Approved Sources by the Discalced Carmelites of Boston (*ibid.*, 1897).

movement had gone forward steadily and fairly rapidly. By 1907, 76 parishes out of 194 had their schools — as compared with eight at the beginning of the reign. With 48,192 pupils enrolled, these schools were now educating about two fifths of the Catholic children of school age. In this respect the Archdiocese of Boston was now ahead of New York, New Orleans, or San Francisco, which had but two sevenths of their children in Catholic schools, but it yet fell far short of the standard set in certain other dioceses, such as Buffalo (with six sevenths) or Rochester (with seven eighths).¹⁵ It was estimated about that time that the parochial schools of the Archdiocese were saving the taxpayers of the Commonwealth about \$1,000,000 a year for instruction and over \$5,000,000 for the buildings that must otherwise have been provided.¹⁶ That Catholics, while paying their share of taxes for the public schools, should, for conscience' sake, have borne so great an additional burden, is a fact that excites both pride in the sacrifices they were willing to make and regret that these sacrifices should have been necessary.

Several encouraging features of the development of the parochial schools deserve passing mention. In the early years of the Williams era it had been difficult to open schools for boys, since the Sisters of Notre Dame, who were then almost the only teaching congregation available, felt bound by their customs and traditions to restrict themselves to the instruction of girls and, at most, only the youngest boys. This situation was changed by the coming of the Sisters of St. Joseph, who were as ready to teach boys as girls, and then of numerous other religious communities similarly minded. By the end of the period, therefore, boys' schools were almost as numerous as those for girls. If Catholic schools at first were often lodged in quarters cramped, crowded, and inadequate, there was steady

¹⁵ These percentages are taken from the already cited study by Rev. Louis S. Walsh, *Historical Sketch of the Growth of the Catholic Parochial Schools in the Archdiocese of Boston* (Newton, 1901), p. 12. This study has recently been supplemented by the excellent article of Rt. Rev. Richard J. Quinlan, "Growth and Development of Catholic Education in the Archdiocese of Boston," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXII (1936), 27-41.

¹⁶ Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 5; *Boston Post*, Sept. 5, 1902, Sept. 5, 1903.

improvement in this regard, until in the end their buildings could generally stand comparison with the public schools, and sometimes surpassed them. The quality of their instruction; concerning which the most unjust prejudices were long current in non-Catholic circles, also vindicated itself conclusively. While the graduates of parochial schools who wished to enter a public high school were at first almost everywhere obliged to take entrance examinations, they commonly gave so good an account of themselves in these tests that by 1900 it was becoming the general practice to admit them simply on certificate.

While high school departments existed in some of the parochial schools, they seem to have been rare. And there were as yet scarcely more than a handful of separate Catholic schools of high school or academy grade. At the great Jesuit institution on Harrison Avenue, Boston, the "preparatory department" scarcely disengaged itself as a separate entity from the "college department" until the 1890's, and it appeared for the first time in the *Catholic Directory* for 1903 under the name of Boston College High School. A second preparatory school for boys arose, after various vicissitudes, at Danvers. In 1891 the Xaverian Brothers purchased in that town an estate of ninety-five acres, on which stood "Porphyry Hall," the almost fabulously ornate mansion built by a wealthy business man who had afterwards lost his money. Here in the following year they opened St. John's Normal College, "a preparatory novitiate and house of studies for young men who intend to enter the Congregation of the Xaverian Brothers." Fifteen years later it was decided, while maintaining the juniorate for the Congregation, to add a boarding- and day-school for boys regardless of their future vocation. This was to be called St. John's Preparatory College. The last entry in Archbishop Williams' *Episcopal Register*, under date of June 29, 1907, records his sanction of this new enterprise.

For young ladies the three academies opened by the Sisters of Notre Dame in Bishop Fitzpatrick's time went forward prosperously under his successor. The Roxbury Academy enlarged its spacious grounds and by degrees completed its imposing

building, the central part being added in 1866, the chapel in the years 1869-1871, and the east wing in 1884-1885. Originally a boarding-school, it began to accept day-students also in 1877. The Academy of Notre Dame on Berkeley Street, Boston, a day-school in the heart of the city, attracted the largest patronage of the three, and by 1883 had to add a five-story wing to the costly structure erected twenty years before. The last of this trio, St. Patrick's Academy, Lowell, having outgrown its first building, began the construction of the present one in 1871.

Five new academies arose under Archbishop Williams. The Religious of the Sacred Heart, whose convent-schools at Manhattanville, Kenwood, and elsewhere had earned a high reputation, came to Boston early in 1880, at the request of former pupils and with the ready assent of the Archbishop — always their kind and prudent friend. In a house leased at 5 Chester Square (now a part of Massachusetts Avenue), in the New South End, they opened a day-school for girls of all ages on April 1st of that year. The enterprise prospered, but the neighborhood deteriorated, and early in 1907 the nuns bought two houses on Commonwealth Avenue, next to the Hotel Tuileries, to which in the following summer they removed their convent and school.¹⁷

Wishing likewise to start an academy for girls, the Sisters of St. Joseph early in 1885 bought the Fresh Pond Hotel, Cambridge, a well-known summer resort in a very picturesque spot. Here "Mount St. Joseph Academy" flourished for five years until the City Government by eminent domain took over the estate for park purposes. The Sisters thereupon purchased property at Allston Heights, on which they erected what is now the principal building of Mount St. Joseph. It was occupied by them on October 29, 1891, and their chapel was dedicated by Father Byrne on March 19, 1892.

The Sisters of Charity of Halifax in 1893 bought an estate of two hundred acres in Wellesley, on which they established

¹⁷ On this Congregation see Louise Callan, r.S.H., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (London and New York, 1937).

a convent, the Academy of the Assumption for girls, and a boarding-school for boys. These were housed in the three frame buildings which the Sisters acquired with the estate and in a new wooden edifice which they erected in 1896.

The Dominican Sisters in 1901 began a school for boys and girls in Waverley which was called, first, the Academy of the Infant of Prague, and later St. Dominic's Academy.

For French-speaking Catholic girls the Sisters of St. Anne at Marlboro opened St. Anne's Academy in 1888, in the convent which Father Dumontier had built for them. This school prospered so remarkably that in 1894 a \$70,000 extension was added to form the handsome building that we know today.

For Catholic higher education Boston College¹⁸ remained almost the only institution that the Diocese possessed. It had, as will be recalled, first opened its doors to students less than two years before Bishop Williams' accession, on that drizzling, dismal 5th of September, 1864, when an expectant faculty waited and saw hardly more than twenty lads, "of no gigantic stature or imposing mien," straggle through the gates, and "the leader of the pioneers" (Father Fulton?) "cheered his discouraged colleagues with: '*Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*'" ¹⁹ In 1866 the institution was still, naturally, in a somewhat inchoate state. For buildings there were the residence of the Jesuit Fathers on Harrison Avenue, and, fifty feet

¹⁸ Pending the day when someone, as may be hoped, will give us a definitive history of Boston College, we have the following contributions to the subject:

Boston College, 1863-1938: a Pictorial and Historical Review Commemorating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the College (Chestnut Hill, Mass., 1938);

"Boston College; Its History and Influence," *Donahoe's Magazine*, XXIX (1893), 67-77;

Rev. W. E. Murphy, S.J., *The Story of Boston College*, in *Catholic Builders of the Nation*, V (Boston, 1923), 249-259;

Rev. J. F. X. Murphy, S.J., "A Brief Historical Sketch of Boston College," *Pilot*, March 8, 1930;

Rev. Edward I. Devitt, S.J., "Boston College and the Church of the Immaculate Conception," in *Woodstock Letters*, LXIV (1935), 399-421;

Rev. Patrick H. Callanan, "Reminiscences," in *Boston College Stylus*, X-XIII (Dec., 1896 — March, 1899, in monthly installments).

¹⁹ From the valedictory address at the first Boston College Commencement, reprinted in *Boston College Stylus*, XIII (1899), 166.

in the rear of it, the "College building," one hundred feet by sixty feet in dimensions, which sometime between the years 1870 and 1874 was to be moved on rollers back to the location on James Street, where it still forms the central part of Boston College High School.²⁰ There were about eighty students. The faculty was composed of four priests, five scholastics, and two lay teachers. As the institution was in reality a preparatory school and college combined, it offered, or rather in time hoped to offer, a seven-year course, made up of one year of Rudiments, three years of Humanities, one year of Poetry, one of Rhetoric, and one of Philosophy and Science. But, because of the lack of available teachers within the Order, the classes of the seventh year were not yet given, and for a long time still students who wished to gain an academic degree had to take that final year at some other Jesuit college. The Classics and Mathematics were the most prominent elements in the curriculum, but Geography, History (Scriptural, Ancient and American), French, and German were also taught. There was still but the nucleus of a library, though the large collection of books donated by the deceased Father J. Coolidge Shaw, S.J., furnished a handsome foundation for one; there were no laboratories; and the "gymnasium" even some years later consisted of three pieces: a pair of swinging rings, a trapeze, and a set of parallel bars. The daily program was a bit strenuous. The students gathered at the College for Mass at 8:30. At 9 they marched in silence to classes, which lasted for three hours. At noon there was "a recess of half an hour, which affords a welcome occasion to the boys to take their lunch and enjoy exercise in the open air." At 12:30 they were summoned together again, and proceeded in ranks and in silence to two more hours of classes. At 2:30 P.M., school was dismissed.²¹

At all events, Boston College possessed inestimable advantages that more than offset its initial deficiencies in endow-

²⁰ For information as to the history of the buildings of the older Boston College the writer is much indebted to information furnished him through the kindness of Father Henry Wessling, S.J., and Father Henry P. Wennerberg, S.J.

²¹ *Pilot*, Nov. 3, 1866.

ment, buildings, or equipment. Its methods of instruction were based on a carefully elaborated educational system, which had stood the test of three centuries. It aimed to develop each of the students' faculties — memory, imagination, appreciation, observation, reasoning; and it had a rational plan for doing so. It aimed to bring young men in contact with the central traditions of our civilization and the great masterpieces of thought and expression. It aimed to give moral as well as intellectual training, a unified outlook on the world and on life, solid convictions as to "the things that matter most" — and in this it stood out in contrast to the development then setting in in most non-Catholic colleges. It avoided the succession of ever-changing fads, the planlessness and aimlessness, the one-sidedness, or the tendency to excessive specialization from which contemporary education has suffered. It did not believe that young men were educated by being taught to ignore all the great problems of human destiny, while learning "ever more and more about less and less"; that they should be thoroughly indoctrinated in the laws of Economics, but never in those of Morals; that they should learn all that can be known about the amoeba, but nothing about God. Boston College was fortunate, too, in its faculty, made up of men distinguished for their knowledge both of books and of human nature, for wholesouled devotion, and the moral as well as the intellectual influence which they could exert. It was blessed, also, with a succession of able Presidents, and some teachers of very outstanding talent.

The greatest of these was, doubtless, Father Robert Fulton, S.J. This extraordinary man was born at Alexandria, Virginia, June 28, 1826. His father, who died a few years later, was a sturdy Presbyterian, his mother a devout Catholic. He was related to ex-President Harrison and to Governor Wise, of Virginia. As a boy young Fulton served as a page in the United States Senate, and long afterwards loved to describe the giants of those days — Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton — as he had seen them. At the age of sixteen he entered Georgetown College, ostensibly to prepare for West Point. Before many months, however, he revealed to his mother his desire to join

the army of a greater cause by becoming a Jesuit. She was delighted, and in turn disclosed to him her own wish to become a nun. United more firmly than ever, they proceeded to dispose of their considerable possessions. Their slaves were invited to a banquet where each found at his place his papers of liberation, and mother and son then served them. Mrs. Fulton entered the Convent of the Visitation at Georgetown, where as Sister Olympias she died over forty years later, aged eighty-eight. Her son, whose novitiate began at almost the same time as hers, was ordained a priest in 1857. He was first sent to Boston in 1861 to teach in the scholasticate temporarily established there. When the College was opened, he became prefect of studies; and although the first two Presidents, Father John Bapst, S.J., of Ellsworth fame (1864-1869), and Father Robert W. Brady, S.J. (1869-1870), were both able men, such was the impression made by Father Fulton's vigorous personality that he came to be considered in the popular mind as the founder of the institution. His own first term as President (1870-1879) was a stirring period in its history.

A man of exceptional literary and scholarly attainments, great administrative ability, singular energy, warm and winning personality, and of brilliant powers whether for preaching, teaching, or conversation, Father Fulton made his animating force felt in every branch of college life. In the classroom he was merciless in his warfare against slovenliness in thought or speech; but the rigor of his standards was atoned for by pleasant foibles that amused or humorous sallies that delighted his students. Outside the classroom he was the kindest and shrewdest of advisers and friends. Not long after his death someone wrote:

Well remembered still are those *Noctes Ambrosianae* spent in the Association rooms of Boston College, where he discoursed wisely and wittily to the charmed circle about him throughout the whole gamut of things knowable and unknown. Many a mind and many a heart owe their high principles of moral conduct to those hours of Attic refinement. No one ever left his presence without resolving to be a better man.²²

²² "Father Robert Fulton: a Sketch," *Woodstock Letters*, XXV (1896), 103.

As rector of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, as a spiritual director, and as a convert-maker, he also wielded a wide influence. There was scarcely a Catholic movement to which he did not render notable service. He became, indeed, "a feature of Boston Catholicity," a name and a personality everywhere respected and beloved.²³ Nor was his fame confined to Catholic circles. Even in the Boston of that time, still so replete with intellectual genius and literary celebrities, he knew how to carve out an honored niche for himself. He often dined with Oliver Wendell Holmes; such men as Professors Agassiz and Sophocles, of Harvard, were his close friends; he kept in touch with all the leading figures of the day. When he left the city, Doctor Holmes explained that it was because Boston was too small a place to contain two such famous wits as Father Fulton and himself!²⁴

Under such a president the College made very considerable progress. Father Fulton expanded the library and gave it at last a proper abode. He strove to build up a museum of Natural History. In the rooms set aside for the Young Men's Catholic Association, which he founded in 1875, he provided a gymnasium for the use of both the members of the Association and the students of the College. Military drill, so popular in this country during the interval between the Civil War and the rise of organized athletics, was also introduced by him; and the Boston College Battalion (the "Foster Cadets"), in their fine uniforms, were a prominent feature in public or ecclesiastical celebrations of that time. A professor of Philosophy having been secured, the seventh year of the curriculum could at last be given, and in 1877 Boston College saw its first Commencement. The ceremonies on that memorable occasion were protracted through three evenings, as was for many years to be the custom; for in that generation parents and friends loved to come night after night to see their young heroes display the treasures of learning or eloquence that they had acquired in college, and the entertainment was furnished chiefly by members of the graduating class themselves, and not by speakers im-

²³ *Pilot*, Jan. 24, 1880.

²⁴ *Boston Post*, Feb. 13, 1938.

ported from outside. On the first evening, therefore, there was a "scientific exhibition." As Alexander Graham Bell had just invented a strange novelty called a telephone, the program was devoted chiefly to that exciting subject, with papers on "The Sonorous Wave," "Songs and Concert Music Transmitted by Telephone," etc. On the second evening the audience enjoyed a Latin drama ("Philedonus"), preceded by a prologue in French. On the third evening there was a "literary exhibition," in the form of a debate on the question, "Which is the best form of government?"; next came the valedictorian's address; and then the Governor of the Commonwealth (A. H. Rice) presented the diplomas to twelve Bachelors and one Master of Arts.

When Father Fulton was called away to other duties, he was succeeded as President by Father Jeremiah J. O'Connor, S.J. (1879-1884), who is remembered especially as a brilliant pulpit orator; Father Edward V. Boursaud, S.J. (1884-1887), a courtly and cultured French scholar, "learned in seven languages"; Father Thomas H. Stack, S.J., a onetime Confederate soldier and a scientist, who died only three weeks after his appointment; and Father Nicholas Russo, S.J. (1887-1888), considered "the most thorough philosopher and theologian who ever left the Society's seminary at Woodstock,"²⁵ and the author of a widely used textbook of Philosophy. Father Fulton then returned for a second term. His great achievement this time was to carry through the long-needed enlargement of the College building by adding to it two extensive wings along James Street and widening the connecting building that linked it to the Residence on Harrison Avenue.²⁶ This reconstruction was begun in the spring of 1889 and completed in May, 1890, at a cost of \$125,000. The classroom accommodations were thereby nearly doubled. Unfortunately, however, the toils and worries of this enterprise seem to have shattered Father Fulton's health. In October, 1890, he found himself obliged to retire, and he died in California five years later.

²⁵ *Boston Globe*, July 7, 1888.

²⁶ The original connecting link, four stories high but only thirty-seven feet wide, was built in Father Fulton's first administration, when the College building was moved back to James Street.

The next administrations were those of Father Edward I. Devitt, S.J. (1891-1894); Father Timothy Brosnahan, S.J. (1894-1898), a particularly energetic and progressive rector; Father W. J. Read Mullan, S.J. (1898-1903), a genial Southerner, under whom, however, there took place a marked tightening of academic standards; and the eloquent Father William Gannon, S.J. (1903-1906).

The Boston College of 1907 was in many ways very different from that of 1866. First of all, as has elsewhere been noted, the College and the High School had become distinct institutions, though still sharing the use of the same building. The College now had 125 students, the High School, 360. In spite of the enlargement of 1890 and the removal of the Young Men's Catholic Association in 1898 to quarters on East Newton Street, the building was increasingly inadequate, and already for some years there had been talk of abandoning it to the High School and transferring the College to some more secluded and spacious location in the suburbs.

The facilities and the curriculum of the College had in numerous ways been improved. The library had been greatly enlarged. Laboratories had been provided, and laboratory work was now required in Science courses. By a readjustment of the traditional program, it had been made possible to devote the last two years of college primarily to Philosophy and Natural Science, to save time for some elective courses, to give more attention to such subjects, favored by the modern taste, as Economics, History, or English Literature. For students who intended to enter business and did not desire a Classical course, an alternative program for the degree had been provided in which the study of English and other modern literatures replaced that of Latin and Greek. While the somewhat strict disciplinary rules of early days had been mitigated, the standards required in classwork had been notably raised.

Almost from the beginning Boston College had been a prolific mother of societies intended to supplement the work of the classroom. For religious purposes there were the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, founded in 1869; the Sodality

of the Holy Angels, for younger students (1875); the Alumni Sodality, established by Father Read Mullan in order to bring together for monthly Communion and Communion breakfasts the graduates of Catholic colleges residing in and around Boston. For debating — a sport which has always enjoyed unusual prestige and unusual success at Boston College — the original society, founded in 1868, after various permutations finally dissolved into the Fulton Debating Society for upper-classmen (1890), and the Marquette Debating Society for freshmen and sophomores (1902). The musically gifted attached themselves to the St. Cecilia Society (1868), which sang in the College chapel or at the Church of the Immaculate Conception; to the College Orchestra (1892), or to the College Glee Club, established a few years later. The Boston College Athenaeum, organized in the year 1890-1891, undertook "to promote the study of dramatic art and conduct the College plays." The Agassiz Association (1892), the Historical Academy (1892), the French Academy (1899), were established in order to express or to deepen student interest in Natural Science, History, or French literature. The first essay in journalism, the monthly *Boston College Stylus*, began its honorable career in 1883. The first athletic outfit that represented "B. C." in extramural competition appears to have been a baseball nine in the spring of 1883. In October of that year the Boston College Athletic Association was organized. It was not until 1893 that a recognized football team representing the College appeared on the gridiron, and then only to meet with defeat at the hands of the Technology freshmen. But the series of annual football games with Holy Cross was inaugurated in 1896 with not one but two glorious victories, and in the late '90's the athletic reputation of Boston College was already notably high. The Alumni Association had been launched in 1886, holding its first meeting and banquet at Young's Hotel on June 28th of that year.

On January 6, 1907, Father Thomas I. Gasson, S.J., was appointed President. He was the man of genius who was destined to create a new Boston College, but only in the next reign and with the strong support of a new Archbishop.

For nearly a quarter of a century (1881-1905) a second Catholic college, that of St. Thomas Aquinas, existed in St. Mary's parish, Cambridgeport. It had at one time seventy students and trained some excellent future priests for the Diocese; but as its maintenance involved too great a burden upon the clergy of the parish, it was in 1905 abandoned.

CHAPTER XIV

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS

I

OF ALL FORMS of charitable activity that which most appealed to the faithful in the mid-nineteenth century was work on behalf of orphaned or destitute children. Because of the economic circumstances of the majority of Catholics at that time, cases were painfully frequent in which the death of the breadwinner or of both parents left children in the direst straits; and the need of providing Catholic homes for these little ones was the greater because of the fact that if they were placed in public institutions, they would probably be denied the right to practice their religion, or might be proselytized into accepting another faith. Hence, three of the four Catholic charitable institutions that were founded here before Bishop Fitzpatrick's death were established in the interests of such children.

The oldest of these, St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum for girls, continued throughout the Williams era in its home at Camden Street and Shawmut Avenue in the South End. The building and property had cost \$120,000, creating a debt which was not extinguished for many years, but by the latter part of the period the institution was said to be "financially as firm as a rock." It was supported partly by the contributions of surviving parents of half-orphans or relatives, but mainly by collections in the churches, festivals, and donations. During the first eighty years of its existence, the asylum is said to have cared for ten thousand little girls.¹ These children were given a happy and healthy home life, permeated with the spirit of religion, enlivened by plenty of recreation, and tempered with only mild rules of discipline. They also received as good an education as the children of the wealthy, and special instruction that would

¹ *Pilot*, Oct. 19, 1912.

fit them to become self-supporting. When, at the age of fourteen they left the Home, every effort was made to obtain positions for them. The death in 1875 of Sister Ann Alexis, the foundress and for over forty years the guiding spirit of the institution, evoked general grief, for she had come to be regarded as one of the pillars of Boston Catholicity. In 1882 the Golden Jubilee of the Sisters of Charity in the Diocese was fittingly celebrated, with the Archbishop, Bishop Healy, of Portland, Governor Long, and Mayor Green uniting in glowing tributes to these noble women who, here as everywhere else in the world, had won the love and admiration of the whole community.

The House of the Angel Guardian, on Vernon Street, Roxbury, remained under the direction of its founder, Father George F. Haskins, until his death on October 5, 1872. This home received, then as now, boys of various classes: orphans and half-orphans; homeless waifs; boys whose parents were too poor to afford them a decent home; wayward boys, who were beyond parental control or who were placed here on probation by the municipal courts; boys sent here to gain the advantage of a good, Christian education. The home was supported by the sums paid for board and tuition by the parents, friends, or parishes of the inmates; by occasional church collections; and by the contributions received from the auxiliary organization called the Society of the Angel Guardian.

Father Haskins had always wished to place the institution on a solid, permanent basis by putting it under the care of some religious congregation. For that purpose he had twice gone to Europe, and had repeatedly applied to several congregations in this country and Canada. Always his proposals had been declined on the ground of lack of available personnel. Immediately after his death a new effort was made by the Bishop and the Trustees, and by the end of 1872 the Brothers of Charity, of Montreal, had agreed to take charge of the House. This Congregation, founded at the beginning of the century by Canon Pierre J. Triest ("the St. Vincent de Paul of Belgium"), had earned a high reputation in its homeland by its work for

the old, the sick, the insane, orphans, the deaf, dumb, or blind; it had latterly begun to spread to other Catholic countries; and in 1865 it had made its first foundation in the New World at Montreal.

On January 27, 1874, six Brothers arrived in Boston to begin their beneficent work at the House of the Angel Guardian. They were confronted with a debt of \$43,000, and a house that needed repairs, enlargement, and new equipment. They also desired, diverging in this from Father Haskins' views, to introduce industrial training, convinced that their protégés ought to receive, not merely a Christian and secular education, but the means of ultimately earning a living. Under a series of excellent Superiors the new régime prospered. By the most careful management and much self-sacrifice on the part of the Brothers, the debt was entirely cleared off by 1884. The existing building was renovated, and a new three-story brick school-house was erected in 1887. Brother Jude, Superior from 1889 to 1920, was able at last to start the industrial department. It was begun in an old stable, continued in a frame structure put up on Ruggles Street in 1891, and transferred in 1902 to a handsome new brick building. Here the older boys were taught baking, tailoring, shoemaking, printing, bookbinding, and other trades. The printing department soon acquired an excellent reputation, and was able materially to increase the income of the home by the outside work that it received. By publishing two new periodicals, the weekly *Orphan's Bouquet* and the quarterly *Orphan's Friend*, both of which attained a wide circulation, the press also helped greatly to assure the financial stability of the institution. Around the close of the period the House of the Angel Guardian contained over three hundred boys and twenty-five teaching Brothers; and it was estimated that since its foundation nearly fifteen thousand boys had here found a home and an education and inspiration to manly, Christian living.²

² *Pilot*, Oct. 17, 1908. The history of this institution has been traced in *Life of Father Haskins, by a Friend of the House of the Angel Guardian* (Boston, 1899); and in Thomas A. Dwyer, *Glimpses of the Brotherhood of Charity* (Boston, 1893).

The newly established Home for Destitute Catholic Children was in 1866 located at 10 Common Street, Boston, in a house recently purchased. In February of that year, at the invitation of the Trustees, the Sisters of Charity, of Emmitsburg, took charge of the internal management of the Home. So great was the need which this institution met that larger quarters were soon required. In May, 1867, an excellent lot on Harrison Avenue, opposite the Church of the Immaculate Conception, was bought from the City for \$30,000. Intense efforts were then made for several years to raise funds for building; the enterprise was begun in the fall of 1870; and on October 1, 1871, Bishop Williams dedicated the new Home under the patronage of St. Patrick. It was (and is) a large and handsome, four-story, brick and stone building, with spacious playgrounds in the rear. "The erection of this House," the Bishop noted in his journal, "is mainly due to the exertions of Patrick Donahoe, president of the Corporation of the Home. He has from the commencement advanced this work by his words and generous contributions." ³

The new Home had cost over \$100,000, most of which had been borrowed. The upkeep of the institution cost about \$16,000 a year. That first heroic Board of Trustees passed anxious days and sleepless nights in struggling with debts with which at times it seemed impossible to cope. But Bishop Williams lent them his constant and hearty assistance, declaring that "Next to the Church, the most important subject for Catholics is the care of destitute children." ⁴ A lecture delivered in 1872 by the famous Irish Dominican, Father Thomas Burke, before 38,000 persons gathered in Boston's then celebrated Coliseum, netted \$11,000 for the Home. By dint of collections in all the churches, fairs, entertainments, floods of donations, large and small, Catholic Boston mastered this problem, as it has every other of the kind.

The Home was throughout fortunate in its management, enlisting on its Board of Trustees many of the finest Catholic men of Boston. It had excellent superintendents, such as Ber-

³ *Memoranda*, Oct. 1, 1871.

⁴ *Pilot*, Feb. 3, 1872.

nard Cullen or John A. Duggan. Of the devotion of the Sisters of Charity there is no need to speak. It is exemplified in such cases as that of Sister Mary Paul, who died of cholera contracted while nursing stricken children, and Sister Mary, who became almost totally blind from serving the victims of an epidemic of ophthalmia.⁵

The Home accepted all destitute children above the age of infancy, both boys and girls. It relieved a more extreme type of poverty than the institutions already described, did so quite free of charge, and prided itself on never rejecting a needy child for whom an appeal was made. Pitiful, indeed, are the stories recorded in its reports of the state in which these little ones were often found: neglected, abandoned, or abused by pauper or drunken parents; covered with rags, dirt, and vermin; starving and huddling together for mutual warmth in wretched, unheated tenement dens. It was the work of the Superintendent of the Home to scour the courts, the newspapers, and other sources of information for knowledge of such cases; and thereby and through the coöperation of the judges, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the truant officers, the directors of the Home, and the friends of neglected children, it became possible to relieve a large part of the misery existing. Unlike the institutions already described, the Home did not usually keep children for any long period. It sought rather to place them as soon as possible in good private homes, and thus to make room for new little waifs. In 1907 the daily average of children within its walls was 200, but 1,048 were received in the course of the year. A few years later it was reported that in less than half a century of existence the Home had cared for 28,638 children.⁶

As the care of babies cannot well be combined with that of older children, it was early recognized that there was need of a similar institution for foundlings and destitute infants. This charity was first taken up by the Boston Particular Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in 1867. They began by placing a few infants at the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, to

⁵ *Pilot*, Nov. 14, 1908.

⁶ *Pilot*, Oct. 26, 1912.

be cared for at their expense. In 1868 the work was transferred to the Carney Hospital, South Boston, where in the old mansion house, then vacant, the Sisters of Charity undertook to conduct what was called at first the Provident Infant Asylum, with the financial aid of the Society. In September, 1870, this was incorporated under the name of St. Ann's Infant Asylum. Larger and more secluded quarters were soon found necessary, and the Sisters desired, moreover, to take on the work of caring for hapless girls who were about to become unmarried mothers. Hence, on July 1, 1874, they purchased at a cost of over \$56,000 the Seaver estate of thirteen acres on Bowdoin Street, Dorchester.⁷ In the following October the institution was reincorporated as "St. Mary's Infant Asylum and Lying-in Hospital."

Unfortunately, however, the enterprise had now been organized on a scale too ambitious in proportion to the support that was then forthcoming. With an unnecessarily large estate, a mansion ill-adapted to its new purposes, and a huge burden of debt, the Sisters found themselves in a very difficult situation. They first tried to extricate themselves by removing to a smaller and less expensive location. After making an appeal to the public, which was rather generously answered, in October, 1882, they bought the Green estate at Cushing and Everett Avenues, Dorchester, remodeling and enlarging the house in such a way that the total cost of their new acquisition was only \$19,000. Still the financial difficulties persisted, especially as the Bowdoin Street property, which it had been intended to sell, was not disposed of. In 1890 the Sisters of Charity decided to retire from the management and ownership of the Asylum, turning it over to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. The latter, less experienced in such work than their predecessors, struggled for two years and then retired likewise.

Chiefly, one may think, under the impulse of the Archbishop, a great effort was then made to save and revitalize an institution which had rendered splendid service and which was sorely needed. In January, 1893, the Sisters of Charity, of Emmits-

⁷ *Suffolk Land Deeds*, book 1223, p. 277. The date of this purchase has generally been erroneously reported as 1872.

burg, were induced to resume control. By means of fairs, entertainments, annual subscriptions, and a Ladies' Aid Society, a much larger measure of public support was elicited. Within a few years the financial problem was solved, and the Sisters could even proceed to erect a fine, new, five-story building, which was dedicated by the Archbishop on June 27, 1901. It was used to house the infant asylum, while the old building was reserved for the maternity department. About the same time great improvements were made in the methods of the institution, with new modes of combating children's diseases, the most scrupulous attention given to sanitation, food, and milk, the establishment of a diet kitchen regarded as a model throughout New England, the opening of a school for nurses, and the requirement that every Sister connected with the hospital should be a trained nurse. The asylum was then receiving six hundred babies a year. Since its foundation it was estimated to have taken in over twelve thousand infants of all creeds, races, and colors; some from the streets and doorways, some from the courts, when the parents had been sent away; some from dying parents, who had no one else to look after their little ones. About one hundred and fifty misguided young women were being admitted each year to the maternity ward, tenderly cared for in their hour of need, and encouraged and assisted to return to a better life.⁸ No finer forms of charity can well be imagined.

Another institution for juveniles which passed through grave difficulties was the Working Boys' Home. This enterprise was modeled upon the very successful work organized in New York by the Rev. John C. Drumgoole, who in less than twenty years had created the great Mission of the Immaculate Virgin and its annex, the industrial school on Staten Island, with buildings that had cost over \$1,000,000, but which were very quickly cleared of debt. Unfortunately, the Rev. David H. Roche, the Boston priest who attempted to emulate this example, was no Father Drumgoole. He was a young and inexperienced man, ordained but a few years, with fine intentions and large ideas,

⁸ *Boston Post*, May 25, 1902.

but ill-equipped with judgment and prudence. His desire was to provide a home for the great number of working boys—messenger boys, newsboys, bootblacks, etc.—who, having no homes of their own nor the means of renting decent lodgings, were accustomed to roam the city at night, sleeping in stables, alleyways, vacant lots, or “flop houses,” often thrown among the worst companions or exposed to the most evil influences. After several previous attempts, in the spring of 1883 he succeeded in obtaining the Archbishop’s permission to try to start such a home in Boston. With the aid of a friend, a house at 113 Eliot Street was then rented for a year for twelve hundred dollars. At the moment of signing the lease, Father Roche had just thirty-five cents in his pocket.⁹ Here on June 1st the new institution began its career.

It was open to all homeless boys between the ages of twelve and seventeen, provided they were able and willing to work. It offered them shelter, food, clothing; and if they were unemployed, an effort was made to find situations for them. Those who had jobs were expected to pay a modest sum for board and lodging, the rest of their wages being placed to their credit in savings banks. Father Roche, who resided in the house as Superintendent, threw himself into the work with great ardor. His days were given to the business affairs of the Home, his nights to scouring the wharves, the freight-yards, the lumber-yards, the back alleys, the ten-cent lodging-houses to rescue little vagabonds. Soon the Home was filled and overflowing. Meanwhile, in July, 1884, it had been incorporated. Its Trustees included a distinguished group of priests and laymen, who did not, however, exercise the restraint that would have been desirable upon the overweening zeal of the director.

Assured, as he thought, of strong support, Father Roche in the following autumn bought a lot on Bennet Street, and proceeded to erect a pretentious, four-story brick building, capable of housing two hundred boys, which was dedicated on June 1, 1886. For the internal management of the new Home a group of Franciscan Sisters was brought in. Land and building had

⁹ *Boston Post*, Jan. 2, 1885.

cost about \$65,000, and the resulting heavy mortgages, added to a large floating debt, constituted a burden quite disproportionate to the resources of the institution. Presently Father Roche was in dire straits to meet even the interest on his debts or the current expenses of the Home. The bankers from whom he had borrowed, losing patience, carried the case to the Archbishop; the latter, at a special meeting of the Trustees, demanded a strict accounting of assets and liabilities; and the resulting revelations of improvidence and poor management were such that on February 28, 1888, Father Roche resigned and shortly after left the Diocese.

A new superintendent was appointed, Rev. John F. Ford, another young priest full of zeal and high intentions. For a time he applied himself to practice strict economy and to reduce the debt. But once more ardor soon outran prudence. The Home was at that time gradually changing its character. Originally founded chiefly for older boys who had jobs but no homes, it had more and more been taking in those who had no employment and found difficulty in finding any because of the competition of youths of new races and other creeds. Moreover, the house had been accepting younger homeless boys who were not yet able to work and were, therefore, sent for an education to the nearest public schools. Hence it seemed desirable — again following the New York precedent — to establish a branch of the institution in the country, where the younger boys could receive instruction under Catholic auspices, and the older ones could receive industrial training that would fit them for better-paid occupations than they had hitherto known. The Corporation having in June, 1890, decided upon this venture, in September they bought from the Archbishop the secluded estate of forty-eight acres in Newton which had originally been intended to form the site of the Diocesan Seminary. Here in the next few years they erected a large brick building, with a huge tower dominating the countryside. It must have cost not less than \$100,000.¹⁰ It was blessed by the Archbishop on June 1, 1896. The larger part of the boys in the Bennet

¹⁰ *Pilot*, June 6, 1896, March 28, 1903.

Street Home were then transferred to the Newton branch, which was henceforth called St. John's Industrial School. Here the younger ones were instructed in the ordinary subjects by the Franciscan Sisters, while the older ones were taught printing, baking, laundering, tailoring, broom-making, farming, and other trades by lay instructors.

Admirable as were the plan and the work done, the financial problem remained acute. The institution now had two large homes and two large debts, and little in the way of assured resources. Its income, derived only from donations or bequests, the profits accruing from the monthly publication, *The Working Boy*, the board paid by some of the boys, and an occasional fair or picnic, scarcely sufficed ordinarily to pay running expenses. With this problem Father Ford struggled heroically until he wore or worried himself into an early grave (dying March 19, 1903). His successor, Father John J. Downey, by dint of great exertions and strong appeals to the public, succeeded in paying off \$70,000 out of a total indebtedness of \$160,000;¹¹ but after a year and a half he begged to be relieved of the insupportable burden, received a parish, and very quickly died. The fourth superintendent, Father William H. McDonough, relieved the pressure somewhat by selling the Bennet Street home to the Poor Clares in 1906; but after two years he, too, gave up the battle and returned to parish work (July 1, 1907). At the death of Archbishop Williams, the Working Boys' Home was without a chief superintendent, and its affairs were still in a decidedly embarrassed and precarious condition.

Somewhat similar in purpose to St. John's Industrial School for boys was the Daly Industrial School for girls established in Dorchester at about the same time. It was intended to give girls of the ages of twelve to seventeen, in humble circumstances, a training that would enable them to earn a livelihood. Archbishop Williams seems to have been a prime mover in this enterprise, and along with him Rev. Timothy J. Murphy, pastor of St. Ann's Church, Neponset. Land was acquired for the purpose on Train Street, Dorchester, on May 12, 1898 — a part

¹¹ *Pilot*, May 30, 1903, July 29, 1905.

of the Spaulding estate, on which stood a house that was fitted up for a boarding-school. Early in the following year the institution was incorporated. Father Murphy, to whom its management had been entrusted, was looking forward to the usual financial struggle when Father Patrick J. Daly, pastor of St. Francis de Sales' Church, Roxbury, offered to donate \$50,000 to the enterprise. The Trustees, in accepting a windfall so unusual for Catholic institutions, unanimously agreed to name it the Daly School.¹² The doors were opened to pupils in the autumn of 1899. The Sisters of St. Joseph undertook the conduct of the house and the teaching, both of the ordinary studies of the grammar grade and of typewriting, bookkeeping, accounting, domestic science, dressmaking, etc. Four years later a handsome three-story brick building was erected, and blessed by the Archbishop on November 1, 1903.

A number of scattered institutions, all of which were intended, primarily at least, for the benefit of children, remain to be mentioned.

The St. Francis' German Catholic Home in Roxbury was established by the parish of the Holy Trinity, Boston, in the years 1888-1891. It furnished a home to orphans and to a number of old people of the parish, and was conducted by Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis.

At Lowell, Father Crudden, pastor of St. Peter's, moved by the good work that the Sisters of Notre Dame were doing at St. Patrick's, in 1865 brought the Sisters of Charity, of Emmitsburg, into his parish. His original plan was that they should visit the sick and poor, assist in the Sunday school and sodalities, and do something for the education of girls. For their use he bought a brick mansion with ample, shady grounds on Appleton Street close to the church. The Sisters entered zealously upon works of mercy throughout the parish, and indeed throughout the city, for there were yet no formal parish lines in Lowell. Soon they began to collect orphan girls into their home to offer them shelter and schooling. The number increased until the care of these little guests became their prin-

¹² *Episcopal Register*, April 10, June 26, 1899.

cial work, and by 1873 their home was known as St. Peter's Orphan Asylum. The care of fifty orphans, however, proved expensive; a considerable debt was incurred by putting on an addition to the building; and the resulting financial difficulties, coupled, it would seem, with some disagreement between the Superior and the new pastor, Father Michael Ronan, led in 1887 to the retirement of the Emmitsburg Sisters from Lowell. Father Ronan then brought in the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth to take over their work. An intensive campaign for funds cleared off the burden of debt within one year, and after that St. Peter's Orphan Asylum developed peacefully and prosperously.

In Lawrence, during the hard times of 1856, Father Taaffe had organized a Catholic Friends' Society to help him provide for the poor and destitute. Ten years later he began the construction of an orphan asylum and home for invalids in the rear of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. This was dedicated by Bishop Williams on February 9, 1868 — only a few weeks before the death of its venerable founder — under the name of "the Protectory of Mary Immaculate." The Catholic Friends' Society, then numbering about one thousand members, rendered valiant service in supporting the new institution by annual dues, subscriptions, and entertainments. In 1894 and again in 1901 new wings had to be added to the building. Meanwhile, in 1894 St. Joseph's Dispensary was started, and within a year grew into a hospital — one of the important medical-surgical centres of the city. Apart from this last developed branch of its activities, the Protectory in 1907 was supplying a home to 230 orphans (boys and girls) and to 25 old people. The institution has from the first been attended by the Sisters of Charity, of Montreal (Grey Nuns); it has been well managed; and it has always been well supported and highly approved by the people of Lawrence, regardless of creed.

At Newburyport one of Father Teeling's last achievements was to convert the former convent into a Home for Destitute Catholic Children, under the care of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (1832). In 1907 this institution sheltered thirty-eight boys and girls.

At Salem, Thomas Looby, a wealthy and zealous Catholic, early in 1866 purchased for \$10,000 a house at Bridge and Washington Streets for the purpose of founding an orphan asylum. With the hearty support of the pastors of the two Catholic churches of the city, the institution was opened in the following November under the care of the Grey Nuns. Called at first "the Looby Asylum," it was in 1871 incorporated under the name of the City Orphan Asylum. Besides orphans, it offered a home to old people and to unemployed and sick servant girls. In 1875 it was transferred to a more spacious building which the Sisters had erected on a new site on Lafayette Street. The rather heavy debt thereby incurred was cleared off by 1890, and further additions to the plant were subsequently made. In 1907 the Asylum contained 188 orphans and 52 invalids.

One highly specialized form of charitable work for juveniles, to be noticed in conclusion, was that for the deaf. The first impulse to this work seems to have been given by Father E. V. Lebreton, of Philadelphia, a priest who devoted his life to the care of deaf-mutes, and who began to visit Boston occasionally, from 1887 on, to give religious instruction to such groups. Under his auspices there was organized about that time the Sicard Deaf-Mute Society of Boston, attached to the Cathedral parish. In 1892 an institution for Catholic deaf-mutes was incorporated, under the presidency of the Archbishop, and quite definite plans appear to have been formed for a school in Arlington, but for some reason these plans were not put into execution.¹³ In 1896 classes for the religious instruction of deaf-mutes were commenced by Father George A. Keelan, S.J., at Boston College. Finally, a fresh start was made with the incorporation on May 2, 1899, of the "Boston School for the Deaf," with a very distinguished group of Trustees, once more headed by the Archbishop. Five months later the institution was opened at Jamaica Plain. Father Magennis, of St. Thomas'

¹³ On the foregoing: *Episcopal Register*, March 8, 1887; *Pilot*, Feb. 4, 1888, Nov. 12, 1892, July 22, 1893; *Donahoe's Magazine*, XIX (1888), 285; a circular of Oct. 15, 1892, in the *Diocesan Archives*.

Church, acted as Superintendent, and the Sisters of St. Joseph conducted the house and the teaching. Within a few years the school had so well vindicated itself that it was transferred in 1904 to larger quarters on an estate purchased in Randolph. In 1907 it had 54 girls and 41 boys as pupils.

II

The difficulties and dangers confronting young women in the modern city called forth a variety of Catholic benevolent enterprises during this period.

Boston then swarmed with Irish "working-out girls," many of whom had scarcely any friends here and might therefore, in case of sickness or unemployment, find themselves in a very sad situation. It was to meet this problem that a few Catholic young ladies, headed by Miss Mary Corbett, of South Boston, early in 1866 founded a "home for sick and friendless servant girls" in three hired rooms. Their undertaking aroused the sympathy of wealthy Protestants, from whom generous contributions were soon forthcoming (the subscription list is studded with such names as those of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Mrs. Samuel Gridley Howe, or Mrs. Amos Lawrence).¹⁴ With such support the foundresses could purchase a house on East Brookline Street, May, 1866, and soon after obtained the free use of the adjacent house. In 1867 the institution was incorporated by act of the Legislature. Meanwhile the foundresses had taken the vows of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis and elected Miss Corbett (Sister Mary) Superior. For some years the work prospered and expanded, hospitality being also extended to infirm old people and to orphans. By 1878 the institution had been renamed "St. Joseph's Home for Children and Destitute Servant Girls." But the original community tended to die out without replacements, and upon the death of Sister Mary in 1897 St. Joseph's Home had to be closed. Two years later it was reopened by the Archbishop as an annex to the Working Girls' Home.

¹⁴ *Pilot*, Feb. 2, 1867.

The latter institution had been founded with a view to helping young women employed in stores, offices, or factories, who, having no homes of their own, were often compelled, for lack of adequate salaries, to live in the most undesirable quarters, exposed to dangerous influences and temptations. It was desired to offer them a safe, a pleasant, and a Christian home, with rates within their means, and also a retreat to shelter them in case of illness or unemployment. Archbishop Williams was, perhaps, the originator, and, certainly, the most effective promoter, of this enterprise. At his invitation the Grey Nuns, of Montreal, undertook the care of the institution, and in the spring of 1888 the Working Girls' Home was opened in two houses on Dover Street. As usual in such cases, larger quarters were soon imperative. On April 18, 1891, the Archbishop therefore purchased the property at the corner of Harrison Avenue and Union Park Street, in the rear of the Cathedral, where a substantial brick edifice in four stories was then erected. This was dedicated on December 4, 1893. Apart from the rooms reserved for the Sisters and the boarders, it contained parlors, a community room, reading-room, chapel, gymnasium, etc. It had cost \$125,000, but this debt seems to have been handled without special difficulty. In 1894 an employment bureau was set up here. When St. Joseph's Home was reopened in 1899 as a branch, also under the direction of the Grey Nuns, a distinction was established: the Union Park Street house was reserved for the young women in more prosperous circumstances, while St. Joseph's was destined for the unemployed, for friendless girls just landed from other countries, and for those whose wages were too small even to meet the very moderate charges of the other institution. In 1907 the Working Girls' Home had 196 boarders, and St. Joseph's, 65.

St. Patrick's Home for Working Girls, Lowell, was opened by Father Michael O'Brien in January, 1898, in imitation of the Boston institution. It was conducted by Franciscan Sisters.

Entirely different in character from the foregoing institutions was the House of the Good Shepherd — essentially a reformatory for wayward girls. The Congregation whose special work

it was to conduct this splendid form of charity, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, were established in Boston primarily through the initiative and strong support of Bishop Williams. On January 22, 1867, he wrote to the Superior of their convent in New York to request the opening of a house here.¹⁵ On May 2nd five Sisters arrived and took up their residence in a house at 1 Allen Street in the West End which had been leased for them. When on that same day they paid their respects to the Bishop, he handed to their Superior a large check and promised to assume the expenses of the community until it was well started on its new mission. The annals of the Boston convent also record: "The Rt. Rev. Bishop provided for all our needs with the generosity and affection of a true father, expending upon this foundation upwards of \$6,000. He paid our rent, our coal and gas bills for two years, and would have done so longer had we permitted. He even supplied our first seventeen penitents with suitable outfits." ¹⁶ His unfailing friendship and assistance proved the mainstay of the nuns in their early years here, for they did not receive in Boston such large private benefactions as in New York, nor, except on one occasion, did they obtain from the State or City authorities the financial aid that was given them in some other places, and to which the unquestionable social value of their work might seem to have entitled them.

At all events, the new foundation prospered. It was fortunate in its first Superior, Sister Mary of St. Aloysius Charlton (1867-1893), a Southern gentlewoman of strong personality, magnetic, accomplished, endowed with the gift of drawing out the best in her religious and in the girls and women under her charge. The Allen Street house was soon overcrowded. In May, 1868, the Sisters rented the Eustis mansion on Shirley Street, Roxbury. That, too, was soon outgrown, and the need of a large and permanent home was keenly felt. Fortunately, in 1869 Father Edward H. Welch, S.J., donated \$10,000 to this end; the General Court in the following year made a grant of \$10,000 "for once only," and a like sum was raised by sub-

¹⁵ *Memoranda*, Jan. 22, 1867.

¹⁶ Quoted from *The Pilot*, April 28, 1917.

scription. Hence, on November 21, 1870, the Bishop bought for the Sisters the present property, the former Brigham estate on Tremont Street (now Huntington Avenue), Roxbury, for the sum of \$58,000.¹⁷ Here they at once began building, and, in spite of the grave financial difficulties that arose from time to time, continued to build until by the end of the period there were few institutions of the Diocese that surpassed them in the value and extent of their equipment.

The House of the Good Shepherd by that time normally sheltered 350 to 450 inmates. These were girls and young women placed there by parents, guardians, or social agencies, or who, when brought before the municipal court, had elected to go to this home rather than to a public house of correction. They fell into three groups, which were kept entirely separated. The first group, called "the Children of Preservation," was made up of girls who had not strayed into very serious offenses, but who needed to be shielded from dangers or from incipient bad habits. They were given a grammar-school education and a training in occupations that might enable them to earn a living. For their benefit St. Joseph's Industrial School was completed just at the close of this period (November 1, 1907). The second and largest group, "the Penitents," composed of young women who had erred seriously, were lodged in St. Mary's Reformatory, and were expected to do a moderate amount of work, both in order to pay in part for their maintenance and to fit them to become self-supporting if they returned to the world. To reclaim them to honorable and upright Christian lives, the Sisters employed every method that experience, insight, sympathy, and the most delicate tact could suggest; and usually their gentle perseverance prevailed even with the most obstinate cases. The third group, "the Magdalens," was made up of former "Penitents" who chose to remain permanently in this haven of peace and security. After having given sufficient proofs of their amendment, they were admitted, never, indeed,

¹⁷ *Suffolk Land Deeds*, book 1026, p. 226. A part of the Dudley estate in the same locality had been bought in 1869, but, being found too small, was sold two years later.

to the Congregation of the Good Shepherd, but to an auxiliary society, the Third Order of St. Teresa; they wore a religious habit, annually renewed the three monastic vows, and devoted themselves to expiating the errors of their youth by a lifetime of penance and good works. All told, the House of the Good Shepherd received over nine thousand unfortunate girls and young women during the first forty-one years of its existence.¹⁸

Turning once more to another very different kind of charitable work — one of the marvels of nineteenth-century Catholic history is the almost lightning-like spread of that valiant Congregation of women called the Little Sisters of the Poor. Though their beginning dates back only to 1839 and they were approved by Pius IX only in 1854, by 1868 they already had 107 houses, in which the aged poor found a comfortable and cheerful home and the most tender care. Their devoted chaplain and adviser, the Abbé Ernest Lelièvre, came to the United States in 1868 to begin their expansion in this country, and the result of a faith that could move mountains was the opening of thirteen houses here in four years. Very early in his American stay Father Lelièvre visited Boston, won the ready assent of Bishop Williams to the establishment of a house here, and arranged that the foundation should be started within two years.¹⁹ Accordingly, on April 19, 1870, six Sisters arrived from France, headed by Mother Cecilia — with just ten cents in their pockets — to take over two hired houses at Springfield Street and Harrison Avenue, one for old men and one for old women. Two years later, with a very lively confidence in the assistance of St. Joseph, these women, the very poorest of the poor, purchased for over \$55,000 a large property at Dudley Street and Woodward Avenue, Roxbury.²⁰ Here they at once began building a new home, the chapel of which was dedicated by Bishop Williams on December 8, 1872. Three successive additions were subsequently put on, and by 1893 the last dollar of debt had been paid.

¹⁸ *Pilot*, Oct. 17, 1908.

¹⁹ *Histoire de notre maison de Boston commencée en avril 1870, sous le patronage de St. Joseph* (annals of the Roxbury convent).

²⁰ Purchased through Owen Nawn and Bernard Foley on Jan. 3, 1872 (*Suffolk Land Deeds*, book 1090, p. 283).

This home, which could accommodate about 210 inmates, was open, as far as space permitted, to all people over sixty, provided they were destitute and friendless. As a rule, the Sisters received no paying guests, and none able to provide for themselves. The greatest kindness and consideration were shown to all these old people. Those who were able to work were expected to do what they could without taxing their strength, but many, of course, were too feeble to leave their beds, and others could do no more than take their recreation about the walks and gardens. To support them part of the Sisters each day went out to beg alms.

So successful was the work in Roxbury that in the spring of 1883 the Little Sisters of the Poor opened a similar house in Charlestown, opposite St. Francis de Sales' Church. It proved, however, too small, and was, perhaps, intended only as a temporary establishment. As a permanent centre for the north side of Boston, the Sisters in 1888 bought a lot on Highland Avenue, Somerville, near St. Catherine's Church, on which they erected a very handsome building, which was dedicated on December 29, 1889. This home, with the addition put on a few years later, could shelter about three hundred old people, and in consequence the Charlestown house was, about 1895, abandoned.

III

Among Catholic institutions for the care of the sick the oldest was the Carney Hospital, South Boston. This had been opened, as will be recalled, in the old mansion on the Howe estate in 1863, under the care of the Sisters of Charity, of Emmitsburg. A bequest of over \$56,000 in the will of Andrew Carney made possible the erection in the years 1866-1868 of one wing of the present brick and stone building and of the chapel, at a cost of more than \$100,000. After many years of brave and sometimes desperate struggles to wipe out the resulting debt, a second forward step was taken in 1891 with a great enlargement of the building, at a cost of nearly \$150,000,

which doubled the size and usefulness of the institution. The new out-patient building, costing \$91,000, was completed ten years later. By that time this had become the third largest hospital in Boston, with a staff of 25 Sisters, 33 lay nurses, and 48 doctors.

Such progress was made possible, first of all, by the skillful management, the devotion and self-sacrifice of the daughters of St. Vincent de Paul and Mother Seton. Two of the Superiors during this period were women of real genius, who stamped their names indelibly upon the history of the institution: Sister Simplicia (1869-1889) and Sister Gonzaga (1890-1910). The hospital also enjoyed from the outset the services of many of the most eminent physicians and surgeons of Boston: of such men as Doctors Henry I. Bowditch, John Homans, Maurice H. Richardson, Thomas Dwight, John G. Blake, and Hasket Derby. Thanks to them, it became an important factor in the advancement of medical and surgical science. But its greatest glory was the unusual scope and generosity of the services that it rendered to the poor and afflicted. While no contagious diseases were treated, for prudential reasons, otherwise its hospitality was broader than that of any public hospital. Chronic sufferers, not likely to be accepted elsewhere, were here taken in and given what relief was possible. There were, for instance, two large wards for men and women dying of consumption, and a smaller ward for women with incurable cancers. Special staffs had been formed to treat diseases of women, of the eye, ear, throat, skin, and bones. The out-patient department gave help in an infinite variety of cases, and during the years from 1877 to 1913 treated no less than 309,629 patients. In all branches of the hospital the poor or those who could pay but a little were assured of just as good care as people of means. Indeed, of 70,069 patients admitted to the hospital proper during the first half-century of its existence, only 25,755 paid in full the normal charges for services rendered; 15,231 paid in part; and 29,083 were treated quite gratuitously.²¹ Thus, thousands of people, who might otherwise have been left to suffer

²¹ *Boston Post*, June 1, 1913.

in poorhouses or in dilapidated tenements, were given all the help that skill and charity could supply. Carney Hospital thus splendidly realized the hopes of its founder, who had intended it to be an asylum for the diseased and suffering of all classes, creeds, and colors, but in particular a haven where the poor and afflicted of the Catholic faith might be assured of help for their bodily ills and "the consolation of their holy religion, which alone can bring peace to the soul."²²

The second, in point of time, of our Catholic hospitals was St. John's, Lowell. The beginning of this enterprise may be traced back to the work of the Sodality of the Holy Family, of St. Patrick's Church, which, in the interest of its own sick members and then of other sick in the parish, established a small infirmary, first in a room on Adams Street (1863) and then in a house on Lowell Street. This humble hospice, which never had beds enough to meet the demand, demonstrated the need of a much larger institution, particularly for the sick poor. Neither the Sodality nor their spiritual guides, the Sisters of Notre Dame — essentially a teaching order — were prepared to conduct such an institution. But it happened that the Sisters of Charity, lately come to St. Peter's parish, were looking for more work to do, and when they suggested starting a Catholic hospital for the City of Lowell, Father John O'Brien, of St. Patrick's, enthusiastically welcomed the idea. With the warm approval of Bishop Williams, a site was acquired on Bartlett Street in January, 1867, and in March St. John's Hospital was chartered by the Legislature. On May 1st the institution opened modestly in the historic "Yellow House," which stood upon the property. The tiny chapel erected in the following summer formed, as we have seen, the starting point of the Oblates' "Irish parish" in Lowell, and was the forerunner of the present magnificent Church of the Immaculate Conception.

As the beginning of an adequate hospital building, the Sisters in 1868 put up a four-story brick structure, which was blessed by the Bishop on November 15th. When the large debt thereby assumed had by the most strenuous efforts been can-

²² *Pilot*, Aug. 18, 1866.

celed, an annex was added in 1882, containing *inter alia* the splendid chapel designed by P. C. Keeley. An out-patient department was organized in 1888, and another large addition to the main building was made in the years 1893-1894. St. John's had now become virtually *the* city hospital of Lowell, and the emergency hospital, not only of Lowell but of the surrounding towns. At least one third of its patients were treated gratuitously, and the services of the out-patient department were free. Despite its eminent public utility, the hospital was, of course, supported entirely by private means: by the sacrifices and the selfless toil of the Sisters, the generosity of the Catholics of the city and of some Protestant friends, by the fees received from the more well-to-do patients, and by the unfailing efforts of such auxiliaries as the St. John's Hospital Society and the Ladies of Charity.

The third oldest of our institutions of this kind is St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Boston. This was opened in 1868 by five self-sacrificing women, who had taken upon themselves the vows of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis. They had the then novel idea of a hospital intended only for women and which would specialize in the ailments and diseases peculiar to that sex. For gynecology, a branch of science which was at that time little developed, the founding of St. Elizabeth's marked an important new departure.

Opened at first at 28 Hanson Street, in the new South End, the institution was removed in 1872 to 78 Waltham Street, and in 1885 to much larger quarters on West Brookline Street and Blackstone Square. It gradually but steadily extended its services and its reputation. In 1882 it threw open its doors to men as well as to women. Since the small group of Sisters who had started it were unable to cope with all the increasing burdens of the enterprise, the hospital was in 1884 transferred to the hands of the Franciscan Sisters of Allegany, New York, its foundresses receiving permission to ally themselves with that community and to continue their work in the institution. By the end of the century St. Elizabeth's had grown into one of the important hospitals of the city. It was distinguished for the

excellence of its staff, its outstanding position in the field of gynecology, and the immense services rendered gratis to the poor, both in the hospital itself and in the out-patient department established in 1896.²³

A second St. Elizabeth's existed for some years in Roxbury, under the same management as the Boston institution. It was opened in 1880 at Beech Glen and Fort Avenues, for the purpose of receiving persons with chronic diseases, convalescents, and infirm and destitute old people. This house was abandoned about 1896, perhaps as involving an unnecessary duplication of effort.

It remains to speak of two institutions of a more specialized character: the Free Home for Consumptives, Dorchester, and the Holy Ghost Hospital, Cambridge. The former owed its origin to the Young Ladies' Charitable Association, which had been formed in 1891 by Miss Elizabeth A. Power, of Boston, and about thirty of her friends. As one of the first attempts to band together the Catholic young women of the city for charitable work, this organization for some years enjoyed great success. It came to have about one thousand members, and displayed a many-sided activity. In visiting among the poor, these young ladies were impressed with the ravages of consumption, and also with the fact that the only hospital in Boston established especially for sufferers of that class refused, out of bigotry, to allow a Catholic priest to cross its threshold, even to administer the last rites to the dying. The Charitable Association resolved, therefore, to found a *Free Home for Consumptives*: free both in the sense that real religious liberty would prevail in it, and in the sense that no patient would be accepted who could afford to pay his way in other hospitals. In March, 1892, an estate was bought, at the corner of Quincy and Bellevue Streets, Dorchester, and in the house which stood upon these premises and which could accommodate thirty patients, the Home was opened on July 30th. Six years later a larger building was erected, furnishing room for one hundred patients. The institution by that time had a good staff of visit-

²³ Cf. *A History of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Brighton, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d.).

ing physicians and trained nurses, and the young ladies of the Association constantly attended it to do what they could to serve or to entertain the consumptives. Here, as in all other Catholic charitable institutions, Protestant or Jewish inmates had the fullest liberty to receive the spiritual advisers of their own choice.

When the old Hovey estate on Cambridge Street, Cambridge, was broken up into lots and sold, in 1892, Father Scully, of St. Mary's, purchased six acres. In October of the following year it was announced that with the consent of the Archbishop he had deeded this land to the Grey Nuns, of Montreal, to be used for a hospital for those afflicted with incurable diseases, and particularly for the poor among them. It was also stated that "an anonymous benefactor" had given \$25,000 to help establish this institution.²⁴ This anonymous donor, though it was never publicly revealed in his lifetime, was no other than Father Scully himself.²⁵ In the following year a group of Sisters arrived from Montreal, and presently took up their residence in a cottage constructed for them on the grounds. On February 14, 1895, they began to receive patients. Soon after, work was started on the first section of the vast and handsome brick building, of Romanesque exterior, which it was planned to erect. This first section was completed three years later, and dedicated by Archbishop Williams on November 17, 1898. It contained men's, women's, and children's wards, a dispensary, and a chapel with galleries opening upon the various stories, so that the patients might attend the services without going downstairs.

The new hospital started off with a debt of \$40,000, and the problem of support was difficult. Most of the patients could pay little or nothing. But the splendid venture from the first attracted the warm sympathy of the public. Among its great friends were Professor Charles Eliot Norton, of Harvard, such distinguished ministers as Rev. Alexander McKenzie and Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, and Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, who

²⁴ *Pilot*, Oct. 21, 1893.

²⁵ *Episcopal Register*, Dec. 14, 1894; *Pilot*, Sept. 20, 1902.

brought hither the second cancer patient and volunteered to remain as a nurse — but the nuns dissuaded her, for God had even greater designs for her. The Hospital Aid Society, formed in 1896, soon enrolled sixteen hundred members, who promised to make an annual contribution and to aid in other ways.

The institution received all classes of incurables (save those with diseases dangerous to public health), and from many creeds and nationalities. Cancer cases were the most numerous, but many other terrible maladies were represented, such as lung trouble, scrofula, dropsy, paralysis, abscesses, tumors, or heart trouble. Particularly interesting, or pathetic, was the children's ward. The Hospital of the Holy Ghost offered, indeed, an almost unique refuge to sufferers that most hospitals rejected, to those wracked with the most cruel agonies that the human frame can undergo. No praise can be too high for the devoted nuns who pass their lives amid scenes from which, from a natural standpoint, they might well shrink back with a shudder. As someone has said, theirs is "a sacrifice comparable to that of Father Damien at Molokai." ²⁶

²⁶ *The Catholic Church in New England*, II, 214.

CHAPTER XV

SOME ASPECTS OF CATHOLIC LIFE

I

FOR THE CATHOLIC LAITY — to whom this chapter will in the main be devoted — as well as for the clergy, the age of Archbishop Williams marked the transition from the pioneer conditions of the Fenwick and Fitzpatrick eras to the well-ordered parochial life and the manifold diocesan activities of today.

As the Church penetrated into almost every community in Eastern Massachusetts, as it became no longer necessary for Catholics to travel ten, fifteen, or twenty miles each Sunday to assist at divine worship, it is probable that regularity in attending Mass increased notably. If once there had normally been several congregations served by every priest, now it was becoming the rule that there were several priests for every congregation; and the result was a greater number and variety of religious services and of parish activities. If the establishment of regular "retreats" for the clergy was one of the hallmarks of the Williams era, so likewise was the generalization of the practice of periodically having in each parish "missions" for the laity, conducted usually by members of the religious orders. The Forty Hours' Devotion, first introduced into this Diocese at Chicopee in 1868,¹ was made obligatory for all parishes by 1882.² Parochial societies of a religious character multiplied. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, previously to be found only in the Jesuit churches of Boston and in a few others, spread so rapidly that by 1881 it was said that there was scarcely a parish without one.³ The League of the Sacred Heart, otherwise known as the Apostleship of Prayer, established its

¹ *Memoranda*, Dec. 4, 1868.

² Chancery Circular of Aug. 1, 1882 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

³ *Woodstock Letters*, X (1881), 266.

first branch in this Diocese only in 1887, at the Gate of Heaven, South Boston, but within twenty years it had spread almost everywhere. The Holy Name Society for men, while still not common, existed in not a few parishes. Among the numerous other associations of a devotional character that might be mentioned, perhaps the most striking was the Society for the Nocturnal Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, which was started in 1882 in the Cathedral parish, on the initiative of Dr. Thomas Dwight, who had caught the idea in Paris. For over thirty years this group of zealous laymen, including many of the busiest and most eminent Catholics in Boston, gathered monthly to keep vigil in turns throughout the night before the Prisoner of Love in the tabernacle and in the morning to receive Holy Communion.

The love of God transmuted into love of neighbor was admirably exemplified in the St. Vincent de Paul Society, with which the name of Archbishop Williams is very closely linked. As pastor of St. James' Church, he had established the first Conference of that Society in the Diocese in 1861; and during his episcopate the number of "aggregated" Conferences rose from three to fifty-four (in the area under the direction of the Boston Particular Council). The main work of the Society consisted in aiding the poor in each parish in which it was organized. In every such parish a small band of devoted, experienced, and trustworthy laymen, meeting weekly and acting always in closest union with their pastors, made it their business to investigate every case of destitution; and, once a good claim to assistance had been established, members of the Conference were appointed to visit the needy family weekly or oftener, not merely to dispense material aid, but also in order to become their intimate friends and counselors, to encourage them in habits of industry, sobriety, and foresight, to help them to become better citizens and better Christians. No statistics can accurately measure the amount of good done so noiselessly and unobtrusively by these noble imitators of the good St. Vincent de Paul. But — for what statistics are worth — the records of the Boston Particular Council show that during the forty years

from 1868 to 1908 the members of the Conferences under its jurisdiction aided 62,529 families (including 239,179 persons); made 899,170 visits to the poor; and disbursed to those in need \$1,036,135.⁴

In order to coördinate the work of the parish Conferences and to carry on activities of an extra-parochial nature, there existed, from 1865 on, the Boston Particular Council, and, from 1889, the Boston Central Council (having jurisdiction over nearly all New England). These organizations were fortunate in their executive heads, notably in Thomas F. Ring, President of the Particular Council and later also of the Central (1875-1898) — one of the foremost Vincentians of the country and a leader in many kinds of humanitarian work — and in Dr. Thomas Dwight, who succeeded him in both offices and retained both almost down to his death in 1911.

Under such able leadership the Boston Particular Council undertook numerous "special works," which by the later years of the period had developed into a most impressive network of activities. By that time its "Committee of Our Lady of Ransom" was attempting on a large scale to provide for abandoned or imperiled infants, unmarried mothers, wayward girls, destitute or neglected children, juvenile offenders, young men discharged from reformatory institutions, friendless or poor immigrants, and many other groups in need of assistance. This work was carried on, through a number of salaried agents, from an office in the Charities Building which since 1888 had been placed rent-free at the disposal of the Society by the Overseers of the Poor. This location put the Vincentians in close touch with the public charitable authorities and with the agents of most of the other benevolent societies of the city; and since they were the only Catholic organization so situated, it was natural that cases involving Catholics should be referred to them, that Catholics in search of aid turned first of all to them, that

⁴Paper by Charles V. Dasey, *The Growth of the Society and What It Has Accomplished*, Sept. 28, 1908 (in the collection of documents on the local history of the St. Vincent de Paul Society made by Mr. Bernard C. Kelley and now preserved at the central office of the Society in Boston).

their office assumed very much the rôle of a general Catholic charitable bureau.

Turning to some more specialized forms of altruism — the Catholic Temperance movement, so active around 1840, but almost at a standstill for twenty years thereafter, revived with notable vigor not long after the Civil War, and this time very definitely in the shape of a crusade for total abstinence. About 1868 a number of clergymen threw themselves actively into this movement. Enthusiastic meetings were held throughout New England, and then throughout the country. The result was the *annus mirabilis*, 1870-1871, during which State or diocesan societies sprang up almost everywhere, and a national convention at Baltimore organized the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. The Massachusetts State Union was founded in May, 1871, and the Archdiocesan Union of Boston six years later. Massachusetts, it was claimed about that time, had more Catholic societies of this kind and more members than any other State.⁵ The intense agitation of the "liquor" problem died away very perceptibly, however, after 1876. Enthusiasm could not always be kept at white heat, and the Catholic foes of alcoholism, who were mostly "moral suasionists," found their cause harmed rather than helped by the maneuvers of the Prohibitionists in the Protestant ranks. At all events, the Catholic Total Abstinence societies maintained themselves and did much good work. Some priests of this Diocese attained a national reputation as champions of temperance, and others besides Father Scully won local celebrity as leaders in the fight to banish the saloon from their communities.⁶

Among the benevolent or fraternal societies offering a system of insurance among the advantages of membership, mention should be made of the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters, which was founded in 1879, and of the Knights of Columbus. The latter organization had its inception at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1882, and first spread to this Diocese

⁵ *Pilot*, Feb. 17, 1872.

⁶ Cf. Maurice Dinneen, *The Catholic Total Abstinence Movement in the Archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1908).

with the founding of the Bunker Hill Council, April 10, 1892. The Massachusetts State Council was formed on April 24, 1894. The order grew with surprising rapidity, and soon won a high reputation both because of its efforts to develop practical Catholicity among its members and because of its services to Catholic education and charity.

Very numerous, though sometimes very ephemeral, were the societies that aimed at developing the intellectual powers or cultural interests of their members. Such were the "Lyceums" or the "Literary Societies" for young men that existed in many parishes, particularly in the earlier part of the Williams era. They offered an abundance — perhaps a surfeit — of debates, discussions, and lectures. Usually they had reading-rooms, and sometimes considerable libraries. From time to time efforts were made to combine these groups into larger organizations, such as the Boston Catholic Lyceum Association (1867-1875) or the Young Men's Catholic Literary Union of Massachusetts (1878 — ?). But this was to little avail. The great age of American oratory was passing: the great age of American athletics was setting in. The Catholic societies for young men that prospered best were those that offered a wide range of activities, opportunities, not only for religious and intellectual development, but for sport, singing, dramatics, and social diversions. Father Fulton, S.J., caught the trend of the times when he founded the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston College.

For years there had been talk of establishing an institution in Boston that might do for Catholic youth what the Young Men's Christian Association did for others. The difficulty lay in obtaining an adequate building and equipment. The discussion having been revived in 1875, Father Fulton perceived that he had the answer to the problem: the College building might perfectly well serve both the students by day and the young men of Boston by night. With its gymnasium, library, reading-room, assembly halls, music-room, etc., it offered all the facilities that could be desired. Hence, at his invitation, a large and enthusiastic meeting was held on November 3, 1875,

which led to the formation of the new Association. Membership in it was open to any Catholic young man of good moral character who was willing to pay one dollar a year in dues and to participate in an annual corporate Communion. The Association proved a great success. Attending one of its celebrations in 1890, Archbishop Williams warmly extolled its achievements and attested: "I feel happy, representing the Diocese, because a work that had to be done, and that we didn't know how to do, has been accomplished by Father Fulton and his colleagues of the Society of Jesus."⁷

Societies of similar character and scope grew up in various other quarters: e.g., the Young Men's Catholic Association of South Boston, St. Theresa's Union, West Roxbury, or St. Patrick's Catholic Union, Lowell. But efforts to federate these societies into something analogous to the Young Men's Christian Association again proved fruitless, despite such experiments as the Archdiocesan Union of Catholic Associations, of 1886, or the Massachusetts Catholic Union, of 1892.

For Catholics of more mature years a variety of cultural and social organizations arose. By far the most outstanding of these was the Catholic Union of Boston. In the early 1870's, what with the continuing outcries over the Vatican Council, the Old Catholic schismatic movement, the spoliation of the Holy See by the Italian Government, the *Kulturkampf* in Germany, the attacks on the Church in France, Spain, Switzerland, and elsewhere, it seemed as if the powers of this world were leagued together in an effort to destroy the Rock of Peter and the Church built upon it. To meet these perils Pius IX early in 1873 called upon the Catholic laity of the world to unite and organize. In Boston, as in countless other cities of America and Europe, this invitation was promptly heeded. At a meeting of twenty-five leading Catholics, held at the Parker House on March 3, 1873, at Bishop Williams' suggestion, it was unanimously voted to form a Catholic Union here, primarily for the purpose of attesting the loyalty of Boston Catholics to the Holy See and their sympathy for the Holy Father

⁷ *Pilot*, Oct. 25, 1890.

in his misfortunes. The first act of the new society was to send an address to Pius IX. Their first signal public demonstration was the Catholic Festival held at Music Hall on November 13, 1873, to celebrate the sacerdotal Golden Jubilee of that venerable, saintly, and sorely tried Pontiff. That great meeting, which was attended by all the New England bishops, a host of priests, and thousands of the laity, and which had among its speakers Patrick Donahoe, John Boyle O'Reilly, Patrick A. Collins, Theodore Metcalf, Bishop Williams, Father James A. Healy, Father Fulton, S.J., and the famous convert-priest, Rev. James Kent Stone (the later Father Fidelis, C.P.), was the most striking manifestation that had yet taken place both of the devotion of the faithful here to the centre of the Church's unity and of the strength and ardor of Boston's Catholicity.

Like many other societies, the Union experienced periods of dullness or even danger once the first enthusiasm attending its founding had cooled. From such perils it was extricated largely through the unflagging interest and strong support of the Archbishop, who, as one sign of interest, never failed to be present, if possible, at the informal gatherings held in the Union's rooms each Wednesday evening. Eventually the society came to have about four hundred members — the élite of the Catholic manhood of Boston and vicinity. Its first home in rented rooms at the corner of Washington and Union Park Streets was exchanged in 1887 for a house purchased at 602-604 Tremont Street; and this in turn was replaced in 1895 by a building on the corner of Washington Street and Worcester Square, which, after being remodeled and greatly enlarged, was turned into a very commodious clubhouse. Apart from its obvious utility in keeping the leading Catholic laymen of the city in constant touch with the Archbishop, with the clergy, and with each other, the Union rendered many other services. It frequently sponsored courses of public lectures; it studied leading questions of the day and published reports upon them; it took a notable part in the battle for religious liberty for Catholics in public institutions; it undertook various charitable activities. When it was necessary to speak out in defense of the rights of

the Holy See or of the Church in this country, when some illustrious visitor was to be welcomed here, or when some outstanding religious or national anniversary was to be celebrated, the Union served as the most authentic voice of the Catholic laymen of Boston.

Among less durable organizations, mention may be made of the New England Catholic Historical Society, founded in 1900 under the leadership of the Very Rev. William Byrne, V.G. For seven years its annual meetings brought together a large group of clergymen and laymen of scholarly interests, and produced a series of papers which, as published, form a collection of monographs of considerable value for the Catholic history of this region. For less learned people a movement was started in 1888 to arouse a stronger interest among the laity in Catholic literature. Within a few years reading circles, including both men and women as members, multiplied until almost every larger parish had one. After 1894, however, this excellent movement, like so many others, seemed to lose its impetus and died away. For women alone Catholic societies, except those of a purely religious character, remained uncommon throughout this period. There was, however, the Ladies' Catholic Club Association, founded in 1894 to sponsor benevolent and educational clubs for working girls.

With so many Catholic societies arising throughout the country, the idea was naturally brought forward of uniting them all under one superior organization, in order that their combined force might be made effective when occasion required. In 1901 the American Federation of Catholic Societies was launched at a convention in Cincinnati. For Boston the "Suffolk Division" of this Federation was created in the following year, and by 1904 claimed to have ten thousand members. For the Diocese as a whole, however, this later so important movement remained but ill-organized down to the end of the Williams era.

No review of laymen's activities at that time would be complete without some reference to a cause that deeply touched the hearts of the vast majority of our Catholics. Throughout

the period Boston remained true to its historic rôle as the American city most quick to respond to every movement for the liberation of, or for the amelioration of conditions in, Ireland. The Fenian movement of the '60's, the Land League movement around 1879, the Home Rule movement around 1886 evoked here passionate interest, active coöperation, pathetically generous contributions, and innumerable meetings, which again and again packed Faneuil Hall or crowded even Boston Common. With these movements (all except the Fenian one) Archbishop Williams and his clergy associated themselves formally and repeatedly, in a way that won for them the plaudits of the Irish press and an honorable préëminence among the American friends of Ireland.

II

With respect to the American Catholic press, Boston also held a certain honorable préëminence. Patrick Donahoe's *Pilot* was, in 1866, undoubtedly the foremost Catholic journal of the country. From an original list of five hundred subscribers it had risen to one of nearly one hundred thousand. It had a larger and abler staff of writers and correspondents than any other Catholic or Irish-American weekly; it had contributors in many foreign lands; it circulated throughout this Republic and Canada. Its coming was so eagerly awaited, its contents were so eagerly devoured, that it was called "the Irishman's Bible." Its fame was further increased when in 1870 it took on as editor John Boyle O'Reilly.

He was but twenty-six at that time, but already he had behind him a stirring career; and, escaped convict though he was in the eyes of British law, to all men of Irish blood he was a hero and martyr. Born at Dowth Castle in the County Meath in 1844, of cultivated and deeply patriotic parents, he had, after some contacts with printing and journalism, joined the Fenian movement, which then made such an appeal to all that was young and brave in Ireland. At the age of nineteen he enlisted in the British army (always largely composed of Irish-

men), in order to spread republican principles and to learn from Britons how to vanquish Britain. In 1866 his Fenian connections were discovered through an informer. He was tried by court martial, convicted of conspiring to levy war on Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and condemned to death, although this sentence was at once commuted to life imprisonment, and later to twenty years of penal servitude. After trying and, indeed, horrible ordeals in various English prisons, at the end of 1867 he was deported to Western Australia — "Convict No. 9,843." Eight times he had attempted to escape. The ninth time he succeeded. Thanks to two Irishmen, who furnished him with a horse, he got away through "the bush" to the coast (February, 1869). He put out to sea in an old boat, "with scarcely the faintest hope of being saved." He was picked up by an American whaling vessel, the *Gazelle*, of New Bedford, whose officers showed him the greatest kindness. After many thrilling adventures both in whaling and in avoiding recapture, and after being twice transferred from one friendly American vessel to another, by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Liverpool he reached safety at Philadelphia, November 23, 1869. That same day he made application for American citizenship. He knew no one in the United States, but he was already known, for the story of his sufferings, his escape, and his gifts as a poet had preceded him. After a period of being fêted as much as he would endure and being made to relate his adventures to packed and tense audiences, he came to Boston in January, 1870, determined to devote himself to journalism. Soon he began to contribute to *The Pilot*; by summer he had taken over its editorial chair; and before many years he was to be its proprietor.

The business fortunes of Patrick Donahoe were in the early '70's at their zenith. Around his flourishing newspaper had grown up the largest Catholic publishing house in America. Besides he conducted a bookstore, a church goods store, a bank, and a passenger agency. All these enterprises were lodged in the recently erected "Donahoe Buildings" at Franklin and Hawley Streets — an elegant six-story granite block, which

passed for one of the handsomest in Boston and "a monument to Irish-American enterprise." Mr. Donahoe was then the richest and most influential Catholic layman in New England, a constant and generous benefactor to every Catholic cause, and a public-spirited and highly respected citizen.

Then "an avalanche of misfortunes" overwhelmed him. It began with the Great Fire of November 9-10, 1872, which left Franklin Street and most of Boston's business district "a mass of smoking and hissing ruins." Mr. Donahoe at once set up his office in Cornhill, but there ten days later (November 20th) he was again burned out. His losses by these two fires amounted to around \$350,000.⁸ "We are just about tired of this phoenix business," wrote *The Pilot* mournfully. "We don't want to 'rise nobly from our ashes' any more."⁹ But this was not the end. Established again at 360 Washington Street, on May 30, 1873, Mr. Donahoe was burned out a third time. Bravely as he might struggle against these recurring disasters, everything seemed to turn against him. The collapse of the insurance companies after the Great Fire left him virtually unprotected against the next two. In the hard times that followed the Panic of 1873, the value of his investments steadily shrank, while friends who had lent him money to start up again had to recall their loans. Most of all,

in the day of his prosperity, just before the Fire, he had endorsed heavily for a man whom he trusted as a friend. While [he was] trying to recover from the flames, the friend failed, and those endorsed notes were presented for payment, with the accrued interest, to the disastrous amount of \$170,000.¹⁰

The upshot was that at the beginning of 1876, Mr. Donahoe was obliged to go into bankruptcy. His debts amounted to \$300,000, including \$73,000 due to poor people who had deposited their savings in his bank.¹¹

As one part of the settlement that then had to be made, Archbishop Williams and John Boyle O'Reilly bought *The Pilot* for \$29,000, the Archbishop furnishing three fourths of

⁸ *Pilot*, Nov. 30, 1872, March 23, 1901.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1872.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1876.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, April 15, 1876.

the money. The purchasers intended primarily to use the profits of the paper to pay back Mr. Donahoe's poorer creditors; and when this had been done, the Archbishop intended to dispose of his share in it "for the best interests of Mr. Donahoe and family."¹²

Under its new proprietors, and thanks especially to the brilliant talents of its editor, *The Pilot* entered upon a halcyon period of its history. Few journals of that time could have surpassed it for literary excellence, for dignity, sincerity, fairness, and true liberality, or for devotion to the highest ideals in religious, civic, and social life. O'Reilly interpreted and defended the Church's position and the cause of Ireland before the American public with a skill, a tact, and a success that had rarely been equaled. But he was no less effective in preaching to his coreligionists of foreign birth high notions of duty to the land of their adoption and in extolling the principles, the ideals, and the God-given mission of America. He would have had American citizens of Irish blood the very best Americans, and it was with him an article of faith that "We can do Ireland more good by our Americanism than by our Irishism." For the rest, he hated tyranny and injustice in every form, and his heart and pen went out to negroes and Poles and Jews, and to every injured race, class, or individual.

Preëminently a journalist, O'Reilly was also much in demand as a lecturer and orator, and widely famed as a poet. He published four volumes of verse: *Songs from the Southern Seas* (1873), *Songs, Legends, and Ballads* (1878), *The Statues in the Block* (1881), and *In Bohemia* (1886); also a novel, *Moondyne* (1879), based on his Australian experiences, and various minor works. Uneven in merit as his poems may be, and written at times too hastily to permit the most polished workmanship, they are replete with imagination, insight, nobility of sentiment, and deep spirituality. His constant progress in the *ars poetica* suggests the eminent rank that he might have attained in it had greater leisure or length of days been granted him. He was the poet chosen for the commemoration of the Daniel

¹² *Ibid.*, April 15, 1876.

O'Connell Centenary, for the dedication of the Crispus Attucks Monument on Boston Common, for the dedication of the Pilgrim Monument at Plymouth (1889). This last selection was in itself a significant and suggestive fact, but even more notable was the way in which he acquitted himself of the task. He, the recently arrived Irish refugee, showed the fullest understanding of what was finest in the early Anglo-American tradition: he, the uncompromising Catholic, was able to pay such a just and glowing tribute to the Pilgrim Fathers as warmed and won the hearts of Protestant New Englanders.

But it was not alone through his talents and his achievements that John Boyle O'Reilly laid this community under his spell: it was even more through the charm of his personality. Handsome, brave, manly — an expert in most sports — strong as a viking but tender-hearted as a child; kindly, affectionate, genial, and witty; rich in good-fellowship and all the social graces; generous, wholesome, and noble in thought, word, and deed; a lover of his Church, his country, his race, of liberty, and of all humanity — he was, indeed, an irresistible man. He had, as one scion of the Puritans said of him, "the greatest capacity for loving and for winning the love of others that I have ever known."¹³ He came to hold a wellnigh unique position in this community, hailed not only as the greatest of Irish-Americans, but as one of the few men of whom all Bostonians, regardless of race or creed, were unanimously proud.

It was not the least of his services to *The Pilot* that he drew to its editorial staff two writers of unusual distinction who were to be his successors: James Jeffrey Roche (1847-1908) and Katherine E. Conway (1852-1927). Irish-born but brought up in Prince Edward Island, Roche had come to Boston in 1866, engaged successfully in business, but more and more turned aside to follow the literary bent which won for him the rank of associate editor of the paper by 1883. Miss Conway, who was taken on at about the same time, had had some experience in journalism in her native city of Rochester, New York, and in Buffalo, when O'Reilly discerned her talents through a poem submitted to him and drew her to Boston.

¹³ Henry M. Rogers, quoted from *The Pilot*, Aug. 30, 1890.

Intense were the shock and the sorrow to this community when on August 9, 1890, John Boyle O'Reilly died suddenly of heart failure at his summer home at Hull. "Was there one man or woman in all the city," asked the *Boston Transcript*, "whose death would have brought personal grief to so many?"¹⁴ He was the first Catholic Irish-American to whom a monument was erected in Boston — the splendid memorial by the sculptor Daniel C. French, which stands at the entrance to the Fenway and which was donated to the City through the subscription of O'Reilly's friends of all creeds.¹⁵

Within ten years after purchasing *The Pilot*, the Archbishop and his co-proprietor had paid in full the poorer creditors of Patrick Donahoe. The latter had also been struggling to restore his fortunes with a courage and energy remarkable for a man of his years. He had kept up his foreign exchange and passenger business; he had founded what became a very popular illustrated monthly, *Donahoe's Magazine* (1878); he had worked his way back to comfortable financial circumstances. He felt it a point of honor to recover the ownership of the famous newspaper that he had founded, and the Archbishop, his friend of over half a century, felt it a debt of honor to return it to him. Accordingly, soon after John Boyle O'Reilly's death, Archbishop Williams bought from his widow her shares in the Pilot Publishing Company, and then, on December 22, 1890, sold the entire enterprise back to Mr. Donahoe "at a price much below its value."¹⁶ The latter and his son, Patrick M. Donahoe, assumed the business management, while James Jeffrey Roche had already taken over the editorship. It is pleasant to note that the last decade in the long life of Patrick Donahoe, Senior, passed off serenely and happily. He was honored with numerous tokens of public esteem, such as the reception in 1893 of the *Laetare* Medal from the University of Notre Dame

¹⁴ Quoted from *The Pilot*, Aug. 16, 1890.

¹⁵ On him see especially: James Jeffrey Roche, *Life of John Boyle O'Reilly, Together with His Complete Poems and Speeches*, Edited by Mrs. John Boyle O'Reilly (New York, 1891); *An Account of the Exercises at the Dedication and Presentation to the City of Boston of the O'Reilly Monument, June 20, 1896* (Boston, 1897).

¹⁶ *Pilot*, Dec. 27, 1890.

for his services to the Catholic cause in the United States, or the banquet tendered to him by three hundred representative citizens of Boston on May 8, 1894. He died on March 18, 1901, at the age of ninety, after having for nearly seventy years played an eminent and honorable rôle in the Catholic life of the city.

O'Reilly's editorial mantle had fallen on no unworthy shoulders. As far as that great man could be replaced, Roche replaced him as Boston's foremost Catholic journalist, poet, and prose writer, the idol of the Catholic intellectual group, and a social favorite with Catholics and Protestants alike. He was "a happy, generous, and graceful person — graceful physically and mentally — with a delicious sense of humor";¹⁷ less rugged and virile than O'Reilly, but with a lighter and more delicate touch. From his pen came several volumes of verse: *Songs and Satires* (1886); *Ballads of Blue Water and Other Poems* (1895); *The V-a-s-e and Other Bric-à-Brac* (1900); the stirring novel of adventure, *The Story of the Filibusters* (1891); two humorous pseudo-Oriental romances, *Her Majesty the King* (1898) and *The Sorrows of Sap'ed* (1904). As a journalist his specialty was the short paragraph, in which field he had few peers. He gave to the editorial columns of *The Pilot* a constant seasoning of wit and satire such as his more serious predecessor could not have sustained. But, always a man of letters more than a journalist, he grew increasingly impatient of the routine and the minutiae of an editor's task; and from 1898 his health began to break down. At any rate, for many years under him the paper maintained the staff, the standards, and the general course that O'Reilly had given it. In 1902 Roche purchased from Mr. Donahoe's widow a controlling interest in it. But two years later came a sharp break with tradition. Long a friend and admirer of Theodore Roosevelt, in the presidential campaign of 1904 Roche gave him his enthusiastic support, thus tearing his journal away from its Democratic moorings of seventy years. This "desertion" to Republicanism caused resentment among *Pilot* readers, and by this time, moreover, Roche's health could no longer stand the strain. At the begin-

¹⁷ *Pilot*, April 11, 1908, quoting from the *Springfield Republican*.

ning of 1905 he resigned as editor, sold control of the paper back to Patrick M. Donahoe, and retired to the milder climate of Italy, to be American Consul at Genoa by appointment of President Roosevelt. He died as Consul at Berne three years later.¹⁸

During the last years of Archbishop Williams, *The Pilot* remained under the ownership and management of the Donahoe family, with Katherine E. Conway as editor. A pupil and an ardent admirer of John Boyle O'Reilly, she endeavored — and with much success — to maintain his traditions. For the rest, she had already published two novels, *Lalor's Maples* and *The Way of the World and Other Ways*, a volume of poems entitled *A Dream of Lilies*, and numerous minor works. She, too, in 1907 received the *Laetare* Medal.

Alongside *The Pilot* many other journals in varying degrees Catholic in character arose here during the Williams period. Most of them were rather short-lived, and few of them are much remembered today.

The most important of them and one that gave itself exclusively to the diffusion of Catholic news and views was the *Sacred Heart Review* (1888-1918), a weekly founded and directed by the Rev. John O'Brien, pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart, East Cambridge. Starting as simply a parish paper, this journal rapidly widened its scope and its circulation. By 1895 it had expanded from an eight-page to a twenty-page edition, and was henceforth issued by the Review Publishing Company, "a corporation made up of about one hundred of the leading clergymen of New England." Attracting some excellent contributors, varied in contents, and vigorous and forthright in style, the *Review* was for some time one of the most widely read and often-quoted Catholic organs of the country.

The other weeklies were essentially newspapers under Catholic management, giving general as well as religious intelligence. Such were the *Boston Leader*, published by Martin

¹⁸ On him see *James Jeffrey Roche: a Memorial and Appreciation* (Boston, 1908); also *Pilot*, July 27, 1907, April 11, 1908.

Griffin from 1872 or 1873 to 1875; or the *New England Catholic Herald*, which was started in Lawrence in 1880, transferred to Boston in 1883, and in 1885 removed to New York. During its five years in this Diocese, under the editorship of Peter McCorry, this is said to have been an excellent and a fairly successful journal.¹⁹ More durable was *The Republic*, of Boston, which maintained itself from 1882 down to 1926. Founded and long published by Patrick Maguire, who was for a generation the Democratic political leader of Boston, this paper later passed into the hands of the Hon. John F. Fitzgerald. Originally devoted very largely to politics, especially to local politics, and to Irish-American interests, it came to give an increasing attention to Catholic news; and during its last dozen years, under the editorship of Katherine E. Conway and Irene Kennedy, its Catholic character was very pronounced.

Conspicuously meritorious among local weeklies were the *Catholic Citizen* of Chelsea, published and edited with courage, vigor, and humor by Thomas F. Punch from 1888 down to his death in 1937, and the *Sunday Register* of Lawrence, edited by that busy lady of letters, Katherine A. O'Keeffe, from 1892 down to about 1913. Other local journals were the *Catholic Forum*, of Salem (1904-1905?); the semi-monthly *Marlboro Star* (1887-1893), published by the Catholic Lyceum Association of that city under the editorship of Father P. A. McKenna; the monthly *Quincy Monitor* (1886-1898), issued by the St. John's Catholic Literary and Athletic Association and edited by Father Ambrose F. Roche; and the monthly *Index*, of Haverhill (1895-1907?).

The most outstanding Catholic monthly published in this vicinity was *Donahoe's Magazine*, which, although sold by its founder in 1892, ran on with much success and steadily improving quality through fifty-nine volumes until it was merged in 1908 with the *Catholic World*, of New York. Notable also was the *Columbiad*, of Boston, an organ of the Knights of Columbus. Started here in 1893, it was removed about a dozen years later to Hoboken, and ultimately evolved into the present

¹⁹ Cf. *Pilot*, March 27, July 31, 1880; Nov. 24, 1883; April 25, 1885.

highly reputed *Columbia*, of New Haven. The *Father Mathew Herald* was conducted here for about twenty years, from 1894 on, in the interests of the Catholic Temperance movement. Juvenile publications were represented only by *Spare Hours*, issued by Patrick A. Donahoe throughout 1866, and the *Young Crusader*, edited by Father William Byrne from 1869 to about 1873.

Various other Catholic journals of Boston might be mentioned, of which, however, it is difficult to glean much information, such as: the weekly *Sentinel* (1885), *Irish Republican and Free Lance* (1886), and *Irish National Colonist*; the semi-monthly *Hibernian* (ca. 1900-1912?); the monthly *Irish Echo* (1885?), *Sunday School Messenger* (1887), *Catholic Home Journal*; the quarterly *Little Messenger of Mary* (ca. 1900-1908?). Allusion has already been made to the papers conducted by the House of the Angel Guardian and the Working Boys' Home, to the *Boston College Stylus*, and to the Franco-American press.

At the close of the period the *Catholic Directory* for 1907 listed fourteen Catholic journals as then being published in this Diocese.

III

In an age when Catholics were coming to be numerically and politically preponderant in Boston and many other Massachusetts cities, and when many New Englanders of the older stock were alarmed at the religious and racial transformation that was taking place, it was of importance that there appeared on the scene a very considerable number of Catholics who achieved distinction in this or that field, and who, by their character, their talents, or their public services, helped to dispel old prejudices and to prove the value of the contribution that their "element" might be expected to make to the life of the community. Limits of space preclude any attempt to give a full list of those who might be considered the outstanding Catholic figures of that time; but some examples deserve to be

cited — and, first of all, from among those who, as the phrase goes, were “born in the faith.”

The Catholic Irish-Americans first rose to political control in Boston under two leaders who, if not great statesmen, were men of marked ability and of the highest character and integrity, to whom public office was, indeed, a public trust. These were Hugh O'Brien, whose useful and honorable career has already been sketched, and Patrick Andrew Collins (1844-1905). The latter's story might pass as a typical saga of a poor immigrant boy who won fame and success. Brought to this country as an infant; forced to leave school while a mere lad in order to seek a job; working his way up through the coal-mines, the machine-shop, the upholstery store, a lawyer's office, the Harvard Law School, to the ranks of the legal profession; a member of the State House of Representatives at twenty-three and of the State Senate at twenty-six, and already distinguished for eloquence, skill, and wit as a debater and public speaker; the closest friend of John Boyle O'Reilly; a leader in Catholic activities, in Irish-American affairs, in Democratic State and national politics; Congressman from 1883 to 1889; Chairman of the Democratic National Convention in 1888; an important factor in the election of Grover Cleveland in 1892; American Consul-General in London from 1893 to 1897; twice elected Mayor of Boston by the largest majorities that any candidate had yet received (1901, 1903), but removed by death before the end of his second term — such is the outline of his career. The general esteem in which he was held here is shown by the monument to him in the Fenway, which was erected by public subscription in 1908. With him begins the period in which, save for two or three short intervals, Boston has constantly had Mayors of Irish blood and Catholic faith.²⁰

Among Catholic lawyers of the period perhaps the finest example was Charles Francis Donnelly (1836-1909), whose splendid defense of the Catholic school system in the battles of 1888-1889 has already been noticed here. A graduate of the Harvard Law School, a veteran of the Civil War, a brilliant

²⁰ On him see M. P. Curran, *Life of Patrick A. Collins* (Norwood, 1906).

legal practitioner, a scholar, a poet, a dignified and somewhat austere gentleman of the old school (though in his intimate circle he could be the most gracious, genial, and witty of companions), Mr. Donnelly was the soul of honor, high-mindedness, and generosity. The immense practice that he might have had was greatly curtailed because he insisted on giving half his time to the two absorbing interests of his life, the Church and charity. For forty years he was the legal counsel and trusted adviser of Archbishop Williams (whom in character he much resembled). For over thirty years he was a member of the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity (later called the State Board of Charity), rendering services of exceptional value and winning the gratitude and deep respect of the entire community.

A second eminent Catholic lawyer was Thomas J. Gargan (1844-1908). His grandfather was a hero and martyr of "the 1798" in Ireland. His father's home in Boston was a station on "the underground railway," and he never forgot the day when as a boy he penetrated into a forbidden room and found a black fugitive. After some service in the Civil War and some experience in business, he obtained admission to the bar, and for thirty years was one of the foremost trial lawyers in Boston. He also held numerous public offices, distinguished himself as a lecturer and public speaker, and took a prominent part in Catholic laymen's activities. He was an original member of that joyous group, the "Four of Us Club" (himself, John Boyle O'Reilly, P. A. Collins, and John F. McEvoy), which was later expanded into a dozen, and which met every Saturday for luncheon, a flow of wit, and discussions as to the great things that should happen in Boston as it became more and more Catholic. After 1890 that group was known as the John Boyle O'Reilly Club, and met for many years, with the eminent Jewish merchant, Mr. A. Shuman, attending to the material side of the festivities and serving *in loco parentis* to these brilliant "young men."²¹

²¹ Cf. *Thomas J. Gargan, a Memorial: with an Appendix Containing Addresses Delivered by Him on Various Occasions* (Boston, 1910).

John Francis McEvoy, of Lowell (1834-1883), was a third outstanding lawyer, a man of the highest character and the most winning personality, a tireless worker for every Catholic cause in the community, and, in particular, the trusted guide and warm friend of the Sisters of Charity in the upbuilding of their hospital and orphan asylum.²²

As examples of eminent Catholic physicians one may take — from among many — Dr. John G. Blake (1837-1918) and Dr. Michael F. Gavin (1844-1915).²³ Both rendered long and notable service to the City and the Carney Hospitals and to St. Elizabeth's; both took a considerable part in civic and, still more, in Catholic affairs. Dr. Blake, who was for many years Archbishop Williams' personal physician and close friend, left two distinguished sons in the medical profession, Dr. John Baptist Blake and Dr. Gerald Blake.

In the business world there was Thomas R. Looby (1807-1872), who came over from Ireland "with a fortune consisting of health, industry, hope, and twenty-five cents," as he liked to relate. He became one of the largest leather manufacturers in Salem, amassed what was then considered "a noble fortune," was a benefactor of many Catholic institutions and the founder, as we have seen, of the City Orphan Asylum.²⁴

There was Thomas B. Fitzpatrick (1844-1919), who at eighteen came to Boston to assume a two-dollar a week job and by the age of thirty had become a partner in the firm of Brown Durrell Company — the largest wholesale drygoods house east of Chicago. Later he became its president and treasurer. For many years he stood forth as not only one of the richest Catholics in this country, but as one of the most exemplary, devout, and generous.

There was not a good work started in the Diocese that he was not asked to take part in. He took that part gladly, willingly. . . . Not only that. He sought out his own methods of doing

²² Cf. the obituary notice in *The Pilot*, Nov. 17, 1883.

²³ On the former, see the obituary notice in *The Pilot*, March 9, 1918; on the latter, *Michael Freebern Gavin, a Biography, Edited by His Son, with an Introduction by Clarence John Blake, M.D.* (Cambridge, 1915).

²⁴ *Pilot*, Sept. 21, 1872.

good. . . . He was truly a great man, a great merchant, a model citizen, and he was all of these because he was a faithful and constant Catholic.²⁵

Though far less wealthy than Mr. Fitzpatrick, William S. Pelletier (1825-1915) deserves to be remembered as a successful merchant and banker, who was "a model of goodness in his personal life" and who took an active and useful part in almost every Catholic society and almost every Catholic charitable enterprise that was launched in Boston.

The artistic talent of the Irish race was exemplified by several Catholic sculptors who worked here during this period. Martin Milmore (1844-1883), a poor immigrant boy, established his reputation by the time he was twenty with his bust of Charles Sumner, now in the Capitol at Washington. He then produced a long series of portrait busts: of Pius IX, Cardinal McCloskey, Lincoln, Grant, Webster, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Wendell Phillips, and others. His masterpiece was the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument on Boston Common, which was dedicated in 1877 and for which he prepared himself by five years of laborious study in Rome. His brother Joseph (died 1886) was his constant collaborator, and the great monument to the Union dead in Mount Auburn Cemetery is their joint work. John Donoghue (1853-1903), a roving genius, resided here for some years and left such proofs of his talent as the bronze busts of Hugh O'Brien and John Boyle O'Reilly, now in the Boston Public Library.

Catholic writers were numerous here in the days of Archbishop Williams — to the point where there was much talk of the dawning of an important Catholic literary movement. In the field of scholarship it must be admitted that the output was disappointing. Some learned priests, such as the Very Rev. William Byrne, the Very Rev. John B. Hogan, S.S., Father Nicholas Russo, S.J., and Father Henry A. Barry, had each a volume or two to his credit, and usually many articles, but their work and influence could scarcely be compared with Brown-

²⁵ Words of His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell at Mr. Fitzpatrick's funeral Mass (*Sermons and Addresses of His Eminence*, VI, 202-205).

sons' a generation before. Rev. Joseph M. Finotti (1818-1879), an Italian-born priest of erudition, piety, and wit, alongside many translations and adaptations of foreign authors, produced one volume for which our Church historians will always bless his memory. This was his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana: a List of Works Written by Catholic Authors and Published in the United States. Part I. From 1784 to 1820 Inclusive* (New York, 1872). Indispensable as this bibliographical tool is now considered, at that time it encountered so indifferent a public that Father Finotti had not the courage to add the second volume which his learning and his rich private collection of books would have uniquely fitted him to write.

In the field of *belles-lettres* the Catholic output was much more creditable, although it revealed no writer of the first rank. The work of John Boyle O'Reilly, James Jeffrey Roche, and Katherine Conway in prose and verse has already been noticed. Mary Elizabeth Blake (1840-1907), the wife of Dr. John G. Blake, found time in the midst of a busy and fruitful life to produce five volumes of poems, "of lasting strength and sweetness," as well as three volumes of travel sketches. She was chosen as the laureate of Boston's commemoration of Wendell Phillips (1884), of the Catholic Union's festival in honor of Pius IX, of the Silver Jubilee of Archbishop Williams. Dr. Robert Dwyer Joyce (1832-1883) and Denis A. McCarthy (1871-1931) were poets who dealt chiefly with Irish themes, and who appealed deeply to the hearts of Irish-Americans.

Perhaps our nearest approach to a major poet was Louise Imogen Guiney (1861-1920). She was a soldier's daughter, and never forgot it: the only child of General Patrick R. Guiney. She was but sixteen on that March day when a malady, sprung from an old Civil War wound, struck him down in the streets of Boston, and, kneeling on the sidewalk, removing his hat and crossing himself, he yielded up his valiant soul to God. But the example and the memory of that idolized father moulded her life — his fervent Catholic faith, his brave, indomitable, and sunny spirit, his love of poetry and all that was high and pure and beautiful. Hers, too, was to be a life filled with crosses: the

constant struggle against penury, the deafness that early assailed her and more and more shut her off from her friends, the failure of many cherished plans, the sense of isolation in a world that seemed given over to commercialism, materialism, and insincerity. Against that world she entrenched herself in her spiritual castle: in her religion and in communion with noble minds of the past. She found her country of the heart in Merrie England—in the old Catholic England that had been in the Middle Ages, and which lived on in attenuated form under the Stuart kings, until Cromwell's Puritans unwittingly brought in the age of materialism and the worship of the golden calf. After winning recognition but scant financial rewards at home, after striving for some years to eke out her small income by serving as postmistress of Auburndale and then as a cataloguer in the Boston Public Library, in 1901 she transplanted herself definitively to England. Thenceforth she gave herself unrestrictedly to writing, spending laborious days in the Bodleian at Oxford (a library "mole," as she described herself), rambling through the Thomas valley and the Cotswolds, stinting herself on food and fuel to buy the books that she loved, and ultimately undermining her health thereby. "A creature shy, wild, and proud," with "something sprite-like about her,"²⁶ gay, fanciful, whimsical, but fundamentally very serious, she was endlessly painstaking in her scholarship, fastidious in taste, ardent and constant in her loyalties, a defender of many "lost causes," but essentially a champion of truths and ideals that never die. From the *Goose Quill Papers* of 1885 to *Patrins*, in 1897, she produced several volumes of ingenious and delightful essays. From the *Songs at the Start*, of 1884, to *Happy Ending*, in 1909, she brought forth one small volume after another of carefully chiseled, distinguished, and, in great part, exquisite verse.²⁷

²⁶ Katharine Tynan (Hinkson), *Memories* (London, 1924), p. 135.

²⁷ From the considerable literature that has sprung up about her mention can be made here only of:

Alice Brown, *Louise Imogen Guiney* (New York, 1921);

E. M. Tenison, *Louise Imogen Guiney: Her Life and Works* (London, 1923);

Grace Guiney (ed.), *Letters of Louise Imogen Guiney* (2 vols.: New York, 1926).

IV

The famous Dominican, Father Thomas N. Burke, on his return to Ireland from America, declared in a public address:

Of all the converts to Catholicity I have ever met, and I have encountered many of different nationalities, the most intellectual, the most fervent, the most simple-minded and religious are the converts from . . . New England Puritanism. They brought all the energy of their Pilgrim forefathers with them into the Church of God; they brought their Anglo-Saxon determination that, having seen the truth, they will stand by it to the end, fight for it, and, if necessary, die for it.²⁸

Whatever the relative merits of New England converts may have been, the list of those known to have been received into the Church in the time of Archbishop Williams is long and impressive.

One of the finest examples of ministerial converts was Rev. Henry L. Richards (1814-1903). Sprung from old Plymouth stock, rector for some years of an Episcopal parish in Columbus, Ohio, drawn towards Catholicism by the Oxford Movement, and received into the Church in 1852, he came to this Diocese in 1868 and henceforth resided in Boston and later in Winchester. A man of noble character and stainless life,

²⁸ William J. Fitzpatrick, *The Life of the Very Rev. Thomas N. Burke, O.P.*, II (London, 1886), 57-58.

Extensive lists of notable American converts to Catholicism have been compiled by:

Richard H. Clarke, "Our Converts," *Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, XVIII (1893), 539-561; XIX (1894), 112-138;

(Rev.) Alfred Young, C.S.P., *Catholic and Protestant Countries Compared* (New York, 1895), pp. 592-611;

Miss M. J. Regan, *Eminent Converts* (typescript in the library of the Boston Athenaeum).

Sketches of selected groups of converts, including many from this Diocese, are to be found in:

Georgina Pell Curtis (ed.), *Some Roads to Rome in America: Being Personal Records of Conversions to the Catholic Church* (St. Louis, 1909);

Katherine Burton, *In No Strange Land: Some American Catholic Converts* (New York, 1942);

Scannell O'Neill, "Some Mayflower Converts," *U.S. Cath. Hist. Soc., Records and Studies*, XV (1921), 79-88;

Annette S. Driscoll, *Literary Convert Women* (Manchester, N.H., 1928).

ardently and unwaveringly devoted to the religion that had cost him great sacrifices, and eager to advance that religion in every way in which a layman could serve, Henry L. Richards admirably illustrated the happy results of the union of Catholic faith and Puritan blood.²⁹ They were illustrated also in that rugged Cape-Codder, Rev. Joshua P. Bodfish (1839-1930) — Civil War veteran and sometime Episcopal minister, who, after his conversion and ordination in the Catholic Church, was for ten years a Paulist missionary throughout the United States, then (1875) attached himself to the Diocese of Boston, and served successively as Chancellor, Rector of the Cathedral, and pastor of St. John's, Canton, until failing health ended his active ministry in 1908. Other converts from Episcopalianism were Rev. Charles Rollin Brainard, formerly rector of a church in Quincy (received into the Catholic Church in 1873), Rev. Arthur Marsh Clark (received in 1883), and Rev. Frederick F. Sherman (1896), son of Judge Sherman, of the Massachusetts Superior Court — the last two being former curates of the Church of the Advent, Boston. Rev. James Field Spalding (1839-1921), who for twelve years had been rector of the historic Christ Church, Cambridge, one Sunday evening in 1891 announced in a moving address to a hushed congregation his decision to leave the Anglican communion and seek admission to the Church of Rome as the one Church founded by Jesus Christ. It is true that a momentary revulsion followed, a period of "doubts and pain," occasioned, probably, by the nervous strain produced by so great a parting. Once this crisis had been surmounted, however, Dr. Spalding became for the rest of his long life a firm and fervent Catholic and a zealous champion of the Church with tongue and pen. Rev. Henry Austin Adams, formerly rector of the Episcopal Cathedral in Buffalo, was received into the Catholic Church in 1893, and also served it notably as a lecturer and writer and for some years editor of *Donahoe's Magazine*.

²⁹ Cf. the beautifully written volume by his son, Rev. Joseph Havens Richards, S.J., *A Loyal Life: a Biography of Henry Livingston Richards, with Selections from His Letters and a Sketch of the Catholic Movement in America* (St. Louis, 1913).

Distinguished converts were equally numerous in the medical profession. Among them were Dr. Horatio Robinson Storer (1830-1922), one of the foremost surgeons of Boston in the mid-nineteenth century and the founder of gynecology here; Dr. Hasket Derby (1835-1914), a scion of a famous Salem family, one of the founders of American ophthalmology, and the pioneer in New England in the treatment of diseases of the eye; Drs. William H. Ruddick, William P. Derby, John Dean, John C. Warner, James Robie Wood, Thomas J. Lee, Elizabeth C. Keller (a pioneer among women physicians), and Myra de Normandie (daughter of the Unitarian divine, Dr. James de Normandie).

To cite but a few examples of converts drawn from other walks of life: among military men there were General John Gray Foster, famed for his share in the defense of Fort Sumter; General Charles P. Stone, a Mexican and Civil War veteran, known in Egypt as Ferik Pasha; Colonel Daniel S. Lamson, of Weston. Among journalists there was Charles W. Clapp, owner of the *Boston Saturday Evening Gazette*. Among lawyers there was Robert Morris, the first colored man to be admitted to the bar in America, and, next to Frederick Douglass, perhaps the foremost representative of his race in this country at that time. Among scientists there was Richard Bliss (1842-1920), the bibliographer of the United States Geological Survey and for over thirty years librarian of the Redwood Library at Newport, Rhode Island. Among artists there were the painters, Mrs. Sarah Josephine Tryon and Mrs. Elizabeth Washburn Brainerd, and the English-born sculptor, Samuel J. Kitson.

Particularly notable was the long array of converts from the illustrious families of this region. There was Nathaniel Hawthorne's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop (of whom more will be said later). There was Mrs. Marion Longfellow Morris, the niece of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; Miss Harriet Whittier, a cousin of the poet; Susanna Bancroft, a granddaughter of the historian, George Bancroft; Constance Edgar, Daniel Webster's granddaughter; Henrietta Dana Skinner,

daughter of Richard Henry Dana II; Miss Grace Sedgwick (Mrs. Charles Astor Bristed, whose son was a domestic prelate at Rome) and Miss Jane Sedgwick; Miss Augusta Clinton Winthrop, a descendant of Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and of Governor DeWitt Clinton, of New York; Miss Mary Quincy, daughter of Edmund Quincy and a cousin of Josiah Quincy, third Boston Mayor of that name; Miss Ruth Burnett, whose wealthy Episcopalian father was a founder of the Church of the Advent, Boston, and of St. Mark's School, Southboro. There was Robertson James (1846-1910), the brother of William James, the philosopher, and of Henry James, the novelist, and himself a man of talent — Civil War veteran, landscape painter, poet. There was Captain Julius A. Palmer (1840-1899), the seafaring and scientist brother of the Harvard philosopher, Professor George Herbert Palmer. There were Henry Adams Thayer, a nephew of Nathaniel Thayer; Walter P. Winsor, Jr.; Ransom B. Fuller, of Brookline, a Mayflower descendant, with his whole family; Miss Harriet Brewer Churchill, of a wealthy Unitarian family; Miss Julia Gorham Robins; Mrs. Harriet Trumbull Stickney, granddaughter of a Governor of Connecticut and mother of a well-known Harvard teacher and poet; Miss Matilda Dana, sister of General N. J. T. Dana; Mrs. William Croswell, widow of the first rector of the Church of the Advent; and many others.

Striking, too, is the number of converts from the great families who became nuns. Among them were the Misses Ruth Burnett, Constance Edgar, Helen J. Salter, Eulalia Tuckerman, Mary Cheney, Frances King, and Mary Torrens.

From the converts the Catholic literary movement of the time received a considerable impetus. Dr. James F. Spalding distinguished himself in the field of apologetics, particularly with the volume *The World's Unrest and Its Remedy* (New York, 1898). Emma Forbes Cary (1833-1918 — a convert of Bishop Fitzpatrick's time), Susan L. Emery, and Augusta Clinton Winthrop produced works of devotion in prose or verse. Mary Agnes Tincker (1831-1907), who had been received into the Church in her native town of Ellsworth, Maine, but who

resided through most of her life in Boston, was one of the foremost Catholic novelists of her generation.

Limits of space permit a more extended notice of only a few converts of that time.

We may, perhaps, lay some claim here to James Kent Stone (1840-1921), for he was born in Boston and graduated from Harvard College. His father, Rev. John Seely Stone, was rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, and later dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, while his mother was a daughter of the celebrated Chancellor James Kent, of New York, sometimes called "the American Blackstone." After three years in the Union army, young Stone took orders in the Episcopal Church and served successively as President of Kenyon College (Gambier, Ohio) and Hobart College (Geneva, New York). Handsome, talented, eloquent, cultivated, and utterly sincere, he seemed to have a brilliant career in store for him in the Anglican communion, but upon all such prospects he turned his back in order to follow the voice of conscience that drew him into the Catholic Church (1869). The year after this resounding conversion he explained his reasons in the volume *The Invitation Heeded*, which has sometimes been compared to Newman's *Apologia*. His wife's death made it possible for him to study for the priesthood, and after his ordination in 1872 he worked for some years as a Paulist. But it was only when he had made the supreme renunciation by allowing his two daughters to be adopted by a Catholic family that he was able to realize his desire of adopting a more rigorous way of life by joining the Passionist Congregation (1876). For nearly half a century thereafter he performed immense labors. Famous as a preacher, he was heard wellnigh everywhere throughout this country — even in the Harvard Chapel. For many years he worked in Latin America, establishing foundations of his order in the Argentine, Brazil, Panama, and Cuba. He served in Rome as Consultor to the General; he was Provincial in the United States, and again in South America. He was, probably, the most outstanding figure that his congregation has produced in this country. Father Fidelis of the Cross he was called in

religion, and through a long life filled with toil and self-sacrifice he lived up to all that was implied in that name.³⁰

Still more striking is the story of Nathaniel Hawthorne's daughter. Rose, the youngest child of the novelist and of Sophia (Peabody) Hawthorne, was born at Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1851. Inheriting the idealism as well as the rich cultural traditions of her family, widely traveled, widely read, gifted, beautiful, and high-spirited, she was married at the age of twenty to George Parsons Lathrop, a well-to-do New Yorker, who had adopted the calling of a man of letters. This talented couple, who were intensely devoted to each other, lived chiefly at Boston or Concord down to 1883, and thereafter at New York or New London. Both won celebrity in the literary world. He served as assistant editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, editor of the *Boston Courier*, literary editor of the *New York Star*; he was poet, essayist, dramatist; he edited the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne; his own works extended to fifteen volumes. She published one volume of verse — *Along the Shore* (1888) — and her *Memories of Hawthorne* (1897). In 1891 both of them were received into the Catholic Church, drawn to it simultaneously, though by different routes. Both became fervent Catholics. He rendered notable service in the foundation of the Catholic Summer School of America and in the establishment of the Paulist Apostolate of the Press. Both collaborated in the volume, *A Story of Courage*, a history of the Visitation Convent, Georgetown (1894).

But tragedy stalked that home. It appeared first in the death of their only child. It reappeared in the development of George Lathrop's one grave weakness, intemperance. Because of that, she separated from him in 1896, although relations were not totally broken off and she was with him when he died two years later. But during those two years she had launched out upon a great adventure. By chance, as it seemed, her attention had been drawn to the ravages of cancer among the poor and to the desolate lot of those who, afflicted with this dread disease

³⁰ Cf. Walter George Smith and Helen Grace Smith, *Fidelis of the Cross: James Kent Stone* (4th ed.: New York, 1926).

in incurable form, and therefore commonly turned away from hospitals, had to pass, in sordid tenements and in wellnigh total abandonment, the last agonizing period of their lives. With a sure Catholic instinct, she had seen that in order to forget her own pain and sorrow, she must lose herself in efforts to relieve the pain and sorrow of others. Hence in 1896, in the congested East Side of New York, she opened a home for the victims of incurable cancer. She was herself at first the whole staff. She had almost no money; she had nothing to give but her own tireless labor, by day and by night, to serve those from whom ordinary mortals often recoil with a shudder. She, "the dainty girl, who shrank from pain and ugliness, the woman who loved beauty and pleasant living, took that pain and ugliness into her arms."³¹ But from the humblest beginnings the work grew rapidly, and she built it up with the wisdom and courage of a field-marshal. The helpers that gathered around her were presently organized into a sisterhood, the Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer. Later they became a branch of the Sisters of St. Dominic. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop became Mother Alphonsa. The one-room hospice on the East Side grew into a large institution, St. Rose's Home; outside the city, at Hawthorne, New York, there sprang up the Rosary Hill Home and mother-house of the community; and the work has spread to other dioceses. When Mother Alphonsa died in 1926, the American press and public paid unanimous tribute to her as a heroine of charity and almost as a saint.³²

One of the foremost Catholic laymen of the period and the closest lay friend of Archbishop Williams was Dr. Thomas Dwight (1843-1911). He, too, came of distinguished lineage. His father sprang from a famous old New England family, while his mother was a daughter of Dr. John Collins Warren, the great Boston surgeon of his day, a granddaughter of Dr. John Warren, the founder of the Harvard Medical School, and a grand-niece of General Joseph Warren, who fell at Bunker

³¹ Katherine Burton, *Sorrow Built a Bridge* (New York, 1942), pp. 183-184.

³² On her, apart from the excellent volume by Katherine Burton cited above, there is the biography by her collaborator, Dr. James J. Walsh, *Mother Alphonsa: Rose Hawthorne Lathrop* (New York, 1930).

Hill. At the age of twelve, Thomas Dwight, Jr., was received into the Church along with his mother (his father becoming a Catholic only twenty years later, during his last illness). After graduation from the Harvard Medical School in 1867 and two years of higher studies in Europe, he began practice in Boston, soon establishing a reputation both as a physician and, still more, as a specialist in anatomy, particularly in osteology. From 1872 he was an instructor in the Harvard Medical School, and in 1883 he succeeded Oliver Wendell Holmes as Parkman Professor of Anatomy — a chair which he held until the time of his death.

Dr. Dwight's public services were manifold and marked. He was a teacher of the first rank; a member of the staff of several Boston hospitals; a pioneer and an authority in his favorite fields of research; a member of many scientific societies; a constant editor of, and contributor to, medical journals. The list of his published studies on scientific subjects includes not less than seventy-six items. He also found time to serve as a member of various City and State boards of charity and as a trustee of the Boston Public Library.

But the foundation and centre of his life was his Catholic faith. He was an ardent, practical, militant Catholic, as his Warren ancestors had been militant patriots. He was a president of the Catholic Union, a leader for many years in the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the founder of the Guild of Nocturnal Adoration, a fearless and eloquent champion of Catholic views or Catholic rights on many public occasions. His greatest literary service to the Faith was rendered through the volume published at the very end of his life and entitled *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist* (New York, 1911). In this fine work of apologetics, far from contenting himself with the usual defensive position — that Religion and Science, properly understood, never contradict one another — he passed over to the offensive and endeavored to show that the Catholic view of nature and man is grander, more logical, and more satisfying than that of modern Naturalism or Agnosticism. But he not only fought for his Faith: he lived it. He exemplified it in a character

marked by inflexible honesty, unflinching courage, kindliness, generosity, self-sacrifice, and every other trait of the true Christian gentleman. In the last two years of his life, knowing that he had an incurable cancer, he went calmly about his business as usual, lecturing, researching, writing almost to the very end — giving an object-lesson, deeply impressive to all who knew him, that the Catholic Faith enables a man to face the sharpest pain and an impending sentence of death with perfect resignation, serene courage, and even a smile.³³

³³ Among the numerous sketches of Dr. Dwight that appeared after his death, perhaps the best account is that by Sir Bertram Windle, *Thomas Dwight (1843-1911)* (n.p., n.d.), in the *Catholic Men of Science Series* (pamphlets). The present writer is under deep obligations to Mr. Joseph Dwight for the privilege of using his collection of his father's letters and papers.

CHAPTER XVI

THE END OF AN ERA (1898-1907)

I

THE LAST DECADE of Archbishop Williams' reign was a quiet and prosperous period, in which, as has already been described, Catholic immigration reached unprecedented heights, and the multiplication of parishes and the building of churches went on apace.

The War of 1898 with Spain was too brief and one-sided a contest to impose a severe strain upon the nation, but in proportion to the opportunities afforded them Catholics again proved themselves no whit inferior to any of their fellow countrymen in patriotism and valor (despite all prognostications of the expiring American Protective Association). For us particular interest attaches to the Ninth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, that Catholic regiment which had made so glorious a record in the Civil War, and which this time, too, was made up almost entirely of Irish-Americans, chiefly from Boston. Again they set off bearing (alongside the Stars and Stripes) the green flag of Erin — until the Secretary of War, under A.P.A. influence, forbade its display. Sent very quickly to Cuba, the Ninth spent eighteen days in the trenches before Santiago, and had some share in the fighting. One American general officer who saw them go into action was afterwards quoted as saying:

Before entering on the firing line the officers, baring their heads, knelt, the men imitating their example, and invoked the blessing of God on the work they were about to perform. He said it was the most touching sight he ever witnessed, one that sent a thrill of reverence through his whole frame. . . . The old flag was safe in the hands of such men, who were not ashamed of their God and their religion.¹

¹ *Pilot*, Sept. 17, 1898.

This time, however, the Ninth had little chance to cover themselves with glory in combat. Their lot it was to fall victims, not to the valor of the enemy, but to the gross mismanagement of the War Department. They suffered from poor equipment, lacking, especially, the smokeless powder which the United States regulars and the Spaniards had; and hence they had to be sent to the rear before the climax of the fighting. They suffered from wretched food — “unfit for dogs, let alone men,” as one indignant witness put it. Because of poor sanitary service they suffered horribly from malarial fever and other diseases — more than any other Massachusetts regiment. A brave sight they were when they set off that spring; but they came back in September decimated, “hollow-eyed, with sunburnt cheeks and wasted frames,” “poor, weak, tottering creatures, stumbling along, scarce able to walk.” ‘Not for many days had such a pathetic spectacle been witnessed in Boston as the appearance of the Ninth Regiment on its return from the war.’² Among their dead were three most gallant officers: Colonel Fred B. Bogan, Major Michael J. O’Connor, and Major Patrick J. Grady.

Like most wars in our history, the Spanish-American War appears to have helped considerably to quiet anti-Catholic bigotry. The only secret society that attempted to renew the exploits of the A.P.A. in the next decade, the American Minute Men, scarcely achieved even notoriety. The election of 1901, as we have already seen, brought the Irish-American majority back into control — and almost constant control — of the city government of Boston. Catholics, who had had since 1888 but slight representation, if any at all, on the Boston School Committee, regained a strong position in it through the Democratic landslide of 1903. Two years later the one serious Catholic grievance that remained, as far as religious liberty and equality in this Commonwealth were concerned, was at last remedied.

This grievance related to the treatment of neglected or dependent Catholic children who became the wards of the State. As has already been pointed out, the settled policy of the State

² *Pilot*, Sept. 10, 17, 1898.

Board of Charities and other State boards and institutions was to find new homes for such children in the country districts, and in the vast majority of cases in Protestant families, despite the likelihood that the children would then be brought up as Protestants and would be denied the right to follow the religion of their parents and of their baptism. For thirty years a deaf ear had been turned to all Catholic demands that Catholic children should be placed in Catholic families, or at least should be guaranteed the right to practice their own religion no matter in what homes they might be placed. The stereotyped reply was that it was very difficult to find good Catholic homes (though there were two hundred thousand Catholic families in Massachusetts from which to choose!), and, moreover, that "sectarian" considerations must not be injected into the administration of public charity. Thus, by a paradox worthy of *Alice in Wonderland*, it was made to appear that it was not "sectarian" to use the power of the State in such a way as, in effect, compelled Catholic children to become Protestants, but that any measures designed to assure to Catholic children the right to remain Catholics were a form of sectarianism intolerable in this land of religious liberty!

In 1901 a more effective movement was launched to remedy these conditions. After Archbishop Williams had called attention to the gravity of the problem at the May clergy conferences, in December a committee of priests was formed to study the question. In the following year, through the coöperation of the other two dioceses in Massachusetts, this was broadened into an all-State committee. One fruit of its action was the opening in Boston on January 1, 1903, of a Central Bureau of Information, in the Colonial Building, under the executive charge of Father Joseph G. Anderson. This bureau undertook to keep a catalogue of all Catholic children in the care of State, municipal, and private charities, with data as to the placing out of such children and their religious history. It also prepared a directory of Catholic homes suitable for receiving the wards of the State. This Central Bureau of Information was in the next episcopate to evolve into the present Catholic Charitable Bu-

reau of the Archdiocese. The all-State Committee also enrolled a corps of volunteer visitors, scattered throughout the Commonwealth, whose functions were to report all cases of Catholic children taken over by the State, to keep an eye on these children after they were placed out, and to report any instance in which such children were placed in Protestant families. But perhaps the most important work of the Committee was to enlighten and arouse public opinion over this question. The few Catholic members of State boards no longer felt themselves fighting as isolated individuals: they now found the Catholic clergy and laity behind them. And whatever bigots might think, the great majority of Protestants were too fair-minded not to admit the justice of the Catholic claim, once it was adequately presented to them.

By 1904 Charles F. Donnelly, the tireless champion of this cause, was able to persuade his colleagues of the State Board of Charity to enact regulations substantially satisfying Catholic demands. The Overseers of the Poor and the trustees of the children's institutions of Boston had long been applying much the same rules. But to overcome the narrow-mindedness entrenched in some State institutions, particularly in certain industrial schools, a general law was needed. Hence, in the Legislature of 1905 Charles H. Adams, of the State Board of Charity, introduced a bill drafted by Mr. Donnelly, which guaranteed to every minor ward of the State the right to the free exercise of the religious belief of his parents. Some of the foremost Republican newspapers shrieked furiously against this "hysterical legislation," this "attempt to introduce religious sectarianism into the charities and into the politics of the State." Some Republican political leaders fought strenuously to kill the measure. But public opinion made itself vigorously felt — and, as always in Massachusetts, in the long run, on the side of true liberality. The bill went through, and this thirty years' war was ended with a triumph for Catholic and for genuine American principles.³

That, in general, an era of good feeling had set in after the

* *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1905*, Chapter 464.

storms of the A.P.A. period was shown in 1903, when news arrived of the death of Pope Leo XIII, and the Unitarian, Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist churches of Boston joined with the Catholics in tolling their bells for half an hour in honor of that great Pontiff. Each year, too, as his birthdays came around, the newspapers vied with each other in praise of Boston's venerable Archbishop. Though the latter's modesty shrank back from public celebrations of his anniversaries, he did permit some observance of his eightieth birthday in 1902. The chief feature of it was a dinner tendered to him by the clergy of the Diocese and the bishops of the Province, at which many loving tributes were paid to him, and he replied with a speech of such perfect sincerity and unusual frankness as deeply touched all hearts. In 1903 the centenary of the dedication of the Boston Cathedral was celebrated according to plans arranged by the New England Catholic Historical Society. At a great meeting in Symphony Hall, on September 29th, Father Peter Ronan, Dr. Dwight, Thomas J. Gargan, Mayor Collins, and others reviewed one hundred years of Catholic history in Boston; but again the climax of the evening was a reminiscent speech by the Archbishop — himself the living epitome and, in great part, the architect of that history. That was his last notable public address.

II

Down through his eightieth year Archbishop Williams had seldom known a day of illness. After that time signs of the infirmities of age began to multiply. "The eyes, the ears, and the teeth are failing fast with the passing years," he wrote to his friend Bishop McQuaid early in 1903.⁴ Now and then sickness laid him low for a week or two. It was the eyes that gave him the most trouble. By the end of 1904, cataracts had formed on both, and, threatened with total blindness, he was obliged for some time to avoid all public appearances and keep to his apartments. This crisis was, however, happily surmounted. By oper-

⁴April 30, 1903 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

ations performed at the Carney Hospital on January 17 and November 16, 1905, Dr. Hasket Derby successfully removed both cataracts. During the last years of his life the Archbishop could read and write without difficulty, although obliged to be careful about the use of his eyes.

At any rate, the obvious waning of his physical powers had revived in his mind the project, shelved since 1891, of obtaining a coadjutor. At a meeting of the bishops of the Province on April 15, 1903, he first brought up that question again, dwelling upon his own advancing years and the advisability of securing the succession without an interregnum after his death. His suffragans having concurred, somewhat later in the year he asked for and obtained the Holy See's permission to initiate action for the appointment of a coadjutor with right of succession. Early in 1904 the machinery was set in motion. On April 4th the consultors and permanent rectors of the Diocese met and drew up their *terna* — their list of three names to be submitted to Rome. On April 7th the bishops of the Province gathered and agreed upon the three names that they favored. The archbishops of the country were, of course, called upon to transmit their views to the Holy See.

Rome's decision was long delayed — and not unnaturally. It was a question of appointing the future head of the second strongest Archdiocese in the United States. Moreover, it is an open secret — broadcast in a thousand newspaper articles at that time — that the two men whose names came chiefly into consideration for this position were the Most Rev. William H. O'Connell, Bishop of Portland, and the Most Rev. Matthew Harkins, Bishop of Providence; and both were prelates of outstanding talents and merits. Finally, early in 1906 word arrived that the Holy Father, sanctioning what the Congregation of the Propaganda had voted wellnigh unanimously, had appointed Bishop O'Connell. Who can doubt today that Rome, with its usual wisdom, had chosen by far the stronger and abler man?

Fortified and consoled and with his burdens lightened by this appointment, Archbishop Williams in his last year seemed to enjoy excellent health. After going through most of his

usual round of duties, after attending, for instance, the meeting of the archbishops in Washington in April, 1907, and the annual Festival of the Clergy at the Seminary in Brighton in June, on July 2nd he departed for his customary vacation with Bishop McQuaid at the latter's country-place at Hemlock Lake, New York. The first month was passed pleasantly enough, in the usual fishing, reading, and lounging. In August, however, he experienced recurrent attacks of a digestive disorder, which produced somewhat alarming symptoms. Delaying his return to Boston, nevertheless, until the appointed time, he came home (August 21st) fatigued and obviously unwell.

His physician, Dr. John G. Blake, prescribed rest and quiet, and forbade his illustrious patient to attend the annual retreat of the clergy at Brighton. The Archbishop, convinced that he was suffering but a passing ailment, protested: "I am getting along very well. I have my work to do, and it must be done." For another week, and indeed until thirty-six hours before his death, he insisted on continuing his usual occupations. But his strength ebbed constantly. He had no particular disease: it was merely a case of the gradual and painless decline of the vital faculties attendant upon extreme old age. One week after his return, on the 28th, the final crisis set in. The following day he rallied slightly, but on the morning of Friday, the 30th, he was so weak that it was evident that the end was close at hand. At Dr. Blake's advice, his confessor, Father Andrew Wynn, C.S.S.R., was summoned; and thereafter he received the Last Sacraments from the hands of Archbishop O'Connell, with serene faith and perfect acceptance of the will of God. As the day advanced, he grew for a time somewhat delirious: among the disjointed words that came from his lips those about him distinguished "Church" and "glory"; and his right hand was often feebly raised as if to give a last blessing to his people. Towards evening, as the prayers for the dying were being recited at his bedside by the Coadjutor and a group of priests — members of the household and old friends who had been called in — the venerable patient rallied briefly, affirmed with a nod that he could hear the prayers, and haltingly uttered the suitable

responses. Soon afterwards he appeared to lapse into a coma. The end came at 9:03 that evening. "His death was like the snuffing out of a candle, and as peaceful. There were no evidences of pain. Out of what seemed to the watchers around his bedside like a deep, dreamless slumber, he passed into the presence of his Maker." ⁵

As soon as the dreaded but not unexpected news spread round the city that "The Archbishop is dead," all the bells of Boston burst into lamentation — the fire bells, the great bell on Faneuil Hall, the bells of the churches of all denominations. During the two days (Monday and Tuesday) when the body of the deceased prelate lay in state in the Cathedral, an unceasing stream of mourners filed past the casket from morn till midnight, an endless human chain — about one hundred thousand persons, so it was estimated. "No such scene had been witnessed in Boston at public obsequies," one newspaper reported. ⁶

In preparing for the solemn funeral Mass, some difficulties were encountered in securing a preacher for so great an occasion. Cardinal Gibbons was first invited to deliver the eulogy of the late Archbishop. He begged to be excused, however, because of the great strain that this would impose upon his health, already weakened by traveling and by the shock caused by the death of his beloved and lifelong friend. Strong efforts were then made to induce Bishop McQuaid to undertake the task, but the reply was that he was utterly prostrated by the loss of his closest friend and recent guest, and would be unable even to attend the funeral. At the insistence of the older priests of the Diocese, Archbishop O'Connell then consented to assume this grave and mournful duty. ⁷

Impressive in the extreme were the scenes on the day of the funeral, Wednesday, September 4th. The Cathedral was, of course, packed with an immense congregation, which included the highest dignitaries of the State and City and many representatives of Protestant denominations. A Cardinal, five other

⁵ *Boston Herald*, Aug. 31, 1907.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 4, 1907.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1907.

archbishops, thirteen bishops, and many hundreds of priests were present. Outside the Cathedral thousands of people lined the adjacent streets. Over all public buildings flags were at half-mast, and once more all the bells of Boston tolled. Cardinal Gibbons was celebrant of the Mass, and Archbishop O'Connell, in a clear voice that could be heard to the farthest extremities of that great auditorium, delivered a eulogy which was both a masterpiece of character analysis and a beautiful and touching tribute of filial affection. And then, when the last absolution had been given, the body of Archbishop Williams was borne to the basement of the Cathedral he had built and buried in the crypt under the high altar, to rest beside two friends whom he had dearly loved in life, Bishop Fitzpatrick and Father Lyndon.

III

Before taking leave of that venerated figure, it remains to sketch more fully than has yet been done in these pages his character and personality.

In appearance Archbishop Williams was tall, well-built, and stately, with well-chiseled features, lustrous dark eyes, a ruddy complexion, and abundant dark hair that later turned to white. Those who remembered him as a young bishop described him as at that time the handsomest man in New England.⁸ Even in extreme old age he retained his clear complexion, firm, elastic step, erect bearing, and commanding presence. Well versed and most graceful in all priestly functions, and endowed with a magnificent voice, he was the ideal of dignity in the sanctuary: indeed, when, towering in height and clothed in pontifical vestments, he turned to address or bless his people, he seemed like a new Ambrose or Augustine.

He possessed a robust constitution, and safeguarded it by a careful and regular mode of living. Except for the many occasions when he had to be away for confirmations, dedications, or other duties, his daily routine for forty years remained fixed

⁸ *Pilot*, Sept. 7, 1907.

and substantially as follows. He rose each morning at six, devoted half an hour to prayer and meditation, said Mass in the Cathedral at seven, breakfasted at eight, and throughout the forenoon attended to correspondence and to his numerous visitors. The midday dinner was followed by a brief nap and then a carriage ride — and for many years he delighted to do the driving himself and insisted on having a fast horse. After supper at six, the whole evening was again given to work, to letters, accounts, studying, planning. He retired shortly before ten.⁹ Moderate and cautious in all things, he was abstemious at the table and indulged in no stimulants, except that for the sake of sociability he sometimes took a glass of wine or half-smoked a cigar. In the summer he allowed himself a vacation of three weeks, which towards the end of his life gradually grew to six. For many years he spent these holidays in the Adirondacks, hunting and fishing in the company of a few clerical friends. About the age of sixty, however, deeming it advisable to change to a less strenuous form of outing, he found what seemed to him an ideal vacation resort at Bishop McQuaid's "farm" at Hemlock Lake. This sylvan retreat was situated high in the hills of Western New York; it was picturesque, cool, quiet, secluded, free from telephones, uninvited guests, and mosquitoes; it afforded good fishing; and not the least of its attractions was the companionship of Bishop McQuaid, his closest friend in the hierarchy. The two men were, as was often remarked, the very antitheses of each other in manner and temperament, the one the most taciturn and the other the most loquacious of American bishops. But they were very nearly of the same age and, of the same length of time in the episcopate, they had similar problems and interests; and, at all events, each seemed to find in the other the qualities he lacked or the company that he desired. For the last twenty-five years of his life the annual sojourn at Hemlock Lake was one of the chief joys of Archbishop Williams' existence.

Although well versed in the ecclesiastical sciences and well informed about a wide range of other subjects, Archbishop

⁹ *Boston Post*, Dec. 3, 1899; *Pilot*, Sept. 7, 1907, etc.

Williams made no pretensions to great learning or scholarship, and he could scarcely be called a man of outstanding intellectual genius. His abilities were rather of the practical order.

He was, as has frequently been brought out in these pages, an excellent administrator and man of business. Seldom, perhaps, has there been a man more careful about the distribution of his time or more concerned to make every minute count. One who knew him well, wrote:

He has always been a model of fidelity and punctuality in the discharge of his duties. He never neglects or forgets an appointment, never misses a train, is always prompt and ready when the appointed hour arrives, and always careful and exact in carrying out the minutest details of the business in hand.

Every duty got its own time and its full meed of attention, from his *ad limina* visits to Rome to the smallest detail of everyday affairs.

Whatever he took in hand, from the children's Sunday school to the gravest and most delicate matters of administration, was perfectly well done.¹⁰

Prudence, courage, foresight, persistence, the ability to bide his time until the right moment for action had come, sound and independent judgment, leadership — all these qualities he had in marked degree. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that a certain overtrustfulness in others or a desire to leave to his subordinates as much freedom as possible sometimes caused him to stay his hand when it would have been better to exert his authority. That he was great in council and for many years ranked as "the Nestor of the American hierarchy" needs scarcely to be repeated here.

But the real greatness of the man lay less in his talents than in his character. In character he differed signally from all his predecessors in the See of Boston, and at first sight might seem conspicuous chiefly for what he lacked. He had not the wit, vivacity, enthusiasm, and irresistible magnetism of Bishop Cheverus, nor Bishop Fenwick's Southern warmth and gayety, nor the genial charm of Bishop Fitzpatrick. On the contrary,

¹⁰ Katherine E. Conway, in *Pilot*, May 4, Sept. 7, 1907.

he was reserved, silent, gravely and distantly polite, austere in his life and bearing, retiring, averse to all publicity. One might have been tempted to conclude that the chill of New England had frozen his Irish blood, and turned a Celt into a somewhat extreme example of a well-known Yankee type. He had, indeed, not a few Yankee traits, like many another New Englander with Irish forefathers. In many ways he resembled Calvin Coolidge — and there were as many stories told about his taciturnity. One of the best of them is the tale of the evening at Hemlock Lake when Bishop McQuaid, a little tired of bearing all the brunt of the conversation, determined for once to say nothing and thus force the Archbishop to talk. All through supper they sat in total silence. They smoked their cigars on the veranda in total silence. About nine the Archbishop rose and announced that he was going to retire — then added, doubtless with a twinkle in his eye: “But I want to tell you, Bishop, this has been one of the pleasantest evenings I’ve had in a long time.”

His economy of speech was matched by the terse, laconic style of his letters. Although he was a forceful and effective preacher, all through his priestly life he showed a strange diffidence about appearing in the pulpit and avoided it when possible. (It is only fair to add, however, that even as Bishop and Archbishop he long continued to take his turn with the other clergy of the Cathedral in delivering the sermon at the Sunday High Mass, and for years he preached every Friday evening in Lent.) Outside the pulpit his public addresses throughout forty years could almost be counted on one’s fingers. He was wellnigh inaccessible to interviewers. He could not be drawn into society. When Phillips Brooks and a few others attempted to induce him to join their favorite club, he replied, “No, my place is among my people.”¹¹ Twice, it is said, Harvard offered him an honorary degree, and twice he begged to be excused from accepting such a distinction.¹² “He

¹¹ *Pilot*, May 4, 1907.

¹² *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907. No mention of this appears in the Harvard records, but it is probable that, as is normally done in such cases, these

had a deep and abiding feeling for his country and her institutions, and he loved Massachusetts more than any other State in the Union, and Boston more than any other city in the country.”¹³ At his Golden Jubilee in 1895 he spoke touchingly of “the good old city of Boston.” “I have always lived in it,” he said, “and, except the years I spent in college, I have lived in Boston from the time I was born. I have, therefore, loved it and do love it above all else on earth.” Nevertheless, he not only abstained from any intervention in politics, but he seldom associated himself openly with public movements, he attended no large public meetings that were not of a Catholic character, he concealed as much as possible the manifold and very real services that he rendered to his country and community. His generous check was always quickly forthcoming in any public emergency and for many a good cause not specifically Catholic; he gave books to the Public Library; he served as an officer of more than one secular beneficent society; he was willing to join even with such extreme anti-Catholics as Dr. A. A. Miner in a petition to close the saloons on Sunday;¹⁴ he was probably the most effective man in the community in upholding law and order in moments of excitement or racial and religious strife. But he had almost a horror of drawing the world’s attention to himself, of appearing, as the modern phrase goes, “before the spot-light.” He seldom spoke out to express Catholic views to the general public or to defend the Church when it was stridently attacked. To some impatient Catholics at that time it seemed that the Archbishop was too self-effaced, too passive, too silent, too timid, and that the Church was quite too long and too unnecessarily hiding in the Catacombs.

All these negative qualities of his had, of course, their qualifications. Distant and stern as he might ordinarily appear,

offers were not formal ones, but preliminary soundings to see whether the prospective recipient would be willing to accept a degree.

¹³ Words of Cardinal Gibbons, quoted from the *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907.

¹⁴ The *Boston City Archives* contain such a petition, of November, 1873, headed by Bishop Williams and signed by many Catholic priests and Protestant ministers.

within the circle of his intimate friends he could at times show himself a ready and entertaining talker, a hearty soul, keenly alive to human interests and able to appreciate the fun of existence. For all his undemonstrative nature, he undoubtedly had a warm heart and dearly loved his friends. In the course of his long life he had not a few intimates: apart from Bishop McQuaid, there were Bishop Fitzpatrick, Father Lyndon, Father (later Bishop) James A. Healy (of whom he said: "We were just like two brothers. No one was more dear to me than he"), Father Sherwood Healy, Dr. Blake, Dr. Dwight, Charles F. Donnelly, John Boyle O'Reilly, and several others. An attraction somewhat similar to that of the talkative Bishop of Rochester united him to Father Hugh P. Smyth; and in general he loved the older priests of the Diocese, those who had been with him from very near the beginning. Even with the laity he could sometimes talk freely and genially — at a Sunday school festival, a choir-boys' supper, the Wednesday evening gatherings of the Catholic Union, and elsewhere.

Those negative qualities also had their compensating advantages. If he usually said very little, what he did say often had the weight of gold. One lifelong associate declared: "He had the most wonderful power of expression, and could boil down what he had to say into about six words. His answer was such that there was nothing else to say."¹⁵ If his letters were superlatively brief, "he could get more into two lines than any man living."¹⁶ Moreover, he once explained himself by saying: "I shall never be sorry for what I did not write." Old fears and oft-repeated charges about the aggressive and domineering spirit of "the Romish hierarchy" were singularly belied by an Archbishop who attended so strictly to his own business and refrained so scrupulously from action outside his own sphere.

These negative traits can doubtless be explained in part by his prudence, his humility, or his need to economize on time and effort. But one is tempted to surmise that in great part

¹⁵ Dr. John G. Blake, in *Bernard C. Kelley Papers*, in the possession of the Boston office of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

¹⁶ Katherine E. Conway, quoted from the *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 31, 1907.

they were the effects of a constitutional shyness, diffidence, and difficulty in mingling easily with other people. One remembers the quiet, retiring boy who so often buried himself at home with a book instead of joining in the games, the pranks, or the fights of his fellows. As a man he then had the courage to accept his limitations, to try to turn them as far as possible to positive advantage, and, as far as they remained defects, to offset them by developing to the utmost the stronger qualities that nature and grace had given him.

The outstanding virtues in his character have never been so beautifully portrayed as in the eulogy delivered at his funeral by his Coadjutor. From that analysis by a master hand the following excerpt is taken.¹⁷

IV

The force which dominated his life was one idea, which with him was ever present, constantly abiding, and never dormant — he lived in the presence of God. Upon that single thought his whole life was reared. And out of the unity of that force was developed the trinity of virtues which animated every single action which he performed, namely, justice, charity, sincerity. And this triple force was visible in everything about him, and out of this tremendous power-house radiated all the complex energies which, reaching to the very ends of the last of his responsibilities, vitalized them with active and faithful result as lasting as it was thorough. It was no spasmodic force impatient for quick success; it was calm, even, and resolute, willing to wait with the patience of God Himself. For results, if not the best as he wished them, were, nevertheless, he was confident, those at least which God permitted. That was sufficient for him, and once he had done his best nothing could

¹⁷ This eulogy is published in *Sermons and Addresses of His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston*, III (Boston, 1922), 61-71. It was recently reprinted in *A Tribute of Affectionate Memory to Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, by His Successor, William Cardinal O'Connell, August 30, 1940* (Boston, 1940), a brochure which also gives an illuminating and delightful sketch of our first Archbishop. Of the numerous accounts of his life and character that appeared in periodicals soon after his death, the fullest and most useful is: "The Late Most Rev. John Joseph Williams, D.D.," in *Donahoe's Magazine*, LVIII (Oct., 1907), 337-391.

disturb him. He knew that God rules His Church and that sublime faith sustained him perseveringly. To Him he attributed whatever of good came through his instrumentality, and to himself he humbly attributed the imperfection of results. And when matters proved too much for his strength or beyond his control, he sincerely and confidently relied more on the wisdom and power of God than on any potency of his own. It was this attitude, at once sensible and supernatural, that gained for him that imperturbable calmness when another would have chafed with futility. God knows all; God sees all. That for him was strength and consolation.

The dominant virtue of this triple groundwork of his character was his strong and immutable sense of justice. To each his due — that was the keynote of his whole make-up. And so strong was this sentiment of his soul that his very body breathed it out. He stood straight and walked erect. Rectitude was enthroned upon his brow. Neither fear nor favor could ever sway him from the perfectly straight line of most scrupulous equity, as he understood the relations of things. The rights of the humblest and lowliest were absolutely safe in his hands, and he would forfeit a friend, dear as friendship was to his loyal heart, rather than by a hair's breadth waver in his absolute respect of the sacred rights even of those who in justice had little right to consideration. Indeed, so delicate was this sentiment with him, that, lest impartiality should suffer, they were surest of favor who deserved the least. To him law was life. In solemn respect for what the law decreed, he was Roman to the core. What is enjoined? What forbidden? What allowed? These questions were asked and answered before he permitted himself a single act which concerned another's interest. And when his action thus judicially was once placed, he neither fretted nor worried about the consequences. And I say without hesitation that no one who ever had dealings with him ever doubted the perfect honesty of his judgment and the absolute disinterestedness of his purpose, even though they differed with him in opinion.

It was this which gave majesty to his régime. His dictum — not my wish nor your wish, but what is right — that was the sacred motto, which as years went on made his seat of judgment a tower of strength. In his official life he owned neither friend

nor enemy, but he made of his very enemies by his perfect uprightness staunch adherents.

To each his due — that was his law. The law of the Church and the law of State were each in its own sphere but a manifestation of the law of God. And they were sacred to him not merely in the bulk, but he revered their very smallest detail. He manfully enjoyed freedom when the law set no prohibition to his action. He loved freedom as he loved law. In his ecclesiastical station when his opinion was asked he gave it without the smallest regard for what a petty man would consider either policy or shrewdness; and if his opinion or decision were reversed by those above him, without argument or contention he accepted instantly and irrevocably; not in mere outward submission only, but in mind and heart. The law had spoken; to him that was final. And this innate veneration and unhesitating compliance with the ordinance of a superior authority was so natural to him that he could never understand a different attitude in those under him. He himself was a model of respect for authority, and the lack of it in another was like a heinous crime. And this reverence extended not merely to the impersonal law, but was extended to him who represented the law, whoever he might be. I well remember when ten years ago I enjoyed with him the privilege of an audience with the great Leo, and the impression of the childlike humility and veneration of the Archbishop, already past his seventy-fifth year, manifested in the most touching manner toward the supreme Pastor of the Church, will remain with me forever. The youngest and humblest cleric in his own diocese could never exceed the childlike reverence of this aged man toward his spiritual chief. He was a nobleman in every fibre of his being, with that true aristocracy which is always evidenced by profound reverence for superiors and scrupulously delicate consideration for equals and inferiors.

The laws which governed his civil life, also, were to him, I have already said, another manifestation of God's overruling providence, and his conscience was so delicate about their observance by himself and all under him that even in what might appear trivial details he enforced a rigid observance. And the people of this Commonwealth will never know what a rock of strength the sacredness of its authority had in his counsel and

his command. He loved his birthplace with an affection that was sacred. The prosperity and peace of this State was the constant object of his prayers; and to the harmonizing of clashing interests he would willingly have given his very life. He well realized that the only strength of a community must come from the observance of just laws honestly made and faithfully obeyed. And he had no patience with any child of the Faith who failed in this solemn duty. No wonder that with the extreme sense of justice, this delicate reverence for the majesty of law and the dignity of its representatives, he enforced from those whom he ruled something of the sentiment which he spontaneously and ungrudgingly offered to those who in turn ruled him. And, if it be true that no man can be trusted to govern who has not learned to obey, his perfect obedience entitled him to the lofty seat which he held among the rulers of God's people.

The second notable trait of his character was charity. If less manifest to the general eye than his justice, it was in reality even more active in his inner life. It was a strange phenomenon that his justice was so conspicuous, while his charity he constantly endeavored to conceal. It was this peculiar combination which made him oftentimes so little understood except by those privileged few who saw the intimate working of his kind heart. And that, too, was why those who really knew him were bound to him with an affection stronger than death. His official acts, deciding between interest and interest, he wanted the world to know. In that the glory of his office was concerned. His charity he hid almost bashfully, for he sought no glory for himself. Nay, he seemed to resent almost gratitude. The world knew him as stately almost to coldness, but those who knew him only thus never really knew him at all. And he almost feared, it would seem, as if the traits which most kindled affection and attachment might ever be discovered. Few who knew him casually or officially would ever even suspect the tenderness of his Celtic heart. But, though this revelation was reserved to the very few, everyone knew how he was stung often to open rebuke by one uncharitable word uttered in his presence against another.

He had in his charity a merciful tolerance that was like almost to God's. To those who could walk alone he proffered

no help lest it might hurt their own sense of self-respect, but to the tottering and the fallen, like Christ Himself, he gave affectionate assistance with scarcely even a gentle reproof. In this he was generous almost to a fault, but he once said himself that he would rather fail in that direction than err in the opposite one. And in this he must have remembered the words of the Prophet foreshowing the charity of Christ when he said, "The bruised reed He shall not break and the smoking flax He shall not quench."

In his long reign he suffered much that no one will ever know from the inconsiderateness of others. Little as he appeared to feel it, he shrunk from it with the sensitiveness of a woman, but no one ever heard even a murmur of complaint. Much of his reticence was due to the fear that any slightest word of his might work an injury to another. And even where the fault was clearly obvious, whatever he thought, he either never spoke, or else spoke only to palliate the offense. And I honestly believe that in this trait he was equal to many of the greatest Saints of God. And as charity is above all other virtues, his heroic practice of this virtue will give him a place near to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Who loved and exalted charity even above faith itself, and in whose eternal kingdom this virtue reigns supreme.

Finally, the third mainspring of his life was sincerity. His justice, by that I mean his interpretation of the law, might be disputed, for he was after all human and therefore fallible, but his sincerity, that is, the absolute singleness and simplicity of his motives, could never be questioned. He never laid claim to indisputable wisdom; indeed, it never even surprised him that another should think differently from himself. But I am convinced that he would have died rather than be guilty of the smallest duplicity. His opinion he never forced upon anyone who had the right to think otherwise, but what he said he meant without cavil or without quibbling.* He was so direct both in mental vision and speech that he was almost obtuse to reading between lines or hinting between words. In his make-up there was the most complete negation of anything and everything that even most remotely savored of sham or labored for effect. What was, was, and no artificiality could cover up for him the reality of things. And if anything in the world could

arouse him to a momentary feeling of resentment it was certainly deception. No weakness of humanity seemed ever to surprise him, except the cloaking of it. For that he had only abhorrence. Saintly in his own life, he had the compassion of the Saints for human weakness, if only it was frankly avowed. And this quality, while it kept aloof from him imposters, drew into an affectionate intimacy of sympathy the weakest and frailest of God's creatures.

He always honestly believed the literal words spoken to him. Indeed, it is almost incredible that one so experienced should be so credulous. But woe to him who had once deceived him. That was to him a crime which in his singularly straightforward judgment was inexcusable. He believed the best of every man and expected frequent blunders even from the best. As he was absolutely sincere with men, so was he sincerity itself in religion. His devotion was neither affected nor exaggerated. As he lived always in the presence of God, he put on no new mien nor attitude in his acts of worship. There was an added solemnity and concentration of attention — that was all. For the rest he remained his simple self which a life of austerity and retirement had molded into a very model of priest and pontiff.

Whether he stood at the altar in the raiment of his exalted office, or knelt in the solitude of his own chapel, he seemed like Moses face to face with God. That absorbed his whole being and for the moment all the rest of the universe was forgotten. The awe then which his dignity inspired was only the reflection of the simplicity and the sincerity of his perfect faith. And now that faith has given place, we reverently trust, to perfect vision, and the light of his countenance even now hallows the sacred altar where once he adored his God hidden in the veil of the Blessed Sacrament, and his sincere soul knows at last all truth as it is.

V

The immense impression that Archbishop Williams had made upon the community was attested at the time of his death by scores of tributes from the press, from clergymen of all denominations, from men high in public life, from men who had known him for decades.

The newspapers dwelt at length upon his "irreproachable integrity," his "crystalline purity of thought and action," "his single-hearted preoccupation with duty," "his absolute disinterestedness," "his intense degree of righteousness," "his passion for justice."

"He was, without exception, the most upright, clear-headed, judicial man I ever knew," said Dr. John G. Blake. "He was the most manly and straightforward character I ever knew," said Charles F. Donnelly. It was recalled that John Boyle O'Reilly was wont to declare: "The Archbishop is the justest man that ever lived. He is the incarnation of justice."

The Globe remarked that: "More than any other man in the community Archbishop Williams typified, by his life and beautiful character and by his beneficent influence, that silent and impalpable but very pervasive thing which we call spirituality, and which is as necessary as the air we breathe." *The Transcript* added that his life "was not merely remarkable for its devotion to high ideals, but it was the incarnation of them. . . . His influence upon good citizenship was greater than could be measured."

Mayor Fitzgerald declared that the late Archbishop had been "Boston's First Citizen." Governor Guild attested that "His blameless life and high ideals won for him long ago the veneration of men of all creeds." Cardinal Gibbons affirmed that "at the time of his death he was the most influential man for good in New England," and added: "To know him was to admire and respect him; to know him well, as I came to know him during the long years of our friendship, was to love and reverence him beyond description."¹⁸

For the Catholics of his Diocese, Archbishop Williams also symbolized a great era. He was born when John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were still alive; he died during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. He was baptized under Bishop Cheverus; he was educated and ordained under Bishop Fenwick; he was the close collaborator and the Coadjutor of Bishop

¹⁸ Nearly all of the foregoing quotations may be found brought together in *The Pilot*, Sept. 7, 1907, or in the already cited article in *Donahoe's Magazine*.

Fitzpatrick; he received as his own Coadjutor the present Archbishop of Boston. His life spanned almost two thirds of our diocesan history. At the time of his birth in all New England there were less than ten thousand Catholics, and but one bishop, and five priests. He had lived to see a New England containing eight dioceses, over eighteen hundred priests, and almost two million Catholics, to see Boston more than half Catholic, and Massachusetts more Catholic than anything else. It was a development such as even the most sanguine could not have dreamed possible in his early manhood. And in this development he had for over sixty years taken an immense part. Aided, of course, by zealous clergy and laity, he had strewn his native city, nay his Diocese, with churches, schools, hospitals, asylums, and other beneficent institutions as no religious leader of any kind had done in the whole previous history of Massachusetts. It is no exaggeration to say that he contributed more than any other one man to the splendid upbuilding of the Diocese of Boston during the nineteenth century. But no less precious than his material achievements was his moral legacy to his people: the record of a spiritual leader whose character measured up to the highest Christian ideals, whose life was noble and stainless, who even in this region of deeply rooted prejudices and suspicions became universally revered and loved, who died truly *dilectus Deo et hominibus*.

PART VI

THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON

UNDER

HIS EMINENCE WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL
(1907-1943)

BY ROBERT H. LORD

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATIONS OF A GREAT CAREER

I

DURING the first ninety-nine years of its existence the Diocese of Boston had been ruled by only four prelates — a record for long reigns rarely matched in the ecclesiastical history of this or any other country. While differing widely from one another in temperament, aptitudes, and methods, all four of these prelates deserve to be called great bishops, in the sense that they were men of exceptional ability, noble character, exemplary devotion to the duties of their sacred office, and rich achievement. With the singular good fortune (to call it by no higher name) that has constantly attended the Diocese of Boston, this See then received for its fifth ruler — our present Cardinal Archbishop — a man who not only has proved himself great in the sense defined above, but who has added that subtle element that differentiates genius from talent or power or ability. It is but sober truth to say that he has surpassed all his predecessors in the magnitude and variety of his achievements, in the honors that he has earned for his Archdiocese and himself, in the rôle that he has played in the life of the community, the country, the American Church, the Church Universal. It is likely that in the future, as the perspective becomes clearer and now inaccessible sources are unlocked, the importance of that rôle will be magnified, rather than diminished. It is probable that History will rank him among the six or eight most outstanding figures that the American Church has yet produced, along with Archbishops Carroll and Hughes and Cardinal Gibbons. And again a long reign, extending now to thirty-six years, has been granted, enabling him to carry through the great work that is to be described in the following pages.¹

¹ Among the printed sources for the life of Boston's second Archbishop, the most important are His Eminence's own published works. These now include:

The second Archbishop of Boston bears a name illustrious in Irish history. The original home of the O'Connell sept appears to have been in the present County Limerick, where their name has been preserved down to our own days in the baronies of Upper and Lower Connillo, Castle Connell, and elsewhere. In the twelfth century the clan was induced to exchange its lands along the Shannon for others in the later Counties Kerry and Clare, while other members of it moved to the North into Fermanagh. During the Middle Ages the O'Connells furnished not a few bishops and abbots to the Church, and others distinguished themselves as warriors. The chief of the clan was one of the leaders in the famous Irish victory at Clontarf in 1014. In the wars and uprisings against the English the O'Connells again took a notable part. They participated prominently in the Confederation of Kilkenny, in the siege of Londonderry, in the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim; they were stricken by the attainders that followed Cromwell's conquest and the broken Capitulation of Limerick. In the darkest period of Ireland's history many of them then joined the Wild Geese, who fled from their enslaved country to seek a free and honorable career in the armies of Catholic France or Spain or Austria. No less than eighteen of them were en-

Sermons and Addresses (11 vols., Boston, 1922-1938); *The Letters of His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston*, vol. I. *From College Days, 1876, to Bishop of Portland, 1901* (printed for private circulation: Cambridge, 1915); *Reminiscences of Twenty-Five Years, 1901-1926* (Boston, 1926); *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston and New York, 1934); *A Memorable Voyage* (Boston, 1939); *A Tribute of Affectionate Memory to Most Rev. John J. Williams, D.D., Archbishop of Boston, by His Successor, William Cardinal O'Connell, August 30, 1940* (Boston).

The fullest account that has yet been written of His Eminence's life and work as Archbishop is that by Rev. John E. Sexton, *Cardinal O'Connell: a Biographical Sketch* (Boston, 1926). Briefer but interesting is that of Dr. James J. Walsh, *Our American Cardinals: Life Stories* (New York and London, 1926), pp. 170-221. *The Pilot* has published three fairly detailed and very helpful accounts of that life and work in its special supplements of May 15, 1926 (in connection with His Eminence's Silver Jubilee in the episcopate), March 8, 1930 (its Centenary number), and June 9, 1934 (at the time of the Cardinal's Golden Jubilee in the priesthood).

Other sources of value are: *Souvenir of Receptions and Banquets to Most Rev. William H. O'Connell, D.D., as Coadjutor Archbishop of Boston* (*ibid.*, 1906); William F. Kenney (ed.), *Centenary of the See of Boston* (*ibid.*, 1909); *A Brief Historical Review of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1923* (*ibid.*, 1925).



HIS EMINENCE, WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL

gaged in such service at one particular time. Among these voluntary exiles were, for instance, Baron Maurice O'Connell, colonel in the Austrian army and chamberlain of the Empress Maria Theresa; Don Juan O'Connell, lieutenant in the Spanish regiment Hibernia; and Count Daniel O'Connell, who served the Bourbon kings in many a war and died, a general of France, at his chateau near Blois in 1833. Of Daniel O'Connell of Derrynane, the Liberator, Ireland's greatest hero of the nineteenth century, the family tradition is strong, and there seems to be adequate evidence to prove, that he was related to the ancestors of Boston's present Cardinal Archbishop.

His Eminence is, at any rate, directly descended from that Northern branch of the clan, which, originally settling in Fermanagh, later spread eastward to the County Cavan and adjacent districts. These O'Connells were men of property and influence until the English Government robbed them of nearly all that they possessed. For His Eminence's line the change from wealth to moderate circumstances may, perhaps, have come in 1605, with the confiscation of the estates of Brian O'Connell by King James I.²

The father of Boston's second Archbishop was John O'Connell, who came from the County Meath and was born in 1809. His Eminence's mother, Bridget (Farley) O'Connell, was born in the village of Enagh, in one of the loveliest hill and lake regions of the County Cavan, in 1818, the daughter of a well-to-do landowner. These young people were married and established their home in the bride's native village, where they owned a prosperous farm. After eleven years of happy married life and the birth of six children, tragedy descended upon them. The potato blight, which had for several years been ravaging Ireland, and a cattle epidemic devastated their neighbor-

² On the O'Connells in Ireland, see especially: John D'Alton, *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James' Irish Army List (1869)*, II (2nd ed.: Dublin, n.d.), 344 ff.; John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees, or the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, I (3rd ed.: Dublin, 1881), 520, 526, 552; II (4th ed.: Dublin, 1888), 5 ff., 16, 618; Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Ireland* (10th ed.: London, 1904), p. 446; Denis Gwynn, *Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator* (London, n.d.), p. 38; Philip O'Connell, *The Diocese of Kilmore: Its History and Antiquities* (n.p., n.d.), p. 161.

hood in 1848. The ruin of their chief crop and the death of their cattle before their eyes dictated to the young couple the painful resolution to leave their native land and to risk the great adventure of going out to that New World to which relatives had long been inviting them. After a long and distressful voyage in one of the sailing ships of the period, they landed in Montreal, and proceeded thence to the northern part of New York State, where the father secured employment. That odyssey must have been filled with trials and difficulties. Their son has recorded: "To me there never was an adventure that I had read in any story that equaled theirs. The story of the privations, the hardships, the sufferings chilled my childish heart, as they were pictured with perfect simplicity and a depth of emotion I have never forgotten." ³ About 1853 the family came to Lowell, where their relatives were. Here they presently settled in a picturesque and comfortable cottage at what is now 538 Gorham Street, in the Chapel Hill section, far from the crowded central part of the city. This was then a sparsely settled district, given over mainly to pleasant fields and orchards that sloped down to the Concord River.

Through the birth of five children after the arrival in America, the household came to include seven sons and four daughters. To the rearing of this large family the parents brought in equal measure intense, selfless devotion, staunch Catholic faith, and unfaltering confidence that God's Providence would see them safely through all difficulties. John O'Connell was a hard worker and a good provider. For the rest, he was a quiet man, who delighted to pass his evenings with a book, a lover of poetry, a dreamer of dreams, an idealist, from whom his most distinguished son may in some degree have inherited his literary and artistic tastes and aptitudes. But his practical talents and his general outlook on life the future Cardinal seems to have derived more from his mother. Gentle but strong, wise, prudent, far-sighted, vigorous, and energetic, Bridget O'Connell may be described in three words as an ideal Irish mother. Of her her son has written at the beginning of his *Recollections*:

³ His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections*, pp. 2-3.

As these memories come back to me now, I see again the little cottage in which I first beheld the light, and where my happiest days were spent. Standing out as the centre of all these peaceful thoughts is the vision of my dear mother, a noble figure, crowned with a wealth of silvery hair, a look of quiet power and confidence in her lovely face. Even now there comes to me the recollection of the gentle authority by which she ruled her large family of eleven children, strong, hearty, and heathful children, every one of whom, until the day of death, loved and revered her as the greatest influence upon their whole lives. Her rule of that large group of children, lively and boisterous and full of gaiety, and sometimes of mischief, too, was so gentle, yet so firm, that no one ever dreamed of questioning it. There was a distinctive aristocratic dignity in her character which manifested itself in her every word and action. She seldom spoke in rebuke, nor was it often necessary, for the look in her eyes spoke louder than any words; the culprit, when brought before that searching glance, had sufficient punishment to make him regret whatever act of unruliness he had committed. . . . She lived and thought and worked and walked perpetually in the light of God's holy presence. The day began with prayer at her knee, continued with constant reminders of God's care and love and providence, and it ended in the evening with the recitation of the Rosary, which all the children, no matter what their age, were bound to attend. She retained to the end in my eyes wonderful beauty of character and expression, and of course this was the outcome of her interior life. . . . One can never thank God enough for the wonderful gift of a good mother. And so our home was in very truth an atmosphere of Christian virtues, teaching all of us how to fit ourselves to bear the burdens of life courageously and to find our greatest strength in the fulfillment of God's will.⁴

II

William Henry O'Connell, the youngest child of this family, was born December 8, 1859 — on the glorious feast of the Im-

⁴ *Recollections*, pp. 1-2, 4.

maculate Conception. He was baptized that same day by Father Crudden at St. Peter's Church. Both his father and mother cherished the hope that this, their Benjamin, would one day be a priest, and an uncle, who came to see the infant but a few days after his birth, told his mother that the knowledge had come to him in prayer that this would be the case. Mrs. O'Connell, taking this almost as a revelation from heaven, henceforth regarded this child as one set apart, and loved him especially, feeling that he would sometime be elevated far above the others of her little flock. Long afterwards one of his sisters said of him: "He was somehow unusual and different from the rest of us, almost from the day he was born. Mother treated him somehow a little differently from the rest of us. And O, how she loved him, and how he loved her!"⁵

A few years later the family suffered a tragic calamity in the death of the husband and father. After a long and painful illness, endured with the utmost fortitude, John O'Connell passed away on September 22, 1865. Of the ensuing scene His Eminence has left a vivid picture:

I remember [he writes] the fear which overcame me as a little child when I was awakened in the dead of night and told that my father had just died. I crept downstairs and peeping around the half-open door saw my father lying in bed and my mother kneeling at the bedside quietly weeping. As the children gathered around her, she recovered her calm and we all joined her in prayers for the dead, for my father; and again the great secret of her Christian life revealed itself, as, at the end of the prayers, she arose and, looking at all of us, said, "God's holy will be done." We listened with awe and realized the immense strength of her character in the way she set about the practical affairs of her family from that moment. Notwithstanding her heart-breaking grief, left a widow with a family of eleven to bring up and provide for, she faced the tremendous burden now laid upon her and bore it nobly until all her children were able to take care of themselves.⁶

That same fall William O'Connell began his education. As

⁵ *Pilot*, May 15, 1926.

⁶ *Recollections*, pp. 3-4.

there was then no Catholic boys' school in Lowell, he was sent to the public primary school on Centre Street, whence he passed three years later to the old red-brick Edson Grammar School facing the South Common. His experiences in these institutions were far from pleasant. The teachers, women of the narrowest Puritan mould, scarcely concealed their bitter antipathy towards those of their pupils who were of Catholic faith and Irish blood: such unfortunates must expect to hear their religion constantly slurred or insulted and to be themselves severely punished for any pretext or for no pretext at all. In this atmosphere of injustice and fear, studies became a mere dreary drudgery.

All the greater was William O'Connell's delight when, on entering the high school at the age of twelve, he encountered teachers of broader views, who tried to be fair towards all their students and who took a personal interest in all of them. One of these teachers, Edwin Lord, instructor in Chemistry, seems first to have aroused the boy's latent powers and to have awakened in him a desire to excel in studies. Of this decisive turning-point in his life, His Eminence has written:

Doubtless, it was from that freedom from terror that I began to feel my mental faculties growing and expanding rapidly, and I found that I had the genuine Celtic love of learning in an atmosphere conducive to learning. I simply reveled in my books; literature, history, the physical sciences were all a new-found paradise to me. I felt — literally felt — a springing-up into a new life of all the faculties of my mind, and I knew it was due to the pleasant and congenial atmosphere of my high-school days. . . . I can recall vividly what literal transports of pleasure I felt at my introduction to the great world of English literature. . . . About this time, too, I had developed a genuine love for music as well as a great desire for sketching landscapes and pretty pastoral scenes. It would seem as if in a single leap my soul had developed until I longed passionately for everything that was ideal and beautiful and good.⁷

How he impressed his schoolmates at that time was later described by one of them:

⁷ *Recollections*, pp. 6-7.

Willie O'Connell was an unusual boy even at school. I was in the grammar and high school with him. He never took any very great interest in the kind of things that interested other boys. Not that he ever felt above the other boys in any way. That wasn't it. He took himself a little more seriously than the other boys took themselves. And he was very studious. He was one of the best scholars in the school, and I'm not certain but he was the best. He was a fine speaker.

He was very sociable in spite of the fact that he didn't care for the kind of fun the other boys seemed to care for. He was a great favorite at all social gatherings, too, for he was a splendid singer. He loved music and he played the piano and the organ equally well. There was a distinction about Willie as a boy that everybody felt. And he was always a splendid conversationalist.⁸

With his intellectual powers and interests thus rapidly maturing, the young student naturally conceived the ambition to go to college. This desire was the stronger because around the middle of his high-school course he had begun to feel an attraction towards the priesthood and to cherish the hope that some day he might be called to serve God at the altar. Hence, after graduating from high school in 1876, it was arranged that he should enter St. Charles' College, at Ellicott City, Maryland, in the following autumn.

St. Charles' was the junior seminary and classical department of St. Mary's University and Theological Seminary, of Baltimore. Like the latter institution, it was conducted by the Sulpicians, nearly all of whom were then Frenchmen. They were good and holy priests, leading lives of exemplary self-abnegation and devotion to duty; but, as the young student from Lowell did not fail to notice, they were somewhat exotic in their ways, their outlook, their accent, and more reserved and aloof than American priests were wont to be. At any rate, he was delighted to find himself for the first time in a school with a Catholic atmosphere. He became deeply attached to several of his teachers: to the President, Father Denis, "a great

⁸ Col. James Carmichael, of Lowell, quoted in *The Pilot*, May 15, 1926.

gentleman and a great saint, who has remained with me always as St. Denis of St. Charles" — as he wrote nearly sixty years later; ⁹ to "dear old Père Menu," instructor in Latin and Music; and to Mr. (later Father) John Bannister Tabb, the famous convert-poet, who not only deepened his love for English literature — and everything else that is beautiful — but taught him a sense for *le mot juste*. As all went well with his studies and there were plenty of congenial and worth-while companions among his fellow students, life at St. Charles' moved on pleasantly enough. Early in his third year (1878-1879), however, there came a sudden physical collapse. It was caused by the strain produced by the long illness and the death of his sister Mary, at whose bedside he had sat through most of the previous summer vacation, and by subsequent overstudy. He was obliged to go back to Lowell for a thorough rest. A month or so at home restored the young man to health, but his doctor then advised that, instead of returning to the severe régime of a junior seminary like St. Charles', he should try the less exacting life of a day-school like Boston College.

Eager to obtain admission to the "Poetry (sophomore) class" in the latter institution, William O'Connell put in weeks of hard study. Father Fulton, the President, gave him a thorough oral examination, then led him to the classroom marked "Poetry," introduced him with the words: "I have brought you a new companion, his name is William, and, boys, look to your laurels," and smilingly disappeared.

Of his life in his new Alma Mater the present Cardinal Archbishop of Boston has written:

Those years at Boston College were extremely happy ones. The unexpected success in my studies, the approbation of my professors, the warm friendship of my companions, gave me new life and bounding spirits. I felt myself in a new world, less fettered by meticulous regulations, yet, nevertheless, guided and directed by masters of the religious life. Without any reflections upon conditions as I had found them elsewhere, I instantly recognized in my professors, who were all American

⁹ *Recollections*, p. 49.

Jesuits, an understanding which I had never hitherto met in any one of my teachers. . . . The frankness, openness, and wise freedom, always under proper restraint, which I found among my professors at Boston College, won, not mere admiration, but genuine affection. . . . There, for the first time I suppose, I came to the fullest appreciation of the meaning and the genuine joy of human society.¹⁰

One of his classmates afterwards related:

William O'Connell was always a popular boy at college, and since he led his classes, that was quite unusual. He was by nature studious, and at the same time he took a normal interest in games, such as baseball. He was never what you would call athletic, yet he was interested in all clean branches of sport. For that reason he was just as popular with the boys as he was with the professors.¹¹

For the rest, he excelled in debating, he took part in the college plays, he was first assistant prefect of the Sodality, and he found time to keep up his interest in music by serving as organist of the church in Wakefield, where he also taught in the Sunday school.

The position in the College which he had won by dint of keen natural intelligence and hard work was demonstrated at his Commencement, on June 30, 1881. There, in the presence of Archbishop Williams and of the Governor of Massachusetts, John D. Long, William O'Connell was one of the graduates chosen to read a paper (his was on "Philosophy and Literature"); and when the moment came for the award of prizes, the Governor pinned upon his breast a gold medal (first prize) for excellence in Philosophy, a silver medal (first prize) for Physics, and still another medal (second prize) in Chemistry, adding in a whisper on the third occasion: "If this keeps on, you will have no more room on your coat for medals." As these three were the only classes of the senior year, His Excellency's fears were soon set at rest. The presence of the much-decorated young man's mother as a witness of this crowning of

¹⁰ *Recollections*, pp. 73, 74, 76.

¹¹ James B. Machugh, quoted in *The Pilot*, May 15, 1926.

her hopes was for him the supreme joy of that glorious evening.

With graduation came the necessity of deciding upon his life's work. The hope of a vocation to the priesthood had long been with him, and represented, indeed, his dearest wish; but humility and reverence for so high a calling rendered a decision difficult. After much earnest thought and prayer, the matter was settled for him by one of those experiences through which God so often seems to speak plainly to souls that await only the manifestation of His will. One week after Commencement, on July 6th, William O'Connell was walking up Washington Street in the South End when he saw many people streaming into the Cathedral. He followed them and found that they had gathered for the funeral Mass of the late rector of the church, Father John B. Smith. Archbishop Williams, delivering the eulogy, spoke in touching terms of the sublime nature of the priest's vocation and of what this noble young priest, a Lowell boy, had been and done; he prayed that God would 'send this church and this diocese more priests like him'; and he remarked of Father Smith: "His great love for Rome, where he had passed his student years, enkindled a like flame in all who knew him, and I, who knew him best, love Rome more for having known him." Here, so it seemed to the young man from Lowell who was tensely following every word that fell from those venerated lips, here was God's answer, clear, strong, and unmistakable. Then and there he resolved that, in so far as depended upon him, he would be a priest and if possible would make his studies in Rome.

The next day he presented himself before Archbishop Williams and asked to be received as a candidate for holy orders. The Archbishop, familiar with his college record, readily accepted him, and inquired where he would like to go for his studies. Then, as the younger man hesitated, he added: "Would you like to go to Rome?" That meant a supreme dream come true. With his heart leaping with gratitude and joy, William O'Connell knelt, kissed the Archbishop's hand, and answered: "Your Grace, that is the one thing above all others that I would

like to do." That decision that he should go to Rome was to prove, as His Eminence has remarked, the great turning-point in his life.¹²

III

Two months later, William O'Connell and a fellow student, John F. Ford (later to be the founder of the Working Boys' Home, Newton), sailed from Boston on the five-thousand-ton steamship *Marathon*. Fortunately for two rather inexperienced sailors, the ten-day voyage proved relatively smooth. Landing at Queenstown, they spent some time enjoying the beauties of Ireland and visiting the old home of the O'Connells in the County Cavan. They made an exciting and perilous crossing to Liverpool in the midst of "the worst storm of seventy years"; lingered for a while to feast their eyes and their imaginations upon the churches, galleries, and historic sites of London and Paris; and finally, one sunny morning in late October, they reached the Eternal City and their destination, the American College in the Via dell' Umiltà.

That famous institution had been opened by Pius IX little more than twenty years before, on December 8, 1859, the very day of William O'Connell's birth. It was lodged in a building which had been erected by a pious Roman lady, Donna Francesca Baglioni Orsini, in the years 1598-1603, and which had for more than two centuries been used as a convent, first of Dominican, and later of Visitation, nuns. The first impressions of the two new students were rather dismal. That externally stern and forbidding edifice, with its fortress-like walls and narrow, deep-set windows; their "big, cold, bleak cell" of a room, with no facilities for heating and none for lighting except tiny oil lamps, such as were doubtless used in the days of Caesar Augustus; the Spartan fare — all that was not calculated to encourage youths from comfortable and up-to-date America. But one sight of the chapel at once reconciled William O'Connell

¹² On the foregoing, see: *Recollections*, p. 80; *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 15-16; *Letters*, pp. 44 ff.; *Pilot*, March 8, 1930.

to the whole establishment. It was the most beautiful church he had ever seen — “all wonderful marbles and frescoes and gold cornices and glorious statues,” with a marvelous painting of the Madonna over the high altar, a painting forever “engraved on the heart and memory of every American College student.”¹³ The long, high hall of the refectory was bright and cheerful. The garden, with its orange and eucalyptus trees, its antique fountain, its shrine of Our Lady, was charming, though not large. And the student body evinced a spirit of zeal, brotherhood, and comradeship that banished loneliness and encouraged the determination to aim at the highest and to put forth one’s best efforts.

For their classes the Americans went to the College of the Propaganda, where they mingled with Greeks and Armenians, Arabs and Syrians, Africans and Indians, and representatives of wellnigh every other race under the sun — a vivid reflection of the genuine catholicity of the Church. Before these pentecostal assemblies of young levites the sacred sciences were expounded by teachers of distinguished ability — each a master in his field, and not a few of them scholars of world renown. Among those who made the deepest impression upon William O’Connell were Dr. Francesco Satolli, professor of Dogmatic Theology, Don Ubaldo Ubaldi, professor of Sacred Scripture and spiritual director of the American College, and Dr. Antonio Agliardi, professor of Moral Theology.

Living in Rome was in itself an education unique in its kind. No other city in the world had had such a majestic past: no other could offer such a wealth of monuments of historic, religious, artistic, and archaeological interest. The Forum, the Coliseum, the Catacombs, the churches and basilicas guarding sacred sites and filled with masterpieces of Christian art, the innumerable ecclesiastical institutions, the museums, the galleries, the palaces, the gardens — all these things combined to produce an environment incomparably stimulating and elevating. And the program of the American College was so arranged as to provide the students with daily opportunities to

¹³ *Recollections*, p. 105; *Letters*, p. 53.

come in contact with these great mementoes of the past. Particularly thrilling it was to feel oneself at the very centre of Christendom, in closest proximity to the authorities that guided the Church universal, imbibing something of the Roman spirit and point of view, something of that wisdom, bred of age-long experience, with which Rome judges in religious matters. But in some respects the most precious privilege of all was that of from time to time seeing the majestic and benign figure of the great Leo XIII, then just in the early years of his long pontificate.

Of Rome's innumerable advantages William O'Connell, it need hardly be said, availed himself to the utmost. In his classes he again proved himself a student of outstanding ability. Already at the end of his first year in Rome one finds him carrying off a series of honors in the severe competition with young men of many nations in the final examinations at the College of the Propaganda.¹⁴ These scholastic triumphs continued. During most of his stay at the American College he was director of its choir. A Rome dispatch to *The Pilot* of that time describes a fête given by the students in honor of their Rector in the presence of a distinguished company of archbishops, bishops, rectors, and professors of various colleges, an entertainment in which one feature was "the admirable solo and chorus *Juravit Dominus*, composed by Rev. Mr. O'Connell, of Boston, in a style that recalls to mind the best compositions of the modern Roman maestros of ecclesiastical music."¹⁵ That exquisite motet is still sung in the North American College and elsewhere at the ordination of priests or the consecration of bishops. Some water-color sketches and some poems composed at that time gave further evidence of how the Lowell youth was responding to the aesthetic stimulus of the Roman environment. Towards the close of his third year in the College, he was honored by being named first prefect of the house, an appointment that carried with it the privilege of being raised to the priesthood much in advance of the other members of his class.

¹⁴ *Pilot*, Sept. 9, 1882.

¹⁵ *Pilot*, July 7, 1883.

Shortly before this, he had contracted a severe cold, which nearly developed into pneumonia. He recovered just in time to be ordained. The ceremony took place on June 8, 1884, in the great basilica of St. John Lateran, with Cardinal Monaco, Vicar-General of Rome, as the officiating prelate. After that great event, Father O'Connell would, in the normal course of things, have remained at the College for another year in order to pursue higher studies and earn the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In order to allow him to recuperate thoroughly from his recent illness, immediately after ordination he was sent down to the seashore village of Porto d'Anzio (the ancient Antium). A few weeks of complete rest seemed to yield the desired results, and in July he took up his duties as first prefect, the members of the College being then at their summer villa of Grottaferata. After the return to Rome in October, however, the symptoms of a bad bronchial catarrh made themselves painfully manifest — the aftermath, probably, of his trouble in the preceding spring. The College physician advised that it would be extremely risky for his health to face another winter in Rome and urged an immediate return to America. Dr. Schulte, the Acting Rector, concurred. It was a keen disappointment to renounce the hope of the coveted doctorate, but it was the part of prudence to go. The young priest, therefore, bade farewell, as he has since written, to "the sacred place which had been to me, in very truth, a noble, gentle, loving and beloved Alma Mater" and to "all those scenes which had entwined themselves about my very heart's core."¹⁶ Early in December he was back in Boston.¹⁷

IV

After a two weeks' vacation at home, the joy of which can readily be imagined, Father O'Connell on December 23, 1884, was appointed curate at St. Joseph's, Medford. Doubtless it was because of his still uncertain health that he was sent to what was then a new, small, quiet country parish. It turned out to be

¹⁶ *Recollections*, p. 139.

¹⁷ *Episcopal Register*, Dec. 12, 1884.

a most agreeable situation. Father Donnelly, the pastor, was the soul of kindness, and quickly adopted the attitude of an elder brother towards his sole assistant. The younger priest threw himself into the tasks of the ministry with zeal, energy, and intelligence, particularly into preaching, that part of priestly work that always gave him the greatest pleasure. For preaching he was especially well fitted, possessing a magnificent voice, a wealth of ideas, a rare command of English, and the ability to put eternal truths in an original way and in the language of the present day. While there was much work to be done, there was not too much of it. There was leisure for study, for developing close acquaintance with the Catholics and even with many non-Catholics, for walks along the Mystic and in the Middlesex Fells, for friendly relations with the priests of neighboring parishes. This situation changed somewhat as Father Donnelly's frail health declined under the ravages of consumption. More and more the young curate was called upon to take over the whole work of the parish, and he chose to sacrifice other interests in order to devote himself constantly to the care of his invalid friend. Father Donnelly died on October 7, 1886. On November 3rd Father Michael Gilligan, assistant at St. Joseph's, Boston, was appointed as his successor. As no curate was then needed by an able-bodied pastor in Medford, on November 11th Father O'Connell was sent to replace Father Gilligan in the West End of Boston.

It was an abrupt change to pass from the bucolic quiet of Medford to one of the largest and busiest of city parishes, from the pleasant and peaceful rectory overlooking the marshes of the Mystic to the somewhat rickety, rundown, and overcrowded rectory on Allen Street. The young priest's new pastor, Father (later Monsignor) William Byrne, Vicar-General of the Diocese, was a scholarly but impractical man, too much absorbed in his intellectual pursuits and in certain diocesan duties to take a very active part in the work of the parish. But the curates, among whom were Fathers Denis J. Wholey, Thomas L. Flanagan, Edward J. Moriarty, and (a little later) Joseph G. Anderson, were a united and energetic little group, who got along

excellently together, and toiled assiduously on the manifold duties of their ministry. There was assuredly plenty to be done. There were eight hospitals and a jail to be attended. Father O'Connell's first "sick call" at St. Joseph's was at 2 A.M. at the Massachusetts General Hospital to attend "a poor woman burnt almost to a cinder, yet still breathing, still alive."¹⁸ The parish contained twelve to thirteen thousand people; and although they lived in what was in the main a poor, congested, tenement-house district, studded with saloons and gambling-dens, His Eminence has attested: "Never since have I seen a congregation so genuinely religious and so full of reverence and affection for their clergy as the people of the West End."¹⁹ But their very piety as well as the poverty of many of them made all the greater demands upon their priests. The doorbell of the rectory was continually ringing, by day and by night, and the curates were always dashing up and down what (because of the well-polished brass plates protecting the matting) they called "the golden stairs." There were numerous parish organizations to be looked after. Among other special duties, Father O'Connell was placed in charge of the Sunday school, which he brought up to a total of thirteen hundred children and for which he built up a fine corps of teachers. While keenly interested in this work, he labored even more strenuously to perfect his preaching and achieved with it an ever greater success. All in all, his nine years at St. Joseph's were an extremely busy and fruitful period, which gave him a wealth of experience in every form of priestly work.

The one distressing event of that time was the sudden death of his devoted mother, which occurred on September 26, 1893. Having gone to Chicago for a glimpse at the World's Fair, he was drawn by an inexplicable impulse to return abruptly to Lowell, so that he had at least the consolation of being with her at the end.

It was characteristic of him that, despite exacting duties, he managed regularly to save some time for study and self-improvement. He learned Spanish. He read widely in the liter-

¹⁸ *Letters*, p. 123.

¹⁹ *Recollections*, p. 147.

ary masterpieces in that language and in French, German, and Italian. He kept up his interest in music.

So zealous, energetic, and talented a man could scarcely fail to become known far beyond the limits of his parish. It was primarily as a preacher and public speaker that he first drew public attention and earned a high and rapidly growing reputation. In view of what happened later, it is interesting to note how early *The Pilot* and other newspapers began to follow his doings and print his public addresses, in a way quite extraordinary for a junior curate and a young priest so recently ordained. Already in his first years at St. Joseph's one finds him active in a group of clergymen who were then giving "Temperance missions" about the Diocese: in that capacity he preached in such churches as St. Peter's, Lowell, St. Mary's, Winchester, or St. Joseph's, Somerville.²⁰ A few years later he was sufficiently well known to be chosen to deliver the annual panegyric of St. Ignatius at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Boston, at the High Mass on the Sunday following the feast of that saint. *The Pilot*, in this connection, remarked: "Father O'Connell is a man of fine presence, clear thought, and fluent expression. He has a powerful and well-modulated voice. His discourse abounded in passages of great originality and beauty."²¹

In 1892 one encounters him lecturing in Lowell on "The Poetry of Ireland," addressing the annual meeting of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of the Archdiocese at Malden, preaching at St. Joseph's so fine a panegyric on Columbus that *The Pilot* printed it in full.²²

Early in the following year the same paper published the discourse on "Civil and Religious Freedom" delivered at the annual banquet of the Charitable Irish Society by "Rev. William H. O'Connell, who is fast coming to the front as preacher and orator."²³ On Thanksgiving Day he was the speaker chosen to address the Catholic Union of Boston on "The Ideal Citizen," at the solemn High Mass at the Cathedral.²⁴

²⁰ *Pilot*, Nov. 19, Dec. 12, 1887; April 28, June 8, 1888.

²¹ Aug. 8, 1891.

²² *Pilot*, March 19, June 4, Oct. 22, 1892.

²³ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1893.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1893.

In March, 1894, he gave a talk before the Catholic Club of Harvard which so delighted his hearers that on the spot they elected him the first honorary member of their society.²⁵ On May 6th Horticultural Hall in Boston was filled with a large audience that had gathered to hear this same "eloquent and popular priest" deliver his "splendid lecture on Daniel O'Connell."²⁶ On June 24th he gave the baccalaureate sermon at Boston College — the first that had been delivered there for ten years — and again James Jeffrey Roche saw fit to print in full in *The Pilot* what he termed this "noble, eloquent, and scholarly" discourse.²⁷

In the following year, when the élite of Catholic Boston gathered at the Church of the Immaculate Conception for the solemn Requiem Mass sung for the just deceased Father Fulton, Father O'Connell was the orator selected to pronounce the eulogy of that beloved priest; and *The Pilot* declared this "perhaps the best effort thus far of one who is distinguishing himself in the pulpit and on the platform."²⁸ He also preached the sermon at the dedication of St. Catherine's Church, Charlestown (October 20, 1895). Around that time two well-written articles, spiced with humor but fundamentally very serious, were contributed by him to *Donahoe's Magazine*. The one, "A Leaf from My Roman Diary: a Christmas Sketch," was the story of the recovery of a lost faith; the other, "If Bendaoeed Returns," despite its whimsical title, was an essay on the Catholic charities of Boston.²⁹

The rising fame of the young priest in the West End was further evidenced by the fact that he was invited to join the faculty of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, and that on two occasions he was offered a chair at the Catholic University of America in Washington.³⁰ It was also shown when, at a time when the newly founded Catholic Summer School of America, at Plattsburg, New York, was trying to mobilize the best Catholic

²⁵ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1894.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1894.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1894.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1895.

²⁹ *Donahoe's Magazine*, XXXII (Dec., 1894), 627-636; XXIII (Feb., 1895), 174-178.

³⁰ *Recollections*, pp. 167, 286.

talent of the country, Father O'Connell was engaged to give a course of lectures on early Church History at the session of 1895.

To prepare for this task he went abroad in the early months of that year, and spent some time in very serious study and in conferring with masters of the field in question at Rome and elsewhere. The next session of the Summer School was opened on July 7th, with the participation of Monsignor Satolli, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, and many other distinguished people. Father O'Connell's five lectures followed immediately. They were entitled "Christ, the Builder"; "The Apostles, the Foundations"; "The Nations, the Building"; "The Persecutions, the Storm"; "The Catacombs, the Shelter." *The Pilot*, reporting them, declared that Father O'Connell, "one of the ablest of the younger priests of the Archdiocese of Boston," had "added much to his already high reputation as a public speaker by this course at the Summer School, which showed throughout careful preparation and study and was excellently delivered."³¹ At the request of his auditors, the lectures were immediately printed, at the expense of Mr. W. H. Moffitt, of Brooklyn, forming the first of His Eminence's published books. Anyone who will give himself the pleasure of reading them will convince himself that in the present Cardinal Archbishop of Boston the world has lost an historian of distinguished talent.³²

Soon after came an event that drew him into a wider sphere and marked the beginning of a series of great honors and promotions. This was his appointment as Rector of the American College at Rome. The history of that appointment is still veiled in much obscurity, but it seems clearly to have been connected with the tension then existing in the Church in this country between those who have already been described in these pages as the Liberal and the Conservative groups. The previous Rector of the American College, Monsignor Denis J.

³¹ *Pilot*, July 6, 20, 1895.

³² These lectures are reprinted in His Eminence's *Sermons and Addresses*, II, 112-235.

O'Connell, had aligned himself unmistakably with the group headed by Archbishop Ireland. He had shown himself, it must be admitted, very much a party man. At the Vatican there was some fear of "Americanism"; the credit of the Liberal group was sinking; and, above all, there was a great desire to end the divisions, to restore harmony in the American Church. In consequence, Monsignor Denis O'Connell, having fallen rather suddenly from favor, had, in June, 1895, resigned.

On October 2nd the four Eastern archbishops, who then formed a committee of the American hierarchy for the affairs of the American College, met to draw up a list of three candidates for the succession. Since the rectorate had hitherto been filled by priests from New York and Baltimore, it was to be expected that it would next pass to someone from Philadelphia or Boston. As Archbishop Williams, in his modesty, was never inclined to claim any honor for his Diocese, the assembled prelates by a vote of three to one, nominated for first place on the list a Philadelphia priest, Dr. Thomas F. Kennedy, professor in the Overbrook Seminary, who later was to be for many years the distinguished Rector of the American College. In discussing names for the other places on the *terna*, Cardinal Gibbons suggested Father O'Connell. Archbishop Williams heartily endorsed this proposal, speaking highly of the ability and personality of the nominee, and adding, "His only defect is his youth, and time will remedy that." As a result, Father O'Connell's name was placed on the list along with that of a priest from Chicago.³³

If one may believe the accounts that appeared in American newspapers, the presentation of this *terna* was followed by a rather severe contest at Rome. While it had been commonly presumed that Dr. Kennedy would win the appointment, strong opposition to him developed, apparently on the ground that he was thought to be too closely linked with the Liberal group in the American hierarchy. The upshot was that on November

³³ Report of Archbishop Corrigan, secretary of the committee, to the Congregation of the Propaganda, Oct. —, 1895 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 94 B 13); *Letters*, pp. 183-184; Miss E. B. Edes to Bishop McQuaid, Jan. 24, 1906 (*Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

18th the Congregation of the Propaganda voted to recommend Father O'Connell for the position, and on the 21st Leo XIII sanctioned this decision. The Boston priest was chosen, it would seem, because of the strong recommendations he had received; because he was considered Archbishop Williams' preferred candidate and was expected to reflect the sound, impartial views of that revered prelate; and because Rome desired, above all, to have a rector who was in no sense a party man.³⁴

The news of the appointment evoked general acclamation in Boston. To quote but two from the many tributes in the press at that moment:

The Pilot remarked of Father O'Connell:

He has won on the people, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and has long been looked upon as a man who could hardly escape preferment. Boston rejoices at his deserved honors, but grieves to lose him just as she begins to realize what he is and might be in her religious and intellectual life.³⁵

The *Boston Herald* declared:

Probably it is safe to say that no Catholic clergyman of his years has done more in this vicinity to promote the spiritual welfare of those committed to his charge than this earnest and intelligent priest. He has, moreover, made an enviable reputation for himself in the pulpit as a preacher, attracting large congregations of his people and catering to their spiritual needs by his practical precepts and plain speaking. He has received attention outside his parish as well, by reason of his scholarly addresses on religious topics. . . . To the discharge of all these functions [at Rome] Father O'Connell will bring rare intelligence, excellent tact, and a geniality that cannot fail to win for him substantial success and popularity in his new field. The best wishes of a very large personal following will go with him.³⁶

³⁴ Congregation of the Propaganda to Cardinal Gibbons, Nov. 23, 1895 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 94 C 8); Bishop McDonnell to Archbishop Corrigan, Nov. 15, 1895 (*New York Dioc. Arch.*, G 16); Archbishop Ireland to Cardinal Gibbons, Dec. 26, 1895 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 94 F 6); *New York World*, Dec. 6, 21, 1895.

³⁵ Nov. 30, 1895.

³⁶ Quoted from *The Pilot*, Jan. 4, 1896.

While fully conscious of the high honor and privilege of the position offered to him, Father O'Connell also knew something of its difficulties. With characteristic prudence, he delayed accepting it until after he had visited each of the four archbishops of the board and had obtained their assurance that as Rector he would not be called upon to serve the interests of any party or group or to do anything that might savor of partisanship.³⁷

There was a round of gratulatory dinners and receptions, tendered to him by the clergy and by various Catholic organizations. On Sunday, December 30th, he bade farewell to the good people of St. Joseph's, among whom, as in Medford, it is not too much to say that he had won all hearts. With the church packed to repletion by the announcement that he was to speak, he entered the pulpit at the High Mass and, after the regular sermon, took leave of all these good friends with the words:

For ten years now I have gone about in the parish ministering as best I knew how, bringing to the sick, I trust, some little consolation, bringing to the dying words of reconciliation, and, above all, the Blessed Sacrament.

It has been my privilege to have something to do with the training of the children in the Sunday school, a task in which I have most heartily joined. I have always met from the people of the parish the most cordial sympathy in my work. I think it is something to be able to say that in ten years I have never had a word of dispute with a single one of them. If I have not been able to do more here, it has not been from lack of willingness, but rather lack of ability and power.

Almighty God has called me away, and I go with a great deal of sorrow. I can scarcely realize the lofty position to which I have been called, a position which stands unique among American institutions. The rectorship of the American College at Rome is a most honorable position, and Almighty God, through the Holy Father, the Pope, brings me away to this other sphere of work. The field is very broad, and God only knows whether or not I have the power to enter upon its duties and discharge them well; but all one can do is to ask Almighty God for power and strength, and then go forward manfully and face the situation.

³⁷ *Recollections*, pp. 165 f.

But whatever may come in the future, or whatever life I may be called to, I shall always look back upon the ten years spent here as ten of the happiest years that a priest can possibly spend. I shall always look back to my old friends here with tenderness and love, and I shall always remember you and pray for you. I shall always carry you in my heart, and now I give you all my love and my heartiest and most cordial benediction. God bless you all.³⁸

On January 3, 1896, he left Boston for Baltimore to be present at the investiture of his old teacher, Monsignor Satolli, with the red hat of a cardinal. Returned to New York, on the 8th he sailed on the *Normannia* for Italy — to “go forward manfully and face the situation.”

³⁸ Quoted from *Boston Globe*, April 24, 1901.

CHAPTER II

FROM RECTOR TO ARCHBISHOP

I

THE POSITION of Rector of the American College at Rome was one of the most important and difficult to which an American priest could be called. The Rector was responsible for the training of a large group of picked young men, drawn from all parts of the United States, many of whom would later be leaders in the life of the American Church. He was the normal agent at Rome of all the eighty-three American bishops. As a kind of unofficial representative of the United States at the Vatican, he was expected to help his fellow countrymen, whether Catholic or Protestant, in various ways, and especially to procure for them audiences, public or private, with the Holy Father. The ordinary difficulties of the position had been augmented by certain mistakes of the late Rector to which allusion has already been made, and by the rising uneasiness felt at Rome over "Americanism." Father O'Connell, immediately upon his arrival, discovered that, as he wrote: "At headquarters there is as yet something undefinable in its aloofness, almost akin to suspicion about the college. I can get nothing tangible, but phrases like 'lack of discipline,' 'too much liberty,' 'mixing too much in ecclesiastical politics,' 'local partiality,' would seem to indicate a general sort of distrust in the way the college has been conducted." And he could not but recognize that "The Rector of the American College had plenty of critics, and not too many friends anywhere."¹

It speaks much for the wisdom and prudence of the new Rector that he at once resolved to devote himself as exclusively as possible to his work within the College, to the careful discharge of his daily duties in the management of the institution

¹ *Letters*, p. 187; *Recollections*, p. 177.

and the training of its students, avoiding entirely the social life of Rome until he knew his ground thoroughly, and still more avoiding having anything to do with ecclesiastical politics or politicians. In view of the very different course pursued by his predecessor, there is something brave and appealing in the letter which he wrote two months after his arrival in Rome to Cardinal Gibbons (the great friend and patron of Monsignor Denis O'Connell):

I am glad, my dear Lord Cardinal, that I have the occasion to speak plainly on this subject. For I assure Your Eminence that you need never for one moment doubt that I am determined that there shall be no one connected with the College who is in any way a party man or the agent of a party. At present, thanks be to God, all the authorities on all sides express their conviction that we are entirely non-partisan — interested only in the proper training of the young men committed to our charge, and glad and willing to be of service to any and all the bishops of America, *providing always* it is in a matter which is sure to be without danger of any possible prejudice to any other bishop. Whatever rumors arise to the contrary, Your Eminence may feel *absolutely certain* — they are untrue; and at any time my word can be verified by the authorities both at the Vatican and at the Propaganda. More than this, my dear Lord Cardinal, no one can do.²

It was a very isolated and lonely year, that first year that the young Rector spent at the College. But this very isolation enabled him to give himself all the more whole-heartedly and effectively to the careful management of the institution and to raising it from the somewhat imperiled situation in which he had found it. He labored unstintingly to serve as best he could those seventy young men who had been entrusted to him, to safeguard their vocations, to assure their spiritual formation, to incite them to the highest intellectual effort, to preserve their health, and to minister to the contentment and happiness of their lives. One of these students later wrote of him:

My vividest recollection is of the talks, the explanations of

² Letter of March 15, 1896 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 94 K 3).

the Rule, and spiritual lectures. We used to look forward to them. He was always interesting, always original, always inspiring. . . . You may not care to publish this — but my second recollection has to do with the meals. He went to the kitchen every day to see that the food was of the best. We had less of institution-like sameness than I have ever known elsewhere. And *pranzoni*! He took every occasion to make a *festa*.

Thirdly — our walks. He often came with us, and enjoyed them as much as we. Our recreation was as much his concern as our studies. I can recall his bringing us down to the chapel and talking most delightfully for two hours or so, with the idea of relieving the strain when we were overstudying. . . .

There was a new spirit in his day. We worked harder, kept better order, and above all were more fervent.³

One clear sign of this new spirit was the exceptionally fine record made by the Americans at the examinations at the College of the Propaganda during the years of Father O'Connell's rectorate. The marked increase in the number of students sent to the American College and the rapid multiplication of burses established for the support of students there showed that bishops and benefactors at home appreciated the good work that was being done.

The material equipment of the College kept pace with its intellectual and spiritual progress. The entire plant was renovated, cleansed, repaired. The refectory was handsomely decorated. Electric lights were introduced a few months before that change was made at the Vatican. In 1900 a magnificent windfall was received in the shape of the Haywood Library, a collection of about eight thousand rare works, costly editions, illuminated manuscripts, etc., which had been brought together by a distinguished American connoisseur, Mr. J. C. Haywood, and was donated by his widow to the College out of friendship for its Rector.

But the acquisition that most delighted the students was that of a splendid new villa in the country, in which they might pass their summer vacations. The American College had never

³ Rev. John E. Sexton, *Cardinal O'Connell: a Biographical Sketch*, pp. 22-23.

hitherto possessed an adequate resort of this kind. For two years Father O'Connell sought for one, and finally a unique opportunity presented itself. The ancient and famous princely family of the Orsinis, having fallen upon evil days financially, were eager to sell their Villa Santa Caterina at Castel Gandolfo, on the shores of Lake Albano. It comprised about ten acres of ground, with a large and beautiful park and a handsome country-house crowning the summit and commanding a fine view of the Roman *campagna* down to the sea. Valued at two hundred and fifty thousand lire, it was to be had for scarcely more than half that sum; and towards the close of 1898 Father O'Connell bought it, thus securing for the College one of the most spacious and beautiful villas to be found within one hundred miles of Rome.

The results of his work as Rector were not slow to win general recognition. "There is no severer test of a man than this office," wrote Katherine Conway from Rome in 1899, "and it is high praise of the young Boston priest who was sent thither three years ago, that the best judges agree that he bears it well."⁴ Each time that he presented himself before his ecclesiastical superiors at Rome, he found the atmosphere friendlier, the words of encouragement more open, the expressions of confidence longer and livelier. Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, ended by declaring that the College was "a model of discipline and capacity."⁵ Already after only one year of this administration, Leo XIII had expressed his approval by raising Father O'Connell to the rank of domestic prelate, with the title of Monsignor (June 9, 1897). And at the general audience of the heads of Roman colleges on Candlemas Day, 1900, the Holy Father abandoned his usual reserve and declared before his whole court: "Monsignor O'Connell, I know well the immense progress of the American College in these last three years, and I wish to say publicly that I have the most complete confidence in you."⁶

⁴ *Pilot*, June 10, 1899.

⁵ Msgr. O'Connell to Cardinal Gibbons, Jan. 25, 1901 (*Baltimore Dioc. Arch.*, 98 P 10).

⁶ *Recollections*, p. 206.

The cloud that hung over the institution had been lifted, and the Rector had gained, not only the complete confidence, but the personal friendship of Leo XIII.

If frequent and close relations with that great Pontiff were an education in themselves, Monsignor O'Connell had also been making other contacts that were instructive and stimulating. Abandoning the isolation to which he had condemned himself during his first year in office, he had begun to mingle occasionally in the social life of Rome, learning to know the gracious, cultivated, and cosmopolitan circles that gathered in the Eternal City, and winning a host of friends among ecclesiastics, diplomats, scholars, and artists. Travel around Italy and beyond the Alps during vacations had widened his horizons, and extended his acquaintance with the highest European society and even with members of royal families. The world was beginning to discern in him a natural leader — strong, fearless, able, intelligent, prudent, tactful, cultured, and versatile. For such a man further promotion was not likely to be long delayed.

II

On August 5, 1900, Bishop James A. Healy, of Portland (Maine), died suddenly and unexpectedly. The choice of his successor aroused certain difficulties. The consultors of the Diocese drew up a list of three nominees — all Maine priests — whom the bishops of the Province accepted while quite changing the order of preference. But strong opposition to all three candidates developed in a considerable section of the Maine clergy, as was attested by numerous letters to the Apostolic Delegate and to Archbishop Williams. In view of this situation, the Congregation of the Propaganda decided to pass over the entire *terna* that had been submitted; and then, on the motion of Cardinal Satolli, they unanimously voted to recommend the Rector of the American College for appointment to the vacant see as a reward for his unusual services. This nomination was at once sanctioned by Leo XIII.⁷

⁷ Archbishop Martinelli to Archbishop Williams, Feb. 22, 1901; Bishop Brad-

The news of this appointment, which reached Boston on April 22, 1901, evoked universal applause.

It is seldom [said *The Globe*] that so high an office is conferred upon one so young in years, but Bishop O'Connell has demonstrated fitness and remarkable ability in every position he has occupied. . . . He has been forced to the front by reason of his own merits, and his appointment as Bishop of Portland will prove a powerful addition to the episcopacy of the Catholic Church in America.

He had [said *The Pilot*] an important and difficult place to fill; that he filled it admirably, with priestly devotion, with manly dignity, with administrative wisdom and fine tact, is the verdict of Rome and of Catholic America. . . . He has been a noble priest; he will be a noble Bishop. Boston is proud of him, and congratulates Portland, which will love him and honor him as it loved and honored his predecessor.⁸

The consecration of the new bishop took place on May 19, 1901, under ideal conditions. The weather was that of the loveliest May morning; the scene was the great basilica of St. John Lateran, "Mother and Head of all the Churches of the City and the World" (as the inscription on the façade proclaims); the ceremony was held in the princely Corsini Chapel, one of the richest and most beautiful private chapels in Rome, its use being made possible by special permission of the Pope and of the Corsini family. The consecrators were Cardinal Satolli; Archbishop Edmund Stonor, a venerable and distinguished English prelate; and Archbishop Raphael Merry del Val, a beloved friend of the Bishop-elect and later to be famous as the noble Secretary of State of Pope Pius X. Among those present were the students of the American College; the American Ambassador, Mr. George Von L. Meyer; many distinguished representatives of the American colony, the diplomatic corps, the Roman princely and patrician families. After the ceremony a collation was served in the charming *cortile* adjoining the basilica.

ley to Archbishop Williams, Feb. 24, 1901; Cardinal Satolli to Archbishop Williams, April 27, 1901 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*), etc., etc.

⁸ *Globe*, April 24, 1901; *Pilot*, April 27, 1901.

Of the ensuing farewells His Eminence has written:

A few days after my consecration I had my audience of *congé* with the Holy Father, and I cannot express the sentiments which crowded into my mind and heart on that occasion. "I am very old," said the Pontiff, "and my strength seems to grow less every succeeding day. My life has been long and, I trust, useful to Holy Church and the world, and now I am longing for release and the vision of God, whom I have tried to serve faithfully. You are young. You will come back to Rome, but you will not find me here."

At these words I could not restrain my emotion, for which the Holy Father gently chided me, adding in rather a light vein, no doubt to check my sad feelings at the moment, and with a wistful smile: "When you hear of my death away off there in Portland, will you remember me in your prayers and say a great funeral Mass for the repose of my soul?" I had no answer to make to this sad request, but I took the feeble, delicate, cold hand, and bowing over it, kissed it with filial affection and the deepest reverence for the greatest man I was ever to know in this life, and the Pontiff who all unconsciously, by the inspiration of his noble words and devotion even to the end of a feeble old age, sticking to his post and finally dying in it, taught all humanity the highest lesson of faith undimmed and of service until the end.

After a few days more of preparation for my long journey, I said a fond and reverent good-bye to dear old Rome, to all those who there had helped and guided me, to my dear students, my crown and my joy, and to my life in Rome, which had begun under so inauspicious circumstances without a friend, and had ended, by God's grace, with every mark of approbation that Rome could give, and with a sacred and golden circle of friends, the best and truest I had ever known.⁹

On June 28th, Bishop O'Connell arrived in Boston. After a hearty welcome from the Archbishop, a quiet weekend with his family, and a few dinners and receptions tendered to him by clerical and lay friends, proud of this elevation of a Boston man to episcopal honors, he set out for Portland, accompanied

⁹ *Recollections*, pp. 212-213.

by Vicar-General Byrne and Father Michael Ronan. On July 4th he was formally installed in his Cathedral, with Bishop Bradley, of Manchester, preaching the sermon.

He had come into a diocese in which he was a total stranger and in which there was at first, perhaps, some disappointment that a Maine priest had not received the episcopate. But these initial handicaps were quickly overcome by a bishop who seemed the embodiment of energy, activity, and competence for every task, and who "made friends as rapidly as he met people."¹⁰ His careful and efficient discharge of all the duties of his high office, his eloquence in the pulpit and on the platform, his rare power of presenting eternal truths in modern terms and of applying them to twentieth-century problems, his wisdom and practical common sense, his fine presence and dignity combined with universal affability and the ability to adapt himself to all kinds and conditions of men, his splendid representation of the Church on all public occasions — such things soon won for him the enthusiastic loyalty of clergy and laity, and convinced Catholics that in him they had a leader of whom they could be proud. With non-Catholics he became scarcely less popular. His unmistakable intellectual power and wide cultivation, his alertness to modern needs and ideas, his readiness to coöperate in all legitimate ways, his charm in social intercourse, his strong American patriotism, his constant insistence on civic duties and high standards in public life — all this convinced Protestants that in Bishop O'Connell Maine had gained a most unusual and valuable citizen and a great force for social and civic righteousness.

His work there in the next five years in many ways foreshadowed what he was later to do in Boston. Portland, although one of the weakest dioceses of New England in numbers, in area equaled all the other dioceses put together. There were few large cities in the State, and the ninety-seven thousand Catholics formed a widely dispersed, and a racially much diversified, population. The Bishop's first care was to get acquainted with his scattered flock. For that purpose, at as early a date as

¹⁰ *Portland Telegram*, June 7, 1903.

possible, he traveled over the entire State, by railroad, steamboat, or — for hundreds of miles — by carriage, learning to know each of his priests individually and the laity as well as he could, familiarizing himself with the condition and needs of every parish, mission, or institution. It did not escape attention that he could address almost every racial group in its own language, and that he seemed as much at home with the French, the Italians, or the ever-faithful Maine Indians as with English-speaking Catholics. Under him the Diocese experienced what was, for a five-year period and under the given conditions, a very gratifying growth. The number of priests increased from 102 to 121, of churches from 88 to 104, of the faithful from 97,000 to 110,000.

He also addressed himself particularly to the better organization and utilization of the existing Catholic forces. He enlarged and reorganized the diocesan curia; he exerted himself to place parishes and institutions on a firm financial basis; he strove to encourage Catholic men and women everywhere to band themselves together in societies for spiritual or social betterment. He made his own Cathedral parish a model of efficient management and organization. The great edifice itself was completely renovated, the debt on it substantially reduced. The services of the Church were carried out with unusual splendor and perfection, and the music was rendered in a manner that would have done credit to the great sanctuaries of the Old World. While numerous societies were provided for women, a special effort was made to organize the men. In 1902 the leading laymen of the city, at the Bishop's suggestion, founded the Catholic Union of Portland, modeled, perhaps, on that of Boston. For the young men of the city he created the Ozanam Club, which was to offer them much the same advantages as the Y.M.C.A. supplied to Protestants; and another club was provided for the boys of the Cathedral parish. But the most interesting of these foundations was the Workingmen's Club, established by Bishop O'Connell more particularly for the benefit of the longshoremen and railroad men, numerous in Portland, who had hitherto found few places of recre-

ation open to them save the saloons. Aided by generous Protestants as well as Catholics, he was able to erect a \$20,000 clubhouse on Commercial Street, which left nothing lacking for the comfort and enjoyment of its guests. It offered them a café, reading-room, billiard-room, bowling-alleys, halls for lectures and musical entertainments, shower baths, a swimming-pool, and even a roof garden. The club was from the outset a great success. It was used by many hundreds of workingmen, warmly approved by the employers of labor and by the citizens of Portland generally, and assisted by the constant interest and frequent visits of its founder.¹¹

Among other outstanding achievements of those years, one was the holding of the Second Synod of the Diocese on July 1, 1904. Another was the inauguration by the Bishop of the practice of addressing and instructing his clergy and people by pastoral letters. Hitherto the members of the American hierarchy had very rarely sent out such letters except on the occasion of councils or synods. Perceiving the usefulness of this method of teaching important truths in a peculiarly solemn and impressive way, Bishop O'Connell published two very notable pastorals. The first (1903), entitled *Ad Clerum*, was a detailed instruction on the care of immigrants; the second (1904) — almost a complete theological treatise in itself — dealt with *The Authority of the Church*.¹² This innovation was soon widely followed by his colleagues in the episcopate.

"Ever since the coming of Bishop O'Connell," a Catholic newspaper observed, "the watchword has been action."¹³ Protestants, too, did not fail to be impressed with that fact. His first notable appearance before the general public of Maine took place about two months after his arrival, at the great memorial meeting held by the citizens of Portland after the assassination of President McKinley. With the auditorium in City Hall packed by four thousand people to its full capacity,

¹¹ Cf. *Pilot*, March 11, 18, June 17, 1905; *Boston Herald*, Jan. 27, 1906; *Boston Transcript*, Sept. 16, 1906.

¹² The texts of both are to be found in *Sermons and Addresses*, II, 281-289, 325-370.

¹³ *Pilot*, Jan. 10, 1903.

the Bishop, as the last and principal speaker, delivered a very timely and forcible address on religion as the mainstay of the Republic, an address which was hailed by the newspapers far and wide as a masterly performance. Manifold exhibitions of courtesy, coöperation, and public spirit soon won for him the high esteem of Maine's leading citizens. The successive Governors of the State and Mayors of Portland, Senator Hale, and Speaker Thomas B. Reed, of the United States House of Representatives, were among his warm friends. When President Theodore Roosevelt visited Portland, the only clergyman of the city whom he expressly desired to meet was Bishop O'Connell, and from that meeting developed another long friendship. In a community in which the Catholic Church and its representatives had previously not been accustomed to receive many tokens of public respect or to figure often in the public eye, the new position marked an almost sensational change. That new position was emphasized at the Pontifical Mass of Requiem for Leo XIII which the Bishop, mindful of the parting injunction of that beloved Pontiff, held in the Cathedral of Portland on July 28, 1903. Of that solemn function, carefully prepared in every detail, and attended by nearly all the priests of the Diocese and the combined Catholic choirs of the city, *The Pilot* reported:

Bishop O'Connell left nothing undone to render the occasion worthy in every respect of the illustrious Vicar of Christ. He delivered a eulogy that was remarkable for its sincerity, eloquence, and beauty of diction. Never have we listened to a discourse that commanded more earnest and profound attention. Never before were so many prominent officials present at any Catholic function in the Cathedral: Governor Hill and his staff in full uniform, his Council, Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts, Mayor Boothby and the City Government, and many other notable dignitaries.¹⁴

It was also characteristic of the new position and of the Bishop's desire to promote coöperation and better understanding

¹⁴ *Pilot*, Aug. 8, 1903. The eulogy is to be found in *Sermons and Addresses*, II, 290-303.

that when the National Convention of Charities and Correction was held in Portland in June, 1904, he was invited to be the principal speaker at the first evening meeting; and that he seized the opportunity to lay before that predominantly Protestant gathering a fine exposition of Catholic ideals of charity and of the work that the Church has done in that field.

During these busy years he had still found time to appear not infrequently in the Diocese of Boston, preaching at dedications, anniversaries, and on other solemn occasions. His sermon at the dedication of the new St. Peter's, Lowell, on "The Two Temples" (contrasting human and divine law), deserves lasting remembrance as a masterpiece of ecclesiastical eloquence.¹⁵ His fame grew steadily.

"There are few men," said one Boston newspaper, "in the New England province, and indeed among the greater bishops of the Church today, who excel him in brilliancy, in wit, in oratorical powers, and in administrative ability."¹⁶ He was hailed as "the Roosevelt of the American Church." Rumor had it that he was likely to be appointed the next Archbishop of Boston, Rector of the Catholic University in Washington, Apostolic Delegate to Cuba, Archbishop of Manila — and the position last named was certainly offered him, although after careful consideration he declined it.¹⁷ But the next appointment that actually came to him was one that rumor would never have guessed.

III

The prologue to that appointment was his visit to Rome towards the close of 1904 — his first appearance there since 1901. Pius X, who down to the year before had been Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, and whom he had scarcely known, was now Pope, and Cardinal Merry del Val was Secretary of State. The contrast could scarcely have been greater between the new Pontiff and his predecessor, at least as regards appear-

¹⁵ *Sermons and Addresses*, II, 261-280.

¹⁶ *Boston Post*, Jan. 17, 1904.

¹⁷ *Recollections*, pp. 224-226.

ance and temperament. Leo XIII, as Cardinal O'Connell has since written, was "emaciated, colorless, detached, aloof, philosophic, speculative; Pius, hearty, florid, solid, amiable, practical, intimate."¹⁸ But with the kindly, humble, saintly Pius X, Monsignor O'Connell at once became at least as great a favorite as he had been with that great thinker, scholar, and diplomat, Leo XIII. At their first meeting (December 23rd) the new Pope received him with extraordinary cordiality, embraced him, assured him that he knew very well his past record, and discussed at length the affairs of his diocese. Two weeks later Bishop O'Connell received a brief appointing him Assistant at the Pontifical Throne, with a complimentary letter from the Holy Father. Of his final interview (February 24, 1905), His Eminence has related:

At my audience of *congé* he gave me a precious gift, a sacred relic of the True Cross, in an exquisite reliquary of gold and enamel. "You are young and strong," he said to me, "and we shall have work for you to do soon," and with his blessing on my head I departed again for Portland with these enigmatic and mysterious words still ringing in my ears. I little dreamed, nor could I ever fancy, what the Holy Father had in mind when he gave me this mystic message, but I was soon to learn.¹⁹

On the 31st of August, like a bolt from the blue, there arrived in Portland a letter from Cardinal Merry del Val, directing Bishop O'Connell to proceed at once to Japan as special Envoy of the Pope.²⁰ He was charged to present an autograph letter from the Holy Father to the Emperor, and by a friendly exchange of views with Japanese statesmen to pave the way for closer relations between the Holy See and the Mikado's Government. He was also to gather information about the state of the Catholic religion in Japan, its future prospects, and the attitude of the dominant classes towards it.²¹

¹⁸ *Reminiscences*, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Recollections*, p. 232.

²⁰ These instructions had been sent July 22nd, but, owing to certain chicaneries of the Italian postal authorities, they were delayed for weeks in reaching their destination.

²¹ On the mission to Japan, see: *Recollections*, pp. 232-263, and *Sermons and*

It was, undoubtedly, an extraordinary commission. This was the first time that the Holy See had ever sent an envoy to the Mikado. It was an entirely new departure for Rome to entrust an important diplomatic mission to an American prelate. And if an American was to be selected, it might appear strange that the choice had fallen on the youthful Bishop of Portland, rather than upon some veteran and world-famous figure, such as Archbishop Ireland.²²

On the other hand, it must be recalled that Japan had suddenly leaped into a position of immense prominence and importance. The once backward, Asiatic hermit-nation, which for forty years had been striving feverishly to transform itself by appropriating the whole material, scientific, and technical civilization of the West, had just furnished decisive proof of the success of the experiment by defeating the giant power of Russia. The Peace of Portsmouth was signed on September 5, 1905. Japan emerged from the war flushed with victory, hailed as a new Great Power, and regarded by most of the rest of the world with wonder, admiration, and enormously enhanced interest. And if Rome wished to enter into closer relations with a nation that now seemed destined to be the leader in Eastern Asia, it was not unnatural that the mission should be entrusted to an American, in view of the immense popularity that the United States then enjoyed in Japan.

It was, of course, a difficult and delicate task that had been assigned to Bishop O'Connell — a mission to a land utterly unknown to him, to a nation of whom, as he has remarked, "nearly all the writers agreed that it was next to impossible for the Western mind to understand intimately the method of

Addresses, IX, 70-81; also *Souvenir of Receptions and Banquets* (1906), pp. 3-17. The Boston Diocesan Archives contain a rich collection of documents relating to it, among which are the very detailed diary of the trip kept by Rev. Charles W. Collins, and the final report of the Envoy as printed in Rome for circulation among the Cardinals — entitled *Giappone: Missione di Monsignor O'Connell. Rapporto di Monsignor O'Connell, Vescovo di Portland, sulla sua missione presso l'Imperatore del Giappone* (58 pp. Cited here as "*Rapporto*").

²² It has been reported that the original intention at Rome was to offer the task to the Archbishop of St. Paul, but that this plan was never carried out (Miss E. B. Edes to Bishop McQuaid, Jan. 24, 1906, in *Rochester Dioc. Arch.*).

thought very successfully concealed by these children of the Orient behind their smiling faces and exquisite politeness,"²³ a people with whom etiquette was a supreme art, and among whom it would be the easiest thing in the world for an envoy quite unknowingly to commit some slight *faux pas* that might prove disastrous. The consciousness of that peril was to be with him at every moment throughout that mission.

At all events, accepting the task in the spirit of a soldier who has heard the orders of his commander in chief, he made his preparations as quickly as possible, and on September 14, 1905, set out on the long journey, accompanied by two priests as secretaries. After crossing the continent by the Canadian Pacific, descending the West Coast to San Francisco, and encountering some delays in obtaining steamship accommodations because of the rush of travelers then going to Japan, on October 12th he sailed on the steamer *Korea*. The pleasant ocean voyage, like the preceding journey by land, was spent chiefly in reading every book of value that he had been able to pick up about the mysterious Island Empire. Early on the morning of October 29th the three travelers landed at Yokohama; and that afternoon they took a toy-like train up to Tokyo, where they installed themselves in the Imperial Hotel.

They came, as it happened, at just the right moment. During the previous month there had been a violent outbreak of anti-foreign feeling in Japan, owing to the popular belief that during the negotiations for peace with Russia the Mikado's Government had been duped by foreign Powers, and particularly by President Roosevelt, into accepting terms much less favorable than should have been obtained. This xenophobia had vented itself in strong protests in the press against the coming of a Papal envoy, and it had also led to serious rioting in Tokyo, in the course of which some churches and residences of foreign missionaries had been destroyed. Very quickly, however, the Japanese had become ashamed of such exhibitions and eager to rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the world. Arriving at that moment, the Papal Envoy was to find the Gov-

²³ *Recollections*, p. 235.

ernment, the press, and the educated classes all the more ready to receive him in the friendliest manner because of what had just taken place.

It also helped, rather than hindered, that M. Harmand, the French Minister, had been doing all in his power to thwart the success of the mission. The Third Republic was then in the singular position — singular especially for a nation so logical as the French — in which, on the one hand, it had broken off relations with the Holy See, had arbitrarily torn up the Concordat, and was subjecting the Church to an infamous persecution at home, while, on the other hand, abroad it still clung, for strictly political reasons, to the traditional claim of France to be the protector of Catholic missions. Hence its representative in Tokyo, himself an unbeliever, was indignant over this attempt of the Holy See to enter into direct relations with the Japanese Government, without resorting to French mediation. But France, whose Government had done all it could, short of open hostilities, to help its Russian ally during the late war, was then the most unpopular of nations in Japan. M. Harmand's opposition was, therefore, of positive advantage to Bishop O'Connell's mission.

Mr. Lloyd C. Griscom, the able and popular American Minister, who had been directed by President Roosevelt to render the American Bishop all the assistance in his power, proved from the outset a most friendly and indefatigable auxiliary. But, in the main, the success or failure of the mission depended upon the tact, insight, and skill of the Envoy himself, and in this test Bishop O'Connell once more showed a superb competence.

His first official visit (November 1st) was to Baron (later Count) Komura, the Foreign Minister, the diplomat who had recently negotiated for his country the Peace of Portsmouth. This distinguished statesman showed himself most friendly, although he regretted that he was about to depart for an important negotiation with China and stated that during his absence the care of foreign relations would devolve upon the Prime Minister, Count Katsura.

On November 3rd Baron Komura gave an evening reception in honor of the Emperor's birthday, to which the entire diplomatic corps and the Papal Envoy were invited, along with most of the leaders in Japan's public or social life. There the Bishop first met the Premier, Count (later Prince) Katsura, "the Japanese Bismarck," who had piloted his nation into and through the struggle with Russia; and almost at the first glance the two men became firm friends. The newly arrived representative of the Vatican was that night the cynosure of all eyes. It was his first appearance before all the *grand monde* of Tokyo, his diplomatic baptism by fire; and Father Collins noted in his diary that after that evening there was never a question of the success of the mission or of the potent personality of the Papal Envoy.

A week later, on November 10th, there took place the audience with the Sovereign of Japan. As a very special and rare honor, a gorgeous Imperial equipage was sent to bring the Envoy to the palace, his two secretaries following in another carriage. After bowling rapidly through streets lined with people bowing or kneeling before the coach and the guest of the "Son of Heaven," the party passed over the moat and through the park up to the vast but low and rather modest collection of buildings that formed the Mikado's residence. There the Envoy was conducted through endless corridors to the audience chamber, where Count Katsura presented him to the Emperor Mutsuhito, the undoubtedly great ruler whose long reign (1867-1912) and wise policy effected the transformation of Japan. A tall, yellow-faced, tired, and somewhat stern-looking man, clad in uniform, the Emperor received Bishop O'Connell very graciously. The Envoy presented the Papal letter, dated July 21st, in which the Holy Father thanked the Japanese Sovereign for the benevolent protection accorded to the Catholic missionaries in Manchuria during the war and expressed his admiration and affectionate regard for the Monarch and people of Japan. Monsignor O'Connell accompanied this with a short and well-conceived address, in which he dwelt particularly upon the Pope's gratitude for the liberty extended

to Catholics throughout the Japanese dominions and his joy that peace had now been restored in the Far East. The Emperor replied by expressing his appreciation of the honor paid to him and his nation by the Holy Father in sending him a special Envoy and an autograph letter. He declared himself particularly pleased to receive an American in this capacity, affirmed his determination to maintain full religious liberty throughout his realm, and voiced the hope that the peace now concluded would have results that would further rejoice His Holiness.²⁴ After shaking hands with His Imperial Majesty and presenting his secretaries, the Envoy bowed himself out of the room in the customary fashion, and went to a more informal audience with the Empress Haruko. On the following day the Minister of the Imperial Household entertained him at a luncheon, given at the Shiba Detached Palace by the Emperor's command.

If these events proved the desire of the Imperial Court to show him every honor, in his conferences with Count Katsura and other high officials he also met with the utmost courtesy and helpfulness. These conferences were devoted chiefly to discussing the condition of the Church in Japan and sounding out the views of the Government as to various changes that might be made. So friendly was the official attitude that, in accordance with instructions cabled by Cardinal Merry del Val, the Bishop broached the question of the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations between Japan and the Holy See.

The proposal was favorably received, but eventually the reply was made that the Imperial Government was so preoccupied with the grave foreign and domestic problems growing out of the recent war that it could not now give this new question the careful consideration it deserved. Before long the Emperor would send an envoy to thank the Holy Father for his letter, and on that occasion the matter could be treated anew.²⁵

²⁴ Texts of the Papal letter, Bishop O'Connell's address, and the Emperor's reply, in *Boston Dioc. Arch.*

²⁵ *Rapporto*, pp. 8 ff. A Japanese envoy was sent to Rome in 1907 to return Bishop O'Connell's visit, but permanent relations with the Holy See were not established at that time.

While in general eager to avoid public addresses during this mission, Bishop O'Connell found it impossible to decline some invitations. The Imperial Education Society of Japan having asked him, at very short notice, to give them something they had never had before, an address in Latin, on November 22nd, at a crowded meeting of that distinguished association, he delivered a discourse on "The Christian Conception of True Education," which was excellently received. At its close he was elected a member of the society. A few days earlier (the 18th) he had been the guest of honor at a meeting organized by the Catholic Young Men's Association. So great had been the interest aroused by his mission that one of the largest halls in Tokyo was filled to the limits of its capacity by a crowd of about three thousand persons — most of them University students and in overwhelming majority non-Catholics. After a message from the Mayor of Tokyo (whom illness prevented from attending), speeches in various ways lauding the Catholic Church were delivered by Shimada Saburo, a famous orator and former member of Parliament; by Father Maeda, a native priest; by Professor Anezaki, of the University of Tokyo, a Buddhist; and by Professor Arthur Lloyd, a former Protestant missionary. Then the Bishop arose, greeted with a splendid burst of applause. His address, reviewing the past and present relations between the Church and the Japanese people, was a marvel of tact and psychological insight, and although delivered in English, was followed by his auditors with tense interest and obvious approval. As he closed, that vast throng sprang to their feet and rent the atmosphere with thunderous shouts of "*Banzai!*" "That gigantic roar," Father Collins' diary records, "was such an expression of enthusiasm as I have never seen equaled." The *Banzai's* were still continuing as the Bishop rode away to his hotel after the greatest demonstration in honor of the Church that Tokyo had ever witnessed.

Those weeks were so filled with engagements that the Envoy had scarcely a free moment. But at luncheons, dinners, receptions, visits, interviews, he made the most varied and instructive contacts: with the Japanese upper classes — with princes, offi-

cials, generals, admirals, business men, professors, journalists, and even with numerous Buddhist bonzes; with foreign diplomats and members of the foreign colony; with the venerable Archbishop, Monsignor Osouf, the other Catholic clergy of the vicinity, and the native Catholics. These contacts enabled him to fulfill the second great object of his mission: to gain a clear view of the position, prospects, and needs of the Church in the Island Empire.

He found the Government well disposed, and the upper classes inclined to be more sympathetic towards Catholicism than towards Protestantism. Nevertheless, there were little more than sixty thousand Catholics in Japan, and for a dozen years converts had been very few. The Church seemed to be at a standstill. Everyone agreed that the handful of bishops and priests then stationed in the islands were excellent, devoted, hard-working men. But everyone also pointed out that it was a great misfortune that virtually all these missionaries were Frenchmen. That fact disguised the true universality of the Church and tended to make the Japanese regard 'French' and 'Catholic' as synonymous. It also identified the Church with a nation that was at that time, for reasons already mentioned, particularly unpopular with the Japanese. These missionaries habitually preached in, and taught, no Western language save French. Most Japanese had little inclination to learn that tongue, but were amazingly eager to learn English; and hence they ran after the Protestant missionaries, who were usually Americans or British. The French missionaries were also said to be lacking in men of higher intellectual culture — a defect among a people who attached such great importance to education; and they led such retiring and self-effacing lives that most Japanese never encountered nor even heard of them. All informants agreed, and the missionaries admitted it, that it was very necessary that the Holy See should send to Japan priests of other nationalities, especially those who spoke English or German. It was highly desirable that the Church should enter more actively into the field of education, and should make itself better known. And among the native Catholics, with their devo-

tion to the memory of St. Francis Xavier and the missionary golden age of the sixteenth century, there was a lively wish that the Jesuit Order should be reintroduced into the Empire.

Bishop O'Connell had from the first been instructed to make his stay in Japan only a brief one. As it drew towards its close, there were many indications of how successful it had been. On November 20th a group of officials came to present to him, from the Emperor, the grand cordon of the Order of the Sacred Treasure, the highest decoration that the Japanese Government was accustomed to bestow upon foreigners; and his two secretaries received the insignia of the fifth class of the Order of the Rising Sun. On the 22nd, Count Katsura gave a farewell dinner to the Papal Envoy, which was attended by about fifty of the foremost men of the Empire. The climax of that evening was reached when the Prime Minister proposed a toast to Pope Pius X — the first time that the responsible head of the Japanese Government had publicly so honored the Roman Pontiff.

There is plenty of other evidence to show that the mission had achieved a great success. One of the French priests wrote to a friend at home:

Contrary to all prevision and all expectation, this first appearance of a Delegate of the Pope to Japan has been a very happy event, and one proclaimed by the most intelligent Japanese themselves as "an historic event," because it will have its place in their history. . . . As for the effect produced by Monsignor O'Connell, by this "ambassador," as the Japanese call him, it could not be better; the success is complete.²⁶

Another witness related:

At any rate, the press has been unanimous in praising and exalting the great, liberal Pope Pius X for the honor that he has done Japan. And as a result of this audience the capital accorded to the Pope's envoy a reception such as no ambassador had ever received. Father Maeda remarked on this subject: "It is no exaggeration to say that a new era has begun for

²⁶ Letter of the Abbé Alfred Ligneul, in *Les Missions Catholiques*, XXXVIII (1906), 70-72.

Catholicism in Japan. The Catholic Church, hitherto unnoticed, has become in a moment the object of universal attention." ²⁷

A missionary reported to Rome:

The result of this event, for it has been one for Japan, is that this altogether unforeseen and unexpected mission now appears to have been providential. Just in proportion as the first rumors about it were badly received by the Japanese press and by foreign opinion, so the final outcome has been happy.

It would be superfluous to say that the Catholics have been greatly rejoiced and encouraged by it. . . . For those who are not Christians, at least for a great number of them, the presence of an envoy of the Sovereign Pontiff has been a real revelation. Hitherto, even among educated Japanese, many had no idea of the Pope, or only false ideas. This time they have been enabled to inform themselves and to know the Pope as he is. As a result of the manifestations that have taken place on this occasion, the missionaries have been able to convince themselves that even today, in spite of the innumerable prejudices that have been spread against Catholicism, if we had sufficient forces it would still be possible to make a strong impression on public opinion and to start a powerful current of ideas in favor of the truth. ²⁸

Bishop O'Connell sailed from Yokohama on November 25th, on the steamship *Prinz Regent Luitpold* of the North-German Lloyd, to go directly to Rome to make his report. The long voyage was broken by stops at Kobe, Nagasaki, Shanghai, Hong-kong, and Singapore, and in Ceylon and Egypt. By January 10th he was in Rome. The Pope and Cardinal Merry del Val were — there is little need to say — delighted with the outcome of the mission and with his report upon it. The Holy Father declared that the results achieved exceeded his highest expectations, and that if all American envoys did their work as well, they would be the first diplomats of the world. ²⁹

²⁷ *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, LXXIX (1907), 45.

²⁸ Letter of Father Ligneul to Cardinal Merry del Val, Dec. 12, 1905 (*Boston Dioc. Arch.*).

²⁹ *Recollections*, p. 262; *Pilot*, Jan. 20, 1906.

In his recommendations to the Holy See, Bishop O'Connell urged particularly the need of eliminating the false nationalistic reputation of the Church in Japan and elsewhere by drawing priests and religious of many nationalities into the work of the foreign missions. Secondly, he proposed the foundation at Tokyo of a Catholic university, which ought to have a cosmopolitan staff, and one in which the English-speaking element would be strongly represented. He suggested placing the institution under the Society of Jesus. Finally, he pointed out the need of building up a native clergy as rapidly as possible, and of associating the Church more actively with female education.

All these recommendations were adopted by the Holy Father, and have in course of time been carried out. Today we are familiar with the spectacle of Catholics of every nationality, Americans included, working side by side in the various mission fields — a vivid reflection of the true Catholicity of the Church; and to this momentous and happy change Bishop O'Connell's report gave, perhaps the first, and certainly a very powerful, impulse. A second outstanding monument of that mission is the great Catholic University of Tokyo, conducted by the Jesuits, an institution which at the time when it celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1938 had over one thousand students, and which has always delighted to honor Boston's Cardinal Archbishop as its "first originator."³⁰

IV

It was in recognition of Bishop O'Connell's exceptional services as Envoy to Japan and in every other post that had been entrusted to him that he was, almost immediately upon his return to Rome, promoted to be titular Archbishop of Constantia,³¹ and Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Boston, with right of succession. This appointment was recommended by the Congregation of the Propaganda on January 22, 1906, sanc-

³⁰ On the Catholic University, see *Pilot*, Feb. 23, 1907, April 18, 1908, Nov. 8, 1913, Dec. 31, 1938.

³¹ "Constantia in Scythia," the modern Constanza in Rumania.

tioned by Pius X on February 1st, announced to the nominee by a Papal brief dated the 8th, and preconized in the Consistory of the 21st.

The news was, of course, a sensation in Boston, where the long-pending question of the coadjutorship had excited intense interest among clergy and laity, Catholics and non-Catholics. As must inevitably happen in such cases, there was some disappointment among those who had for so long cherished the hope that Rome's choice would fall upon Bishop Harkins. But to the great majority the news was most welcome. For years the public had been following with keen attention the career of this dynamic young churchman, and from him it expected great things. The newspapers unanimously applauded the appointment. *The Pilot*, in congratulating the Archdiocese upon the exceptional fitness of the man who had been selected as its future ruler, remarked:

The dominant traits of his character may be summed up briefly by the statement that he is a man of unusual energy, zeal, brilliancy of intellect, courtesy, good judgment, firmness, and executive ability. He is an eloquent preacher, a linguist, an accomplished musician and composer, a connoisseur of art, a progressive churchman, an indefatigable worker, and a diplomat.³²

The warmth of the welcome that awaited the Coadjutor-Archbishop was manifested when, after sailing from Naples on February 28th, he landed at Boston on March 13th. In the vast throng that had assembled to greet him were Bishop Delaney, of Manchester, the Mayors of Boston, Portland, Lowell, and Medford, and a large number of Boston's most distinguished clergy and laymen. As it was Lent, the formal festivities that had been planned for his homecoming were perforce postponed. His first act was to call upon Archbishop Williams, who gave him a most cordial welcome and declared himself extremely happy over the appointment.³³ Then he set off for Portland to attend to many pressing business matters of his old Diocese, of which he was to serve as Administrator until a suc-

³² Feb. 3, 1906.

³³ *Recollections*, p. 264.

cessor should have been named. As soon as he was able to return to Boston, the long series of receptions and other demonstrations of welcome began.

First, on April 3rd, Archbishop Williams, Bishop Brady, over five hundred priests of the Diocese, and many members of religious orders gathered at the Cathedral, along with about three thousand of the laity, for a solemn service which was intended to mark the formal assumption by Archbishop O'Connell of the office of Coadjutor. It was an historic and a deeply dramatic moment. Father Robert J. Johnson, rector of the Gate of Heaven parish, South Boston, delivered an address of greeting on behalf of the clergy. He offered a cordial welcome and sincere congratulations. He attested the hearty and loyal unanimity with which the action of the Holy See had been received, the affection and respect of the Boston clergy for Archbishop O'Connell personally, and their joy over the honor conferred upon them by the selection of one of their number for this high position. He expressed their conviction that the Coadjutor was eminently fitted for this work; their recognition of "the strength and sweetness" of his character, and of the splendid qualities that he had shown in every capacity in which he had been called to serve. Thereupon, amid the most profound silence and intense expectation, Archbishop O'Connell arose, bowed to Archbishop Williams, walked to a reading-desk in the middle of the sanctuary, and in a clear, firm voice that carried to the farthest corner of that vast edifice, responded with an address so powerful, so moving, so altogether appropriate to the occasion that it must be quoted here at some length.

This hour in which we meet officially for the first time is a solemn one. This sacred edifice wherein stands the throne of authority is a fitting place for a scene so fraught with immense significance. Neither the hour nor the temple has room for aught but sublime feeling and noble thoughts. We stand in the awful presence of Him who reads all hearts and "searcheth the reins." He knows our thoughts ere our lips have given them utterance and no words can veil to Him the sentiments which inspire them. Filled with the momentous emotion with

which that knowledge awes me, I beg you, priests of the Diocese of Boston, to hear me.

Nearly three years have passed since the venerable prelate of this See, himself the first to recognize the need of help, turned to Rome, whence alone that aid could come. Rome has made her irrevocable decision. I stand before you with the mandate of the supreme pastor of the universal Church in my hands. I come from Peter's presence into yours. And true to the faith you preach and to the holy traditions of this See of Boston, the best exemplar of which still rules it, you offer to whomsoever Peter sends your loyalty and reverence, and the Diocese of Boston has once more proven her inflexible spiritual allegiance to Rome and the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church. This is the great and the high meaning of this hour and with it the hour goes into history, recorded, dead. The future lies before us. There lies life in duty.

What is our duty? No one could tell us better than we know. The Church's laws are clearly written and her sanction of those laws is no secret. The humblest soldier in her immense army as well as her great generals has each his allotted place and the relations of each to each of that vast militia are regulated and protected to the last detail. Upon the day when we enlisted we gave our solemn vow to God to respect these relations. The words are still most fresh and clear in our memory now and their force yields only to death. We each know well his duty. Not to learn that have we come here.

We are here to offer to each other what is infinitely more than that which law compels, and without which duty may perhaps be done, but it will be cold as a statue and as lifeless as a corpse. This is no basilica of old where the minister of justice holds his court and unfeelingly applies the statute and the code. This is the temple of Christ, who died for love of man, and whose whole law was a law of charity and fraternal love.

The greatest of all the Church's laws is the law of Christ: Love one another. He Himself repeats it to us now. The first page of our new relations stands open here before His altar. Upon it is clearly written our bilateral contract. On one side I write my name indelibly and without reserve, excepting no one, embracing all. Is there one here who will not do the

same? If there be not, the book which shall record the years to come is well begun. That much of the future — and it is very much — is safe. The first page is written well.

And now, before we open another page of that book by whose record we shall be judged, I beg you to make the rest one which our successors will read with edified interest. I come as Coadjutor — that means not merely a helper, but a co-worker with him who governs, sharing in a measure his honors and responsibilities — a measure which, however small, will still be great enough for me. In the performance of so high a duty in the work which stands before me even now I need not only your hearts but your minds in full coöperation.

I am no stranger. I was born in Massachusetts and in this Diocese. I have partaken of the bounty of this great State and this great Diocese. I have given many years of my best effort and strength to both and I love both ardently and sincerely, each according to its relations, spiritual and civil. I have every reason, natural and supernatural, to wish to serve both to the best of my power, as bishop and as citizen. The two duties are not only compatible; they are inseparable.

And now I am going to speak last of all of that which will be forever first in my mind and heart: my duty paramount, that which I owe to my chief in this See, the Archbishop of Boston. It is all summed up in one word — devotion. Words are frequently difficult. Now they are wellnigh impossible. I am here to serve him as he wishes, no more than that if so he will — certainly not less. We stand to each other as father and son. But, as often happens, even when such relations are of blood and bone, the resemblance is scarcely visible. The strong and unique personality of the father of this Diocese will never have a counterpart, as it has never had a peer. The first Archbishop of Boston will be for all of us here present its only great Archbishop. No attempt to imitate his personality could have any other result than to travesty the great original. That at least I shall have the good sense not to attempt. I shall be content to enshrine in my memory the image of that royal figure and then endeavor only to be, not what he is, but my best self. If imitation is the sincerest flattery, it is only flattery after all — and that he always despised; I know better than to offer it.

The Church acts in the living present and looks toward the future. If we face only the past we shall die with the past; the Church must live and he who rules will be held responsible for her life. Not one great bishop of the past returning would persist in viewing present conditions as if naught had changed. That which made them great was precisely their ability to grasp the significance of the hour and control it.

I believe, as strongly as I believe that there is a God, that that God has placed me where I am. And that faith compels the solid conviction that even when the time comes — may it be long — when the greatest man that has ever ruled this See is taken from it, He who is Omnipotent will still be with it. In that perfect faith I place my trust — less faith than that were pusillanimous. He who shares that faith will ask for no weak copy of a great original, but will accept me for what I am; that at least will be genuine. I offer that simply, and that is all I have to give to you, dear Archbishop, and to you, beloved priests.

No one could have greater reason, as I believe no one could have a greater desire, to be all that one can in duty and devotion to my superior, His Grace, than I. But until today no one but myself has known the greatest reason of all. I have kept my secret for a quarter of a century. Today I am proud to reveal it on the very spot where it happened.

Here in this very Cathedral twenty-five years ago I assisted at the funeral of a Lowell boy, John Smith. The lifeless body of that brilliant and devoted priest lay just before where I stand. The Archbishop rose above the remains of his child in God and tenderly told the story of that all-too-brief career. His words that day are still fresh in my memory — they meant too much to me ever to be forgotten. At the close of that eloquent eulogy he turned toward the dead priest and said with a grand simplicity of words which is his own: "His great love for Rome, where he passed his student years, enkindled a like flame in all who knew him, and I who knew him best love Rome more for having known him."

Then and there for the first time I determined to study in Rome. That determination has affected the whole course of my life. No need to tell you how — the world knows it. Rome has been so much to me since that day that I would be the

basest ingrate if I could ever forget her. That blessed influence which has been the greatest factor in my whole life I owe to the greatest power in all the world, the ardent words of a good man. These words came from the lips of Archbishop Williams. Everything that has come to me since then I can trace back to his influence; the years of student and rector in Rome, the knowledge of her great men, my ordination, my consecration, the dignity of papal envoy, my present promotion in this great See, one of the greatest in the world, the beneficent patronage of the immortal Leo, and today what I treasure dear as life itself — I dare to say it because he has written it — the special affection and protection of the greatest-hearted Pontiff the Church has ever known, our present Holy Father, Pius X.

Here is a debt to Rome I can never hope to cancel, however long I may live, but the first installment of that debt I owe in my duty to him who gave me to Rome twenty-five years ago, an untrained, inexperienced youth. Today Rome gives me back to him, with an experience certainly varied enough, a traveler in many lands who has sought to carry something of value from each, a journeyman in nearly all the varied occupations of the Church's great workshop, endeavoring to acquire skill in each, and at least having failed nowhere. Rome at least knows what she has given back, and upon her judgment I shall confidently rely, whatever my own opinion of my own poor value may be.

The debt to him, therefore, is my first and most urgent one now. My whole life cannot repay the other. And in the liquidation of that first great debt I cannot act alone. I must have your coöperation; for though my debt is larger than that which any one of you here owes, yours is still unpaid and can only now be fully canceled in one way.

There is now only one thing required of us — of all of us equally and alike — to make the declining years of one who has earned peace and rest years of tranquillity and happiness. Peace can only come from established order preserved. Tranquillity can be the result only of concord.

You have given me a welcome worthy of yourselves and this Diocese. From my heart filled with gratitude I thank you for it. The future is at the door. For strength to meet it let us

turn now to Him Who has already given the order to march — to Him Who will lead us on and stand near us ever — to Him Who now waits to strengthen our weak hearts with His highest benediction.

*Procedamus in pace. Amen.*³⁴

This address, so replete with dignity, strength, frankness, and sincerity, so beautifully phrased, and so pregnant with meaning in its every part, made the most profound impression on all who heard it. It was a revelation of the power, the calibre, of the man who had come to be second in command of the Archdiocese and its future ruler.

On April 18th the laity had their turn to welcome Archbishop O'Connell with a reception and banquet in Symphony Hall. The affair had been elaborately planned and was perfectly carried through. Two thousand representative Catholics, ladies and gentlemen, drawn from all parts of the Archdiocese and, indeed, from all New England, were in attendance; and at the head table was a galaxy of Governors, Mayors, Senators, Congressmen, and judges. The refreshments, the floral decorations, the musical program were magnificent. With Hon. Joseph H. O'Neil acting as toastmaster, speeches full of cordiality towards the Church and the new Coadjutor were delivered by George H. Lyman, Collector of the Port of Boston, representing President Roosevelt (who by letter regretted his inability to be present); Eki Hioki, Chargé d'Affaires at the Japanese Legation in Washington; Governor Curtis Guild, of Massachusetts; Mayor Fitzgerald, of Boston, and several others. Finally, Archbishop O'Connell spoke, accepting the tributes of the evening as directed not to himself but to his office. He drew inspiration from a flashlight glance over the bishops of Boston from Cheverus to Williams; outlined the vast field of common effort open to citizens who differed in creed; urged Catholics to seek first the Kingdom of God, and

³⁴ For economy of space this address has been reproduced in the somewhat abbreviated form that appeared in *The Pilot*, April 7, 1906, and in *Souvenir of the Receptions and Banquets to Most Rev. William H. O'Connell, D.D., as Coadjutor Archbishop of Boston* (Boston, 1906), pp. 46-51. The complete text is to be found in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 9-17.

in temporal matters to have standards high and true; paid warm tribute to President Roosevelt and to the reception recently given him in Japan; and sat down amid thunders of applause.

Of all the glowing newspaper accounts of that unforgettable evening, perhaps the comments of *The Republic*, of Boston, were the most significant:

It was a triumph! [said the journal] . . . It formed a fitting expression of the mood and temper that characterizes the Catholic mind in the New England of today toward the person and office of him who is to guide and mold Catholic policies and programmes. Reverence for the past, love and veneration for the benign figure of the venerable Archbishop of this Diocese, untempered optimism toward the future, and enthusiastic loyalty toward the kindly personality whom the wisdom of Rome placed as the potential repository of power in the Archdiocese — these were the dominants of the scale. . . . Never in the history of New England has a demonstration of such magnificence been held.³⁵

A long series of further receptions followed, tendered by the Catholic Union, the faculty, alumni, and students of Boston College, the alumni of the American College at Rome, the Boston friends of the Catholic Summer School, and other organizations.

Meanwhile, by June 1st the Coadjutor Archbishop was settled in the former residence of C. F. Hovey at 12 Union Park Street, where he would be conveniently close to Archbishop Williams. Between the two prelates the best of relations existed, the older man showing the utmost consideration to the younger one and the latter conforming exactly to every expressed wish of his superior.³⁶ Archbishop O'Connell was soon busily engaged with the duties assigned to him, particularly with that of administering Confirmation throughout the Diocese. Nevertheless, he found time to deliver a large number of public addresses, which more and more clearly revealed what a vigorous, clear-thinking, and far-sighted leader had appeared in the religious and civic life of this community.

³⁵ *Republic*, April 21, 1906. The text of Archbishop O'Connell's speech is in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 2-8.

³⁶ *Recollections*, p. 265.

To mention but a few of these addresses — on June 17, 1906, at the annual banquet of the Catholic Literary Union of Charlestown he gave so masterly a summary of the Catholic ideal of the citizen and the holder of public office that *The Pilot* declared this discourse ought to be set up in bold type in the halls of every Catholic organization, school, or college throughout the land.³⁷

On September 9th, after the appointment by Rome of Father Louis S. Walsh as Bishop of Portland, Archbishop O'Connell bade farewell to his first Diocese in a beautiful sermon delivered in his old Cathedral to a great congregation deeply moved, like himself, with sadness over this separation.³⁸

Before the Knights of Columbus at Boston, on October 12th, he outlined the duties and dangers confronting Catholic social organizations in a manner that was as fearless and frank as it was devotional and uplifting.³⁹

On November 9th he spoke before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston. On the 18th, at the dedication of the new St. Patrick's, Lowell, he preached another sermon of singular beauty and power — a sermon that has scarcely been surpassed in its portrayal of the pioneer priests and people, who in labor and sorrow had laid the foundations on which the Church of New England stands in glory today, or in its exposition of Catholic principles regarding the relations between capital and labor, or its résumé of Catholic ideals of charity.⁴⁰

Very notable, too, was his address on the evening of December 2nd, when the Social Education Congress closed a week of meetings with a large gathering in the Colonial Theatre, Boston, to discuss "The Aspects of Conscience," or the supreme importance of assuring adequate moral and spiritual training to our citizens. Doubtless, this was an assembly of very intellectual persons, but, presumably, also of people the great majority of whom had only the vaguest religious beliefs or no religious beliefs whatever. When they set themselves to the fund-

³⁷ *Pilot*, June 23, 1906.

³⁸ *Sermons and Addresses*, II, 383-391.

³⁹ "Strength and Life," in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 43-59.

⁴⁰ *Sermons and Addresses*, I, 102-119.

amental question of what adequate motive could be offered to mankind for striving to lead a good life, speaker after speaker offered only the lamest or flimsiest suggestions. Thereupon, Archbishop O'Connell, in a trenchant speech, brought the discussion down to bedrock by declaring:

Neither the consideration of health, nor honor, nor the welfare of others, nor the elevation of self, singly or altogether, will ever be found sufficient at all times and in all men for right moral action. No one of them, nor all of them, can be urged, therefore, as universal motives. They will work at times, and they will produce effects momentarily, and upon a certain high character of humanity they will be effective for long intervals. Many of them will not reach at all that class of humanity which most needs elevation. At best, therefore, they are partial, temporary, and insecure. There is one great universal power which never fails — the thought of God.⁴¹

Perhaps his most vigorous public utterance of that time was his speech at the mass meeting held on December 30th in Faneuil Hall, under the auspices of the Catholic Union, to protest against the ostensibly "anti-clerical," but in fact anti-religious and atheistic, campaign then being conducted by the French Government. He denounced that campaign as violating every canon of justice, fair play, and common decency, and as contradicting the very essence of democracy. This was the first meeting of the kind held in this country, and Boston's protest headed the list of protests of the Catholic world that were published in the *Osservatore Romano*.⁴²

In the summer of the following year, as has already been related, Archbishop Williams' health collapsed. "During that last illness," his Coadjutor has narrated, "his natural and habitual reticence was replaced by a tenderness of manner and a freedom and familiarity of speech of which hitherto no one would have dreamed him capable."⁴³ During that time the two men may be presumed to have gone over together in perfect frank-

⁴¹ *Pilot*, Dec. 8, 1906. The whole text of this magnificent discourse is to be found in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 280-292.

⁴² *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 24-31.

⁴³ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 62-63.

ness the condition and problems of the Archdiocese. Of the day of the venerated Archbishop's death his successor has recalled: "As I foresaw the fast approach of the end, I knelt by his bedside, and he placed his blessed hand upon my head, and said in a very low voice: 'God bless you and give you the strength to do His work.' " ⁴⁴ That paternal benediction was still ringing in his ears when, "shaken with an unspeakable emotion" over the loss of his father and friend and the deluge of cares and responsibilities about to break over his head, on the evening of August 30, 1907, Archbishop O'Connell found himself reigning Archbishop of Boston.

⁴⁴ *A Tribute of Affectionate Memory*, p. 35.

CHAPTER III

THE DAWNING OF A NEW ERA (1907-1911)

I

THE NEW RÉGIME began under the most favorable auspices. The country was then enjoying an unprecedented prosperity and an immense industrial expansion. Immigration, which in 1907 reached its highest point in our history, with 1,285,349 aliens arriving on our shores, was to continue like a flood down to 1914, never sinking below 700,000 and often rising above 1,000,000 persons a year. As most of these immigrants were Catholics, the Church was growing by leaps and bounds, and nowhere more than in Massachusetts. And the prospect then was that the nation's prosperity and the steady, massive increase of its Catholic population would continue indefinitely.

With nearly 14,000,000 Catholics in the United States, it was clear that the Church in this country had passed from the stage of infancy and youth into full maturity. In recognition of that fact, Pius X in 1908 was to transfer the American Church from the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda to that of the ordinary Roman Congregations, as a sign that, no longer regarded as a missionary land, this country was to be raised to the status of the nations of old-established Catholic life. And in the Archdiocese of Boston, which was now surpassed in numbers and strength by few sees in the Catholic world, the feeling was particularly strong that the trying and anxious springtime was over and that glorious summer had now arrived.

The new Archbishop entered upon his task with certain advantages over all his predecessors: a more finished ecclesiastical education; a greater range of ecclesiastical experience; a more perfect knowledge of Rome, its spirit, its point of view, its methods; a broader acquaintance with the world-wide Church; an opportunity already to have learned the art of governing a

diocese through having presided over another see. He was perfectly familiar with the Archdiocese of Boston, its clergy, its people, its problems. He was in the prime of life and glowing with health and energy. His personality had already made the deepest impression upon the community. From him the public expected great things.

While fully appreciating the favorable aspects of the situation, Archbishop O'Connell was not less aware of its difficulties. His revered predecessor, with all his merits, had been, very naturally, a man of his own generation, a man who had always clung, as far as possible, to the ideas, the methods, the customs of the pioneer days in which he grew up. Moreover, by temperament and by policy, he had been disinclined to exert his authority more than was absolutely necessary. Pastors, institutions, and Catholic organizations had, to a great extent, been left free to proceed as they pleased and to solve their problems as best they knew how, in a way that sometimes proved disastrous and which, at any rate, failed to assure within the Catholic ranks the unity, coöperation, and broad outlook that would have been desirable. During the last decade of his reign, as a result of his great age and growing infirmities, Archbishop Williams' hand had been felt even less than formerly. And towards the non-Catholic public he had always, as has been noted above, restricted himself to a very cautious and self-effacing rôle. Much as might be said in defense of his policies in view of the conditions of his own time, in the situation of the early twentieth century large changes were obviously needed. To meet that situation Archbishop O'Connell from the beginning of his reign framed a very definite, comprehensive, and far-sighted program. This program was not announced to the world in any formal manner nor all at once set in motion. Those observers who had expected sweeping and drastic changes at the outset turned out to be bad prophets. But as, step by step, old rules and customs were altered and new enterprises multiplied, the world quickly awoke to the fact that under the new régime in the Archdiocese of Boston, not only were things moving, and moving fast, but that all these changes

were part of a unified policy and of a complete and well-integrated plan.

The program may, perhaps, be summarized under three heads.

In the first place, it aimed at a reorganization of diocesan administration and institutions and of Catholic activities generally with a view to attaining the maximum of unity and efficiency. It was not a question merely of fashioning more smooth-running machinery or of introducing up-to-date businesslike methods, such as the administration of a great diocese required. Those things were included, and were in themselves important. But it was even more a question of unifying and coördinating all Catholic activities in the Diocese under the direction of the constituted authorities: the Archbishop, in the first place, and, above him, the Holy Father. Possessing a deep and very Catholic sense of the Church's peculiar constitution, ever mindful that, in her, authority proceeds from above downward — and not in the contrary direction, as in democratic civil states — and profoundly conscious of the powers and responsibilities that devolve upon the Pope as the Vicar of Christ and upon the Bishops as the successors of the Apostles, Archbishop O'Connell desired to see these truths more adequately realized and better put into practice than had commonly been the case hitherto in America. His views on these subjects he expressed before the Catholic Educational Association in 1909 in words that explain so much of his general policy that they deserve to be quoted:

... There is no disunion or dismemberment in the Church's ministrations. No man and no body of men stands apart in the Church's wonderful organization. There is coördination and subordination all along the line of the whole diocese, with all its varied activities, to the Bishop, and of the Bishop to the Holy See. In the last analysis, according to that wonderful system that runs through the whole Church, the episcopate is entirely responsible, and the episcopate, governed by those wise regulations which the wisdom of the Holy See has framed for its guidance, entrusts this particular share of its multiform

labors [teaching] to those who by vocation and training are best fitted for the task.

It is this union of all through the episcopate to the Holy See which constitutes the real strength of the Church's position. In whatever work is undertaken in the name of the Church, whether it be the administration of the Sacraments, the preaching of the word of God, the teaching and training of youth, or any other phase of spiritual ministration, there is the ecclesiastical régime for the guidance of the mind toward truth and the forming of the will toward goodness.

Pius X, wise and practical as he has shown himself to be in every act of his wonderful pontificate, stands, as he must, for organization and unity, and his constant cry to all those offering their services and aid in every work, moral, intellectual, or social, is, "Stand with your Bishops: seek their counsel and direction, and follow their guidance scrupulously."

Your work, if you hope to make it truly efficacious, stable, permanent, and truly progressive, must be no exception to the general system which controls and directs every activity in the whole Church all over the world. You must strive in this coming congress of yours, first and last, for united effort under the Church's constituted authority. . . .¹

A second aim of the program was the intensification of all the existing Catholic activities and the development of new ones to meet the demands of the new age. Obviously, a great increase in the number of parishes and churches was called for to provide for the rapidly swelling population. But Archbishop O'Connell was determined also to quicken the spiritual life of his people, to arouse their interest in foreign missions, to redouble previous efforts in the fields of Catholic education, Catholic charities, the Catholic press, and all those laymen's activities that have since been grouped together under the name of Catholic Action — in short, to organize a powerful advance all along the line.

Thirdly, he wished to effect a readjustment of the relations between Catholics and the rest of the community. Gone, decidedly, were the old days when Catholics were but a despised

¹ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 191 f.

and a barely tolerated minority, regarded as fit to be only hewers of wood and drawers of water, not expected to take any part in intellectual, business, or political life. Gone, too, were the days, when, in order to avoid verbal or physical persecution, the Church needed to bury herself as much as possible from public view. Catholics were now twice as numerous in Eastern Massachusetts as the adherents of all other religious bodies taken together; they were rising steadily in the social scale; the government of Boston and many a neighboring city was now normally in their hands; the position of their Church was no longer seriously assailed from any quarter. Nevertheless, the atmosphere and the cautious, defensive attitudes of the old days had to a great extent persisted. Archbishop O'Connell felt that it was high time to come forth from the Catacombs. The Church could and should make herself felt, seen, and heard. She ought to speak out openly and frankly in order to make herself better known and understood; in order to claim the respect and the full equality of rights that were due to her; in order to express, on public questions in which religious and moral issues were at stake, the views of by far the largest body of Christians in the Commonwealth; in order to make her contribution to the civic and social betterment of the community. He was also eager to see the Catholic laity fit themselves to be honorable and respected leaders in every walk of life. He was, of course, well aware of the dangers involved if Catholics were to be thrown into ever closer contact with the non-Catholic world around them: the danger that their faith might not remain as staunch in the days of prosperity as it had been in the days of adversity; the danger that they might become infected with the materialism and hedonism, the worship of money and social position, the religious rationalism or indifferentism, the loose notions about family life, or the new ideas about Socialism and the class struggle, that were such characteristic features of the American scene at that time. Against such dangers redoubled measures of prophylaxis would be taken. Finally, the Archbishop fully realized the gulf that still separated Catholics from non-Catholics in social and business life, and the gulf,

created by prejudice and misunderstandings, that still existed between the non-Catholic denominations and the Church. It was his ambition to do whatever lay within his power to bridge these chasms and to establish healthier relations between the diverse elements in this community, relations based on justice, mutual respect, and honest collaboration for the common good.

II

Before describing the great work of renovation, organization, and expansion that was inaugurated in the next four years, it may make for clearness to trace in chronological outline the chief events of that period.

The transition from the old to the new régime was quietly and smoothly effected. The first significant changes came in November, 1907, when the Archbishop published a new list of diocesan officials. It marked not only a change of personnel, such as is customary at the beginning of any new administration in Church or State, but also, as will be explained later, a very considerable amplification and improvement of the organs of diocesan administration. About the same time Archbishop O'Connell transferred his residence and Chancery from the overcrowded Cathedral rectory to a dignified, four-story house, on the corner of Bay State Road and Granby Street, which had been given to him by the clergy of the Diocese. His first Pastoral Letter (November 30, 1907), on "Modernism," eloquently set forth the principles of Pius X's recent encyclical on that subject, and showed his determination to follow zealously and effectively every direction that came from the Vicar of Christ in Rome. On January 29, 1908, at a stately ceremony in the Cathedral, the pallium, sent by the Sovereign Pontiff as the symbol of metropolitan jurisdiction, was conferred upon Archbishop O'Connell by Cardinal Gibbons, in the presence of the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Farley of New York, the bishops of the Province, nine bishops from outside, the Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, and thousands of

the clergy and laity. This was the formal inauguration of the new régime.

The year 1908 was marked by extraordinary activity, particularly in the creation of new parishes, the upbuilding of laymen's organizations, and the series of great Catholic gatherings held in Boston. Among these last were the national convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies (August 9-12), the Conference on Catholic Charities (September 27-28), the meetings held in commemoration of the centenary of the Diocese (October 28 to November 1), the Charities Bazaar (November 11-14).

Although only seven years old, the American Federation had by this time become the largest and most important of our Catholic organizations. It aimed, as has already been explained, to link up all existing Catholic societies and parishes for combined action to protect and advance their religious, social, and civic interests. More specifically, it sought to diffuse true notions about the Church and her teachings, so as to correct error, expose falsehoods, and break down bigotry; to promote the Christian education of youth and to care for immigrants; to infuse Christian principles into public, social, and business life; and to oppose the evils threatening the country, such as divorce, indecent plays and publications, child labor, dishonesty in business, corruption in politics, and Socialism. Already it had a considerable list of achievements to its credit. It had done much to obtain a fair settlement of the dispute concerning Church property in the Philippines; to obtain the appointment of a more adequate number of Catholic chaplains in the Army and Navy; to gain permission for the celebration of Mass in navy yards, prisons, and reform schools; to introduce Catholic books into public libraries and to secure the revision of obnoxious schoolbooks; to obtain the withdrawal or prohibition of indecent plays and post cards; to prevent the enactment of laws inimical to the Church in several State legislatures; to cement closer relations between different Catholic racial groups.

Archbishop O'Connell had from the first shown the warmest

interest in this movement. His address on "Federation an Impregnable Wall against the Enemies of God,"² delivered while he was only Coadjutor, was the chief reason why the Indianapolis convention of 1907 selected Boston as the place of the next year's meeting. And since assuming charge of the Archdiocese, he had exerted himself vigorously to extend the Federation movement to all its five counties and to make sure that in this respect his diocese was organized in a way second to no other in the country.

The convention of 1908 in Boston was opened with a Pontifical High Mass, at which Archbishop O'Connell preached one of the most powerful sermons that had ever been heard in the Cathedral. Its subject was, "The Church the Strong Safeguard of the Republic." Here he portrayed in incisive terms — with a vigor that kept a vast congregation hanging upon his every word — the dangers threatening this nation through the crumbling away, outside the Church, of positive religious beliefs, of faith in any kind of revealed religion or anything supernatural, and the results — the rising tide of rebellion against the sanctity of marriage, the responsibilities of parenthood, any fixed moral code, the social order, indeed almost everything that previous generations had held sacred. With equal force he presented the Catholic Church as "the only moral body which gives indication of growing vitality and increasing vigor"; "not merely as the strongest, but as the only bulwark against the prevalent social evils, which seem even now to threaten not only the prosperity, but the very life of this nation"; as "the only permanent strength in all the world, the only reliable force upon which all order and law and authority can depend." This was something new in Catholic apologetics. In this region, at least, our spokesmen had commonly been upon the defensive, content with refuting the indictments brought by a now fast disappearing Protestant orthodoxy or with proving that the Church had a right to exist and to live her life in peace here. Now, for wellnigh the first time, a Catholic spokesman,

² Delivered April 21, 1907, before the Suffolk branch of the Federation (*Sermons and Addresses*, III, 35-42).

on a great public occasion, had the courage to pass over to a penetrating analysis of religious conditions in non-Catholic America and to present the Church not as something merely entitled to exist, but as something indispensable to the nation, as the one sure "safeguard of the Republic."³

Scarcely less interest was aroused by two brief speeches of the Archbishop at the mass meetings held in Symphony Hall on the evenings of August 9th and 11th. In both addresses he demanded the highest standards of integrity from Catholics in public office, and castigated those who betrayed the public trust as "double traitors," guilty of one crime against the State and of another against the Church, upon which their conduct would inevitably bring shame and dishonor.⁴

The Boston convention was by far the largest and most successful that the Federation had yet held. From it emanated a long list of vigorous resolutions, dealing with such subjects as Catholic education, Catholic Truth Societies, Church Extension, Sunday observance, juvenile courts, the need of laws to restrict child labor and protect children's morality, clean politics, and international peace. In his concluding address the National President declared that nowhere else in the last year had such substantial results been achieved for the Federation movement as in the Archdiocese of Boston, and that the Archbishop of that See was "the hardest worker in the Federation vineyard."⁵

In that same year the four dioceses that had first been detached from the mother-See of Baltimore in the days of Archbishop Carroll (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Louisville-Bardstown), celebrated their centenaries. For Boston the keynote of the commemoration was sounded in a letter of the Archbishop which was read in all the churches on February 23, 1908. In this, after referring to the creation of the Diocese by Pius VII's brief of April 8, 1808, he said, in part:

From that day the history of its progress is a story so replete with special blessings from the hand of God that today it is

³ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 91-109.

⁴ *Pilot*, Aug. 15, 1908.

⁵ *Boston American*, Aug. 10, 1908.

hard to realize that in one hundred years the missionary district with its 4 priests, its 2 churches, and its population of 1,000, which hailed with joy two years later their first bishop, has grown by leaps and bounds into a province, the territory of which remains the same as that of the first see, but with 7 bishops, over 1,100 churches, and more than 2,000,000 people, and itself a metropolitan see among the largest and most important in the whole world.

How little the exiled French missionary Cheverus, treading the narrow lanes of the little seaport town called Boston, dreamed that within a century the centre of his labors would grow to be the seat of an archbishop, with a population the majority of which is Catholic, and the dignity and importance of which ecclesiastically would far outrank the great See of Bordeaux, where he ended his days as a Prince of the Church. No romance could be more fascinating than Boston's Catholic history, no story more filled with incidents fraught with greatest interest. . . .

So much has been given us, so much do we enjoy which a hundred years ago was scarcely dreamed of, that our debt is proportionately larger than that of our fathers, as our prosperity is beyond their hardships. It is fitting, therefore, that for all these special favors from heaven we in turn offer some act of marked and special gratitude, and it is our ardent wish that during this present year we testify to the sentiments of our soul by a worthy offering of the whole diocese to the glory of God, the continued progress of the Church on earth, and the charity of Christ. . . .⁶

The exact centennial anniversary in April was observed only with a solemn High Mass and *Te Deum* at the Cathedral, in order not to conflict with the fêtes then going on in New York and Philadelphia. The more elaborate commemoration here was reserved to the autumn, and doubtless the planning was the more perfect and public interest all the greater because of this delay.

The formal celebration of the centenary was begun on Wednesday, October 28th, with a solemn pontifical High Mass at the Cathedral offered in thanksgiving to God for all the

• *Boston Globe*, Feb. 24, 1908.

blessings showered upon this Diocese during the first hundred years of its existence. Four archbishops, nearly a score of bishops, hundreds of priests, and thousands of the laity were present, as were the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, the Mayor of Boston, and dozens of Federal, State, and City officials. Before this immense and distinguished auditory and in the midst of that majestic religious function, Archbishop O'Connell delivered his centennial sermon, "In the Beginning," an address that had been eagerly awaited by the community and in which he rose to the full height of this historic occasion. A lesser man might, perhaps, have chosen the easier and safer course of simply expatiating upon the marvelous growth and present strength of the Church in New England. Instead, the Archbishop seized the opportunity for a great act of statesmanship and peacemaking. He chose to devote the major part of his discourse to the subject — so delicate, but of such capital importance for the past and present life of this region — of the relations between the Catholics on the one side and the Puritans and their descendants on the other. And this subject, usually so carefully avoided on public occasions, he discussed with perfect frankness, but in the most conciliatory spirit, striving to show that the long estrangement had been due to misconceptions and misunderstandings, rather than to malice, and that it was high time for both groups to renounce old prejudices and old grudges and unite for the common good on terms of mutual respect and confidence.

In the earlier, more historical part of the address, he very accurately described the Puritans, their strength and their narrowness. If they hated "Papists," and quite sincerely regarded the Pope as Anti-Christ and Catholic worship as abominable idolatry, it was because such feelings and beliefs had been drilled into them by their religious teachers; and these teachers, in turn, were but reflecting the fierce passions engendered by the long struggle for ascendancy between the old religion and the new in Tudor and Stuart England. Nevertheless, in this New England, which the Puritans had intended to reserve for themselves and their faith alone, the Catholic entered and

stayed, uninvited and unwelcome. And, precisely, it was at first the French and the Irish Catholic, against whom the Puritan felt a double enmity, that of race as well as of religion.

Between the Puritan and the Catholic in the beginning lay a dreadful gulf. . . . The contrast offered by these diverse types of men could not have been greater; the antithesis could not have been stronger. Never in the history of this whole country was there such a problem given to solve by two factors so utterly opposite in all their bearings. To expect a prompt and facile solution of such an intricate and complex theorem would be to prove an utter ignorance of the ways of men. . . .

Who in the face of such conditions could wonder if a whole century must pass before their children's children in our day would at least begin to see one another not as enemies, but as friends at last in the great brotherhood of a common citizenship? That the old suspicion, the bitter distrust is abating is due partly to time which proves all things and heals all wounds, partly to events which drew the jarring forces together — events like the great war of the Revolution, when the Catholic as well as the Puritan gave his money when he had it, and his life blood again and again to prove his loyalty to his adopted country; and the Civil War, when for the Union he leaped into the vanguard and won his title to loyalty by his death. In time and by events the truth began to dawn. But the dawn of mutual respect and understanding was still more hastened by the word and example on both sides of noble and high-minded men — of Cheverus and Fenwick and Fitzpatrick and Williams on one hand, and of Channing, Shattuck, Higginson, Andrew, Hoar, and Guild on the other, and of all such good men who lent their great influence to change the jarring sentiments of mutual distrust into mutual regard and mutual esteem.

Those hard days, filled with unutterable anxiety for Boston's first pastors, we of today can scarcely realize. Again and again the flame of feeling burst forth and only the veneration in which Cheverus and his successors were universally held by all good men, all thoroughly tired of this endless strife, detrimental to all interests and all progress, could ever have stemmed on the one hand the antipathy which showed itself in the burning of the Convent on Mount Benedict, the rav-

ings of the so-called "Angel Gabriel," and the latest and, let us hope, the last display of un-American intolerance in the outburst of a now defunct organization of unholy memory; and on the other hand the naturally bitter resentment into which unoffending citizens had been wantonly goaded by demonstrations of mediaeval ignorance and blind passion.

Had not the good sense, the humanity and outspoken justice on the one side and the counsel and prayers for patience on the other finally prevailed, God alone knows what shameful blots added to those already visible would dishonor today the best pages of New England's history of the nineteenth century. The gentleness of Cheverus, the intelligence of Fenwick, the suavity of Fitzpatrick, the unruffled patience of Williams all stood heroic tests, all contributed more than any other influence to keep enmities and discord at bay, to bring forth out of the chaos of clashing interests and wrangling antipathies the beginning of harmony and concord, and to sink deeper and deeper at the same time those foundations of faith and courage upon which we must all labor unitedly to erect a fitting monument to the memory of all these good men, apostles of the love of neighbor, which is the Charity of Jesus Christ, the cornerstone of His religion.

The beginnings were hard on all sides, and out of those hard beginnings destiny has woven unexpected consequences. The Puritan has passed into history. His children's children live, proud, as they may well be, of the great civic accomplishment of their fathers. But his creed has passed from the land. The indomitable courage of the makers of this glorious Commonwealth has stamped itself indelibly upon the whole country. Whatever were their faults, they builded well; and ungrateful indeed would be posterity did it not remember that if the Puritan was narrow, he was strong and energetic and persevering, and profoundly and consistently an upholder of the law.

The Puritan has passed; the Catholic remains. The city where a century ago he came unwanted he has made his own. A century has materialized a prosperity and a growth undreamed of by his fathers. The little church of Boston has grown and expanded into one of the most prosperous and numerous provinces of the Christian world. The seed planted

in trial and watered with tears, has grown into a mighty tree. . . . Such is the present grown from the past; what of the future from the present? The problem is still unsolved.

The gulf, though narrowed, is visibly still here. It needs only the occasion to reveal its presence. It is, I repeat, here still. We must face the truth if we would be of real service to the cause of harmony. The question awaiting an answer still is, Are we to fill in the gap and utilize the ground as builders do waste land, or must we wait another century for the much-desired concord?

No lover of New England will stand passive in this problem before us. There are rents enough growing in the social fabric without perpetuating those made by our fathers, the baneful influence of which in every walk of life even today we still feel. Cheverus and his successors have done their share nobly and well. The people guided by them have shown their goodwill often, even under direst provocation. What now is the duty, not of us alone, but of every New England citizen?

Our answer will be the measure of our greatness.

The difficulties in the problem are more than half eliminated. Our fathers on both sides would scarcely see them if they could return to our surroundings. Faith and patience and the goodwill of many have performed miracles already. We must complete the solution of a difficult but half-solved question, whose solution means countless blessings of peace and tranquillity to all this blessed land. So long as ignorance perpetuates prejudice, so long as pride cherishes its sores, anger will smoulder awaiting only an occasion to burst out into flame.

The blood of the Catholic of New England has bathed many a battlefield. His patriotism is as strong as the Puritan's. They have lived on the same street, under the same roof for a century, and it is high time for a clear understanding — not for myths and fables. We are living in the twentieth century, not in the sixteenth. We are less excusable than our ancestors on this soil for prolonging the conflict which misunderstanding more than actual malice started. What care I for what Stuart courtiers or Tudor flatterers did to set brother against brother? My life is now and here. Nay, what good can come now from cherishing the resentment which New Englanders of 1800 pro-

voked from the harmless little band of Catholic exiles seeking only shelter for their bodies and an unmolested shrine for their souls. The past is passed: its good alone is worthy to remain; its hard story must be recalled only as a page of dark misunderstanding and a lesson of encouragement in future hardships.

In 1800 it was a struggle between only two races. In 1900 the offspring of a dozen races and nations occupy the scenes. To seek to force upon any one of them the distinctive blood-traits of another would be labor in vain. That was the mistake of the Puritan who would perforce change the Celtic enthusiasm into British coldness, and the wealth of Catholic ritual into the frigidity of Puritan observance. . . .

To harmonize into a common sympathy and patient forbearance these varied inhabitants of the land so that while each retains the birthright of his race, each learns from other something worth acquiring for the common good — that is the only sensible, practical, and efficacious method by which concord and fellow-feeling can become a reality, for the peace of all and for the nation's strength. Reason, impartial and tolerant, will do much; but the one great power which has accomplished this miracle again and again, when the Goth mingled with the Gaul, when the Saxon met the Briton, when the Hun overran Europe, in the ever-changing currents of clans and tribes, is the Church of Christ, proclaiming and enforcing Christ's law of universal brotherhood, not in mere high-sounding and empty phrases, but by real and visible unity of belief and of communion.

That influence came here with Cheverus one hundred years ago. Quietly but potently it has been working out its results; it has labored without gratitude; it has toiled in silence, by counsel, and entreaty; and at times even the flock misunderstood the peaceful counsel of the shepherds. More than once the work of beneficent concord was all but ruined by passion on the one side and resentment on the other. Men are but men, and even the strong sweet bonds of the Church's sway may be burst after long endurance under dire provocation.

But the Church holds to her highest law. The noble band of priests who for a century have poured out their labor and their lives among the people, who today are the strongest forces

for moral uplift and persevering steady progress in the spiritual and in the civic life of this Commonwealth, are doing now what Cheverus began and his successors continue. The results of their labors are not always obvious; men cannot easily realize what might have happened if such an influence were not at work among them. But New England will not allow another century to pass before she recognizes the real value of these law-loving, law-enforcing, priestly sons of hers, living near the hearts of their people, their people in their hearts, encouraging, counseling, consoling, repressing, gently controlling — an influence which never tires and never sleeps. . . .

The child of the immigrant is called to fill the place which the Puritan has left. He must learn to fill it worthily and well. From the story of his father's struggle he must take to heart two salutary lessons — to keep his faith undimmed and his charity unquenched. The charity of the Puritan was for his own only; the charity of the Catholic must be for all. The Puritan failed because he planned only for himself. The Catholic must broaden his love to embrace all as Christ did. He will not fail. The Puritan frowned upon the coming of the stranger and then wondered at the estrangement which followed. Beware of a like grave fault yourself towards those who now enter your gates. Your Church is Catholic; so let your charity be. The faith of the immigrant was strong as steel and firm as adamant. It stood the test of reviling. The faith of his children must stand the test of indifference and flattery. The immigrant ate his bread sweetened by moral content, and it nourished him in health and happiness. Beware that a richer fare bring not discontent and the envy that kills faith and love. So will you and your children solve here on New England's soil two great problems which must today be met frankly and faced courageously.

First the diffidence between race and race must be changed into confidence by that fraternal love which is Christ's sweet law. The pitting of race against race is a base manoeuvre; shrewd perhaps, short-sighted certainly. No one who really loves God and country would ever stoop to it. The Catholic Christian will not countenance it.

Second, faith showing forth clearly God's commands must reveal also the higher duty which new responsibilities and higher place have imposed upon us all.

If we are to learn from the centuries past not vain fables but practical truths, and not mere requiems over dead sires, but flaming revelations which illumine the future, let us hear the voices which speak to us from the graves of heroes, and draw lofty inspiration from their lives.

We of today must prove our titles by prizing them at their true value. We must fear no enmity and create none. No effort to misinterpret our labors for harmony must cool our ardor. No obstacles of ignorance of our Faith nor antipathy to race must discourage us. The sign of the Holy Cross gleams high before us Catholics of Boston and New England as it did upon the banners of Constantine when the Church came forth from the Catacombs to take her rightful place of glory and triumph among all tribes and peoples. The procession has started; the march towards our duty here, not merely to ourselves, but to our surroundings, must proceed. God wills it; our country demands it.

Let the dead past bury its dead; but not all the past is dead. The courage, the self-sacrifice, the heroism of our prelates and priests and ancestors will never die. When this city has grown ancient, when mayhap many other races from other lands mingling with your children's children gather around these altars centuries hence as we today, to get courage for the future by meditating upon what has been, the names of Boston's four great bishops, the pioneer priests and the earliest Catholics will still be glorified in the history of this land and held in eternal benediction by all who love the blessings of peace and law. The glory of court and battlefield is but a gilded bauble compared to the eternal glory which true moral greatness, begot of faith, weaves for those who in obscurity and hardship serve faithfully God and country, as did the patriarchs and the people of the Catholic Church of New England one hundred years ago, when still all here was in the beginning.

To God, the Ruler of all, to Jesus Christ, His Son, to His Holy Church, founded upon the rock of Peter, whose love embraces all mankind, be all the honor and the glory of what one hundred years of faith have witnessed.

The Catholic Faith, changeless and undying, Christian Hope in the fulfillment of a great destiny for our country, Charity uncooled and unquenchable for all — these are the torches

which today we kindle afresh at the tombs of those good men whose ashes have mingled with New England's soil, but whose immortal souls live forever in God's Eternal Kingdom, where all the holy men of all races and all times sing His glory for evermore. They did their duty well — and now for ours.⁷

This magnificent address evoked from the press the acclamation it deserved. "The Archbishop's sermon," said the *Boston Herald*, "was thoroughly Christian, thoroughly statesman-like, one of the broadest and most inspiring utterances to which this community has ever listened."⁸ "The celebrations at New York and Philadelphia, held this year," remarked the *Traveler*, "produced no such noble ringing note as this."⁹ It was "his greatest utterance," said the *Republic*.¹⁰

The centennial celebration thus inaugurated continued for five days in varied but always impressive fashion. On the evening of October 28th a great gathering in Symphony Hall heard Governor Guild deliver the greetings of the Commonwealth, and there were excellent addresses on the character and work of each of the first four Bishops of Boston by the Marquis Bouthillier de Chavigny, Hon. Charles A. De Courcy, Henry V. Cunningham, Judge Michael J. Murray, and Professor Thomas Dwight. On the 29th, Children's Day, five thousand boys and girls, drawn from every parish in the Diocese, gathered at the Cathedral for a solemn High Mass and a sermon on the need of religious education. On the 30th, the day set apart to commemorate the departed, Bishop Allen, of Mobile, celebrated a pontifical solemn High Mass for the deceased bishops, priests, and laity of the Diocese. On the 31st, a day assigned to honor the religious orders and congregations, Bishop Guertin, of Manchester, presided at the pontifical solemn High Mass, and Father John H. O'Rourke, S.J., preached on the work of the religious. Sunday, November 1st, saw the closing solemnities at the Cathedral, with the Archbishop pontificating at the Mass and Cardinal Gibbons intoning the *Te Deum*. In the afternoon His Eminence, His Grace, and Mayor

⁷ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 121-139.

⁸ Oct. 29, 1908.

⁹ Oct. 29, 1908.

¹⁰ Oct. 31, 1908.

Hibbard of Boston for nearly five hours reviewed a parade of about forty thousand men of the Holy Name Society, in which again every parish of the Archdiocese was represented. This was the largest host that had ever marched through the streets of Boston, and the greatest demonstration that any religious body had ever made here. Thus ended a commemoration that was in every way dignified, impressive, and inspiring, which had aroused Catholics to a vivid realization of the glories of their past, the prosperity of the present, and the duties as well as the brilliant possibilities of the future, while to non-Catholics it had brought a fuller perception of the strength of the position which the Church had attained here and of the beneficent character of its work.¹¹

Early in the following year (February 11, 1909) there was held the Fifth Diocesan Synod, of which more will be said later. Immediately afterwards Archbishop O'Connell departed for Rome for the first *Ad limina* visit and report that had been made from the See of Boston since 1897. The Holy Father gave him, as always, a most cordial and affectionate greeting, honored him with five private audiences, expressed deep gratification over the progress of the Church in Boston, and as a parting gift presented him with a beautiful pectoral cross. This sojourn in Rome also gave the Archbishop the happiness of observing there the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination, and of participating in the celebration marking the fiftieth year of the existence of the American College. At this joyful reunion of the alumni and friends of the institution from far and near, he pontificated at the Jubilee Mass, spoke at the Jubilee banquet, and at the final meeting (the "Jubilee Accademia" on June 12th) delivered what the Roman newspapers called "the splendid address of the celebration." It was entitled "The Influence of Rome in the Formation of the American Clergy." It would be hard to find a more eloquent summing-up of what the Centre of Christian Unity has meant for the

¹¹ All the addresses presented during this commemoration and the facts of interest connected with it are brought together in the volume edited by William F. Kenney, *Centenary of the See of Boston* (*ibid.*, 1909).

American Church; and alongside devotion to Rome, that "mother most loving and of all most faithful," he emphasized scarcely less his devotion to the political institutions of America, which, in truth and not merely in name, gave liberty, "the Church's only need."¹²

The Archbishop's homecoming was followed by an impressive celebration of his Silver Jubilee in the priesthood, for which his flock in Boston had long been preparing. On the morning of June 30th, the clergy, with several thousand of the laity, gathered at the Cathedral for a pontifical Mass of thanksgiving, and Bishop-elect Anderson, in a fine address, voiced the loyalty, gratitude, and affection of the priests of the Diocese for their chief shepherd. In the evening, a crowd estimated at ten thousand people packed Mechanics Hall for a meeting at which, with Judge Murray presiding, Governor Draper and Mayor Hibbard brought the greetings of the State and City, and Judge De Courcy spoke for the Catholic laity. On both these occasions the Archbishop replied with brief speeches, replete with modesty as to his own efforts, but warmly expressing his love and gratitude to his own flock and to all the people of the community.¹³

During the previous two years he had borne the burden of episcopal duties almost single-handed. Bishop Brady had, of course, formally ceased to be Auxiliary with the death of Archbishop Williams, and although he had since then occasionally helped out with Confirmations, his age and his declining health precluded him from being very active. Hence, during his recent stay in Rome, Archbishop O'Connell had obtained the nomination of the Rt. Rev. Joseph G. Anderson as Titular Bishop of Myrina and Auxiliary Bishop of Boston. Monsignor Anderson, who was born in the West End of Boston September 30, 1865, had graduated from Boston College in 1887, and after studying at St. John's Seminary, had been ordained in 1892.

¹² The text of this fine address, as originally given in Italian, is in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 412-429; the English version is in (Rt. Rev.) Henry A. Brann, *The History of the American College . . .* (New York, 1910), pp. 350-380.

¹³ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 174-186.

While a curate in his native parish, St. Joseph's, he had for eight years (1894-1902) done most successful work as chaplain of the Charlestown State Prison and the Charles Street Jail. Thereafter he had rendered still more outstanding services in connection with the creation and upbuilding of the Catholic Charitable Bureau. Since January, 1909, he had been Vicar-General of the Diocese. He was consecrated at the Cathedral on July 25, 1909, by Archbishop O'Connell, assisted by Bishops Guertin, of Manchester, and Feehan, of Fall River. Bishop Brady, who already at that time was suffering from a fatal disease, passed away six months later (January 6, 1910), admired and beloved by all who knew him for his gentleness, modesty, holiness of life, and absolute devotion to duty.

The year 1910 was another very notable one in the history of this Archdiocese, because of the number of cornerstones laid, new churches dedicated, new parishes erected, new societies formed, important organizational activities, and important addresses by the Archbishop. But its most outstanding ecclesiastical event was the international Eucharistic Congress at Montreal, the first gathering of this kind that had been held in the Western hemisphere (September 6th-11th). Enhanced by the presence of Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli as Papal Legate, a great part of the hierarchy of the United States and Canada, and hosts of pilgrims from both nations, this congress turned into the greatest demonstration of Catholic faith and fervor that had yet been seen in the New World. Among its most unforgettable episodes was the open-air Mass, on September 10th, celebrated by Archbishop Farley, of New York, at Fletcher's Field on the slopes of Mount Royal, under a perfect blue sky, with a magnificent view of the Canadian metropolis and its environs, in the presence of at least seventy-five thousand people. The preachers selected for this dramatic occasion were: in French, Father Hage, Provincial of the Dominicans of Montreal, one of the greatest pulpit orators of Canada; and in English, Archbishop O'Connell. The latter's "remarkable," "powerful," "magnificent" sermon (as the newspapers called it) deserves to be remembered as one of the classic expositions

in the English language of what the Blessed Sacrament means to Catholics.¹⁴

A few weeks after the Congress the Catholics of Boston were honored for the first time with the visit of a Papal Legate. Cardinal Vannutelli spent two well-filled days here, in order to acquaint himself with what Cardinal Gibbons had described as 'in his estimation the first Catholic see in America.'¹⁵

By 1911 the reorganization of the Diocese, which had been proceeding, had advanced far enough so that Archbishop O'Connell could spend a few summer months in rest and travel in Europe (in Belgium, Holland, France, and Germany) — the first vacation he had taken in four strenuous years. Soon after his return, high honors were to come to him which open a new period in his life. But before describing them, it is necessary to sketch that many-sided and exceedingly fruitful work of reorganization.

¹⁴ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 341-350.

¹⁵ *Boston Post*, Oct. 9, 1910.

CHAPTER IV

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE DIOCESE (1907-1911)

I

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM of the Diocese had, as we have seen, undergone a considerable development in Archbishop Williams' later years, but it still fell far short of what the decrees of the Third Council of Baltimore and the general law of the Church required. By no means all the officials called for by the canons were appointed, and those who were appointed frequently had little or nothing to do, since the old Archbishop, from force of habit, kept most matters in his own hands.

It was one of the new Archbishop's first cares, therefore, to complete the organization of the Curia and to give the Diocese at last a well-ordered and efficient administrative system. In the last months of 1907 the necessary changes were made. The offices of Chancellor and Secretary to the Archbishop were henceforth to be separated. A complete Court for Matrimonial Causes was set up, with its *Judex*, *Defensor Vinculi*, and *Secretarius*; and another Court for Criminal and Disciplinary Causes, with its *Judex*, *Procurator Fiscalis*, and *Cancellarius*. A *Censor Librorum*, a Moderator of Theological Conferences, a Director of Catholic Charities, and various other new officials were appointed. The most striking change was in the expansion of the Chancellor's duties. Hitherto occupied chiefly with the somewhat routine task of handling dispensations, that official was now to keep a strict account of all the moneys of the Archdiocese, its income and expenditures. He was also charged with the whole business of the insurance of diocesan property. He was, moreover, entrusted with the supervision of the detailed reports on the financial and religious condition of their parishes which all pastors were henceforth required to submit at least

once a year and at other times when demanded. In order to facilitate and standardize these reports, an approved set of account books was placed in the hands of the parish priests. As the new system was gradually perfected, the Chancery of the Archdiocese of Boston became a model for the prompt and efficient discharge of business, and its methods were studied and imitated in not a few other dioceses. In describing its work His Eminence has very justly written:

It ought to be evident that the proper business management of so extensive and responsible an organization as this Archdiocese must have the closest and clearest sort of genuine business management, for legally, and according to the laws of the State, the Archbishop is a corporation sole, and in the management of such vast and valuable properties there must be no guesswork or loose accounting.

At the present time it is universally recognized that the management of the affairs, financial and material, of the whole Archdiocese is as punctilious and exact as the management of any other great corporation in the State; indeed, probably more so.¹

The same prudent and practical spirit that the Archbishop displayed in the reorganization of the central administration was also shown in his handling of parochial problems. He was, from the first, convinced that a great increase in the number of parishes was imperatively called for, in order to meet the needs of the rapidly growing but constantly shifting Catholic population. Many of the existing parishes were so large that they could not possibly serve their people adequately, as was often visibly evidenced by the crowds of worshipers who could attend Mass only on the steps of their church. What was needed was parishes of moderate size, in which the clergy could really know their flocks, in which the helps and consolations of religion would be made easily accessible, in which "the Church would be brought close to the people."² But these gains ought not to entail great financial burdens upon the faithful. The

¹ *Recollections*, p. 301.

² These words and these general ideas were enunciated by the Archbishop at the dedication of St. Patrick's, Cambridge (*Pilot*, Oct. 30, 1909).

Archbishop held that, under the ever-changing conditions of American cities, it was a mistake to build enormous, costly churches, modeled upon the cathedrals or basilicas of Europe, and involving mountainous debts; and that there had been rather too much of that sort of building here in past years. He desired to see "churches beautiful enough to serve as the house of God, but not so expensive as to be a heavy burden upon anyone"; "simple, inexpensive, but graceful churches, unpretentious but devotional."³ Very early in his régime he informed the pastors that no plans for highly pretentious or unnecessarily expensive churches would receive his approval, and that no parish priest would be allowed to begin the construction of a new church unless he had on hand at least two thirds of the amount needed to complete it.

It is an impressive fact that during the first four years of Archbishop O'Connell's rule he created no less than thirty-two new parishes. What between them and older parishes erecting new houses of worship, this Diocese has seldom seen such an era of church-building. In one year, 1910, for instance, eight new churches were dedicated, and the cornerstones were blessed for four more.

Among various new regulations affecting clerical life, one may note, especially, the fact that, from 1908 on, the period of the clergy retreats at the Seminary in Brighton was extended from two weeks to four, in order that every secular priest of the Diocese might make a week's spiritual retreat annually, instead of every other year, as had hitherto been the rule. The semiannual clergy conferences, in which Archbishop O'Connell showed the same unflagging interest as his predecessor, were doubtless improved by the arrangement under which on each occasion the Archbishop conferred with the pastors one day and on the next with the curates.

The effort of Pius X, through his *Motu Proprio* of November 22, 1903, to restore the dignity and sacred character of Church music had for four years met little response in this Diocese, as in not a few other parts of the Catholic world.

³ *Pilot*, Oct. 30, 1909; *Recollections*, p. 291.

Some people held that the tastes and habits of choirs and congregations were something that not even a Pope could change. Soon after assuming control here, Archbishop O'Connell, "as an act of tardy obedience to the Pope's injunctions," appointed a Church Music Commission, which was to enforce as rapidly as possible the Church's law regarding this important part of her services. For several years this Commission exerted itself very actively to ban the theatrical, flowery, or trivial kinds of music that had crept into our churches, to restore the Gregorian plain chant to the place of honor in liturgical services, and to raise standards and diffuse information as to the desirable kinds of Church music.

Another vigorous move of the new Archbishop was to establish a diocesan newspaper. Keenly conscious of the enormous influence of the press, and aware that a strong Catholic press could furnish the Church with a medium of instruction second in importance only to the pulpit and the school, he was convinced that a newspaper "owned by the Diocese, representing the interests of the Diocese, and controlled by the authority of the Diocese," would offer an invaluable means of diffusing and defending Catholic doctrines and principles, publicizing and explaining the official pronouncements of the Holy Father or the American hierarchy, familiarizing the laity with the many-sided activities of the Church, and building up a sound, well-informed, and alert Catholic public opinion. Hence he entered into negotiations for the purchase of *The Pilot*. That journal had fallen off greatly in circulation and influence since its golden age under John Boyle O'Reilly. Its owners, the Donahoe family, were willing, and perhaps eager, to dispose of it. Hence in the issue of October 3, 1908, the announcement was made: "The Archdiocese now publishes and controls a paper of its own. *The Pilot*, successor of *The Jesuit*, founded by Bishop Fenwick, is now the official organ of the Diocese of Boston. . . ." Archbishop O'Connell thus had the satisfaction of acquiring the oldest and probably the most famous Catholic newspaper in the United States, and of restoring to the Diocese what had originally belonged to it. Under his direction and

through his strenuous and unremitting efforts, *The Pilot* was now to enter upon a new and flourishing period of its long history.

The most notable event in the administrative history of these years was the Diocesan Synod of 1909, the first that had been held here since 1886. The Archbishop opened this gathering with a masterly address, in which he emphasized the need within the Church's army of perfect unity and coöperation, of surmounting all parochialism, and of ready obedience to all the directions that come from the supreme commander at Rome and the local commanders, the bishops. The constitutions that were then promulgated contained no radical changes. They followed, indeed, the general order and repeated the more important provisions of the decrees of 1886, though they were notably briefer. But they did demonstrate in a hundred ways the strong practical sense and the mature thought of the new Archbishop; and in as many ways they helped to strengthen the unity of the Archdiocese, to raise still higher the standards of clerical life, and to improve the quality of the Church's services to the faithful.⁴

II

Zeal for the progress of Catholic education was to be, throughout, one of the most marked features of Archbishop O'Connell's régime.

His sense of the importance of parish schools was expressed at a dedication in 1913, when he declared:

While I am always very happy to bless a church, from whose altars radiate the countless blessings of God to humanity, it gives me almost as much satisfaction to bless a school, which is almost on a par with a church in many ways; a sacred place made doubly sacred by the love and the sacrifice and the faith of the pastors, the sisters, the children, and the devoted laity.⁵

⁴*Sermons and Addresses*, III, 158-174; *Constitutiones Dioeceseos Bostoniensis quae in Synodo Dioecesana quinta die 11 februarii, 1909, habita in ecclesia metropolitana Sanctae Crucis ab Ill^{mo} ac Rev^{mo} Gulielmo Henrico O'Connell, Archiepiscopo Bostoniensi latae et promulgatae fuerunt* (Bostoniae, MCMX).

⁵*Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 158.

Under his energetic impulsion the number of parishes having schools grew rapidly, from 1907 on. The somewhat anomalous, though historically quite explicable, fact that the Cathedral parish itself had no school was remedied by the construction in 1910-1911 of the present handsome building on Harrison Avenue and Malden Street. As a means of improving the instruction in parochial schools, His Grace in 1910 organized the annual Teachers' Institute, at which henceforth hundreds of teaching Sisters gathered for a week of lectures and discussions on the problems of pedagogy under the direction of eminent specialists.

In the field of higher education the outset of the new régime was signalized by what may be called the second founding of Boston College. The credit for initiating this enterprise belongs primarily to the talented and energetic Father Thomas I. Gasson, S.J. (1859-1930), an Englishman by birth and a convert from Anglicanism, who in January, 1907, became President of the institution on Harrison Avenue. At once he began a campaign which henceforth became the end and aim of all his life. "To him," it has been said, "is due a special tribute for the vision which enabled him to conceive a new and greater Boston College, and for his persistent and unwavering courage, his energy, patience, and unfaltering faith in bringing the ideal out of the realm of vision into that of fulfillment in enduring stone." ⁶ His plans were revealed to the public for the first time at an alumni dinner in May, when he aroused his audience to "unprecedented enthusiasm" by launching the idea of "expansion." He asked their coöperation in raising a fund of \$12,000,000 in order to separate the College from the High School, provide new buildings, and develop Boston College into a great university.

In view of the many difficulties in the way, however, it is likely that it would have taken much time to get from the stage of discussion to that of action but for the fact that three months later Boston College's most distinguished and most devoted alumnus became the head of the Archdiocese. From first

⁶ *Boston College, 1863-1938* (Chestnut Hill, 1938), p. 21.

to last Archbishop O'Connell gave the enterprise his strongest support, encouraging Father Gasson to begin action at once, and steadily helping the work along with his counsel and co-operation. It was, in particular, on the Archbishop's advice and suggestion that Father Gasson inspected and bought the incomparable site on which Boston College now stands.

That site, in the fashionable Chestnut Hill section, in the picturesque district where Brighton, Brookline, and Newton come together, had from 1862 to 1892 formed part of the country estate of the Amos A. Lawrence family. The late Bishop William Lawrence, of the Episcopal Church, liked to recall his childhood sojourns on "Wauban Farm," where wild rabbits ran in the grove and he ate his fill of cherries in the orchard where now lies the college athletic field.⁷ Next this property passed into the hands of Sylvester B. Hinckley, and later was divided among several corporations, which were just about to parcel it out and sell it for house-lots when the Jesuits came forward as purchasers. By three separate transactions, all concluded on December 18, 1907,⁸ the Society came into possession of a compact property of thirty-five acres, with an assessed value of \$187,500.⁹ Occupying the plateau promptly renamed "University Heights," which towers above the broad waters of the twin Chestnut Hill Reservoirs and commands a majestic view of the amphitheatre of hills beyond, this property furnished a magnificent site for a college, and one such as no other academic institution of Greater Boston possesses.

"The purchase of the land," Father Gasson declared at that time, "is just the first step towards the building of the greatest Catholic college in America."¹⁰ Immediately afterwards a drive for funds was started. At the first mass meeting of the alumni held for that purpose (January 20, 1908), the Archbishop could not be present because of an attack of laryngitis; but he sent a letter of warm commendation, which called forth tremendous cheering and which launched the campaign most

⁷ Letter of Bishop Lawrence to Rev. Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., of Jan. 29, 1934, in *Boston College, 1863-1938*, p. 23.

⁸ *Middlesex Land Deeds*, book 3342, pp. 353, 362; book 3343, p. 149.

⁹ *Pilot*, Dec. 28, 1907.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

effectively. At this and an ensuing meeting nearly \$150,000 was pledged by the alumni. While this drive was proceeding, Father Gasson instituted a competition for plans, which was entered into by a dozen of the most prominent architectural firms of the East. On April 12, 1909, the board of judges announced their decision. The first prize went to the firm of Maginnis and Walsh, whose designs provided for twenty noble stone buildings, all in the English Collegiate Gothic style. This plan, which has ever since been adhered to, will, when completely carried out, crown University Heights with one of the most perfect groups of academic edifices to be found in America. On June 19, 1909, ground was broken, and in October work began on the first building of the new Boston College.

The following year saw two important gains for Catholic education. On July 3rd the Dominican Sisters, of St. Catherine, Kentucky, bought fourteen acres of land on Lexington Street, Watertown, in order to found a boarding-school for girls. Here the Sacred Heart Institute, later renamed the Rosary Academy, was opened on October 2, 1911. Secondly, on October 25, 1910, the Archbishop dedicated St. Xavier's Hall, the handsome new four-story, brick dormitory and recitation building of St. John's Preparatory School (for boys), Danvers. That institution, which Archbishop Williams at the very end of his life had authorized the Xaverian Brothers to establish, had attracted so large a clientèle that a great enlargement of its original accommodations had at once proved necessary.

"The seminary," Archbishop O'Connell declared at the Synod of 1909, "is the first care as it is the first necessity of a diocese." From the outset he showed the greatest interest in his own Seminary at Brighton. He was tireless in urging Catholic youths to consider the possibility of an ecclesiastical vocation, for at that time the Diocese usually had only about sixty young men studying for the priesthood. During his first year in office he had the Seminary Chapel adorned with mural paintings and stained-glass windows. He very frequently visited the Seminary, giving the students many an inspiring talk on the duties, problems, and consolations of the priesthood, as



BOSTON COLLEGE OF TODAY

he had been wont to do when Rector at Rome; and these visits also enabled him to acquaint himself fully with the state of the institution.

His observations were not altogether reassuring, and after mature thought he became convinced that important changes were necessary. The chief of these were that the arrangement under which the Sulpicians had been entrusted with the management of the Seminary since its opening in 1884, should be terminated; that he, as Archbishop, should take over direct and immediate control; and that the institution should henceforth be staffed with diocesan priests. For these changes — the most sweeping that he had resolved upon since assuming charge of the Archdiocese — there were numerous and weighty reasons.

In the first place, the law of the Church ever since the Council of Trent had imposed upon bishops the responsibility for the maintenance and proper administration of their diocesan seminaries. Never before had the Holy See so emphasized this responsibility or brought forth so many decrees on questions of clerical training as under Leo XIII and Pius X. The latter Pontiff, in his first encyclical (October 4, 1903), had exhorted bishops to consider the care of their seminary as their first duty. The mind of the Church, as expressed in the legislation of more than three centuries, is summed up today in the new Code of Canon Law in the words:

It is the right of the Bishop to make whatever regulations seem necessary or opportune for the proper administration, government, and progress of the diocesan seminary and to enforce the faithful observance of these regulations, subject to the precepts which the Holy See may have laid down in special cases (Canon 1357, 1).

Since the episcopate has this grave responsibility, it is the natural and normal arrangement that a bishop should keep the direct and immediate supervision of his seminary in his own hands, and should administer it with the aid of priests drawn from his own diocesan clergy.

It is true that no text of ecclesiastical law forbids a bishop

to entrust the direction of his seminary to a religious order, congregation, or society, and the Holy See has permitted such a deviation from the normal rule in very numerous cases. In earlier days in this country, when so few adequately trained diocesan priests were ordinarily available for seminary teaching, outside orders or societies were often called in for this work. But as our dioceses gained strength, they usually took back the management of their seminaries, and not a few of them had always retained that management.

In Boston the Sulpicians had undoubtedly done excellent work — no one disputed that, nor the wholesouled devotion, the piety, and the learning of the teachers they had sent here. But their dependence upon distant superiors in France and the need of referring many questions to Paris entailed numerous difficulties in administration. They had never had men enough to staff the institution, and nearly half the faculty had long been made up of diocesan priests. The Archdiocese was now amply able to supply a complete faculty from its own resources; and there was much to be said for the view that young men preparing for the ministry in this locality could best be trained by priests of the Diocese, who knew the local conditions intimately and had had practical experience in the everyday tasks of the priesthood.

In short, by replacing the Sulpicians with diocesan priests and by assuming for himself direct and immediate control of the Seminary, the Archbishop would best be in a position to discharge the responsibility resting upon him; he would be conforming to the ordinary law and the normal practice of the Church; he would be following the example set in most of the large dioceses of the country (New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and many others); he would be falling into line with the almost universal custom of Ireland and England.

Archbishop O'Connell did not act without consulting Pius X, who approved of the changes contemplated.¹¹ Eventually, at the clergy conferences on May 16-17, 1911, the announce-

¹¹ *Reminiscences*, p. 12; *Recollections*, p. 287.

ment was made. His Grace referred gratefully to the work of the Sulpicians here during the past twenty-seven years and highly commended the results accomplished; but he declared that, with the growth and development of the Diocese, it was right that it should take over the training of its own priests.¹² About the same time, by agreement with the Superior General in Paris, the arrangement that had existed with the Society of St. Sulpice was terminated.

In the following autumn St. John's Seminary reopened with a faculty composed of eleven priests of the Diocese, five of whom had been teaching there under the previous régime. The new Rector, Father John B. Peterson (now Bishop of Manchester), had been a professor at Brighton since 1901, and by long experience as well as talents was admirably fitted to direct the institution. At the same time the program of courses was greatly amplified and improved. With these changes the Seminary began a new period of development, material, intellectual, and spiritual.

III

The most urgent set of problems that confronted the new Archbishop in 1907 was that presented by the charitable institutions of the Diocese. These had sprung up in great numbers under Archbishop Williams, but had been allowed to develop in a rather haphazard fashion. There was very little diocesan supervision; boards of directors were often too busy or too trustful to take their responsibilities with sufficient seriousness; and superiors or managers, thus unrestrained, too often went forward with overambitious and extravagant plans. None of these institutions had assured sources of income adequate to its needs. All depended largely on such uncertain sources as wills, donations, the exertions of auxiliary societies, or occasional campaigns for funds. In consequence, not a few of them were usually floundering in a sea of financial troubles, and one of them, the Working Boys' Home in Newton, was in a really

¹² *Pilot*, May 20, 1911.

desperate situation. Because of a chronic lack of funds, some institutions allowed their plants to deteriorate deplorably; and meanwhile clergy and laity were being wearied with drives to "save" such and such an institution which seldom seemed to produce any lasting results.

This situation called for an extensive new ordering of things, and Archbishop O'Connell set to work with characteristic energy and resolution. His first year in office was preëminently given to these problems. Beginning with the most imperiled institution, the Working Boys' Home, before the end of 1907 he had installed a new board of directors, made up of some of the most experienced Catholic business men of Boston, and replaced the community of Brothers which had been conducting the Home in the past year, with the Xaverian Brothers, who have since "simply worked miracles in the place."¹³ The whole building was cleansed and renovated, and the living conditions and training of the boys substantially improved. Last, but not least, plans were initiated which led within a few years to the extinction of the huge debt under which the institution had so long been staggering. At last the Working Boys' Home entered upon a well-ordered, tranquil, and prosperous existence, and could pass as a model institution of its kind.

In the autumn of 1907 the Archbishop had also begun a survey of all the charitable institutions and agencies of the Diocese with a view to ascertaining their exact financial status, their administrative methods, and what could be done to strengthen and improve them. This investigation, which was conducted in part by him and in part by persons acting as his representatives, required at least a year of hard work, involving, as it did, innumerable visits to institutions, conferences with trustees and superiors, and the careful analysis of the reports and other data collected.

While this was going on, Archbishop O'Connell took several other steps that proved highly advantageous to our charities. Mention has already been made in these pages of the Central

¹³ *Recollections*, p. 276.

Bureau of Information, established in 1903 to assist in the placing and safeguarding of Catholic children who had become the wards of the State. In December, 1907, this office was transformed into a Diocesan Charitable Bureau, its former Superintendent, Rev. Joseph G. Anderson, remaining as Director. The new bureau was intended to coördinate, systematize, and regulate all the charitable activities of the Archdiocese. Besides, it continued the former work for children, and in course of time was to accumulate an ever-growing number of useful functions. New York may have anticipated us in this important innovation;¹⁴ but Boston was the second see in the country to establish a diocesan charitable bureau, and one so excellently organized that its methods have been widely imitated.

The Conference on Catholic Charities, held in Boston on September 27-28, 1908, was the first general gathering of workers in that field to take place in this vicinity. If its discussions helped to promote among the participants an understanding of each other's problems and a greater spirit of unity, the excellent papers which were read here and published in the press, describing in detail the work of all the institutions and social agencies of the Archdiocese, gave the public such an opportunity as never before to appreciate the range and magnitude of Catholic charitable activities.¹⁵

In pursuance of his aim of bringing unity and coördination into those activities, Archbishop O'Connell desired to concentrate the main stream of Catholic donations into a central fund, which could be systematically distributed among the various institutions according to their respective needs. For this purpose he arranged, as the climax of the Centenary celebration of that year, a great Charities Bazaar ("the Bazaar of All Nations"), which was held in Mechanics Building on November 11-14, 1908. Its success far surpassed anything of the kind ever previously attempted under Catholic auspices in Boston. From the net receipts of over \$86,000, \$50,000 was used to pay

¹⁴ Since 1897 it had had a "General Supervisor of Catholic Charities."

¹⁵ These papers were printed in *The Pilot* of Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24, 1908.

off the bulk of the mortgage on the Working Boys' Home, and the remainder was disbursed among the other institutions. Beginning in the following year, an annual Charities collection was taken up in all the churches of the Archdiocese, and divided according to needs.

Meanwhile, on the basis of the survey already mentioned, Archbishop O'Connell had inaugurated a comprehensive program for the better management of charitable institutions. Its cardinal principle was that all these institutions were to be placed under close supervision, and required to report regularly and very frequently to the Archbishop on their work, the state of their finances, their plans. Boards of trustees were to be held to a more responsible attitude towards their tasks, and the Archbishop himself became a member of most of these boards. The existing buildings were, when necessary, to be rehabilitated to meet the requirements of health and safety. Efficient, businesslike methods were to be introduced into administration. A reasonably uniform system of accounting was demanded, and the elimination of unnecessary expenditures. When parents, relatives, or friends of children or other inmates of an institution were able to pay something for their support (as was very often the case), such payment was to be requested. To insist, as some good Superiors did insist, on serving everybody gratis, even those who could pay, and thereby running into debt or being obliged, for lack of means, to turn away the poor — that was neither real charity nor justice: it was very much like robbing Peter to pay Paul. Finally, debts must be steadily reduced and extinguished as quickly as possible.

To apply this program to a host of institutions was naturally a long and arduous task. It involved some changes of personnel, many more changes in old habits and customs, countless visits and inspections, long hours of instruction and direction — it involved, indeed, twelve years of effort. But, as a result, the charitable institutions of the Archdiocese were reorganized and rejuvenated; not a few of them were extricated from a perilous situation or from deplorable conditions; and all of them

were brought to such a state of financial stability and orderly, smooth-running efficiency as makes them today a model for Catholic America.¹⁶

Two new institutions were added to the list during the early years of this régime. Almost the first of Archbishop O'Connell's official acts was to authorize Father Joseph Campeau, O.M.I., the new pastor of St. Joseph's, Lowell, to establish a Franco-American orphanage in that city (August 30, 1907). On June 24, 1908, the Oblates bought the Ayer estate at the corner of Pawtucket and School Streets, which contained a substantial brick house that could be used with some alterations. Here, on September 1st following, the *Orphelinat Saint-Joseph* was opened under the care of the Grey Sisters of Charity, of Quebec. Five years later a large addition was made to the building.

On May 7, 1911, the Archbishop blessed the handsome new St. Margaret's Hospital, Dorchester. This was an adjunct to St. Mary's Infant Asylum, and like it was to be conducted by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. It was the splendid gift to the Diocese of two brothers: Father Peter Ronan, of St. Peter's, Dorchester, who for thirty-eight years had had the spiritual care of St. Mary's Asylum and had been its most devoted friend; and Father Michael Ronan, pastor of St. Peter's, Lowell. The hospital was named in memory of the donors' mother.

IV

In the late 1890's American Catholics, too long preoccupied with the thought that this country was itself a missionary land and that "there was so much to be done at home," were at last becoming conscious of their duty towards the foreign missions. This consciousness at first expressed itself only in a rising stream of financial contributions. But in the early years of the

¹⁶ On this reorganization, see, especially, *Recollections*, pp. 270-283; and the account by Rev. Michael J. Scanlan, in *A Brief Historical Review of the Archdiocese of Boston (1907-1923)*, pp. 3 ff.

new century voices began to be raised that it was not enough to send money; that we should also send missionaries; that nothing else would do so much to sustain faith and fervor at home as an active participation in the Church's world-wide apostolate.

No member of the American hierarchy did more to help this view to prevail than Archbishop O'Connell. Typical of his attitude was his stirring address, read before the First Catholic Missionary Congress in Chicago, in November, 1908, in which he declared:

The providential hour of opportunity has struck. We must be up and doing. All indications point to our vocation as a great missionary nation. To be recreant to such a high calling is to abdicate a blessed vantage ground and to undo gradually the good which has already been accomplished in this land by the apostolic zeal of the Church's followers. Our country has already reached out beyond her boundaries and is striving to do a work of extension of American civic ideals for other peoples. Shall it be said that the Church in this land has been outstripped in zeal and energy by the civil power under which we live? . . .¹⁷

Under him Boston maintained and enhanced its pre-eminence among American dioceses for contributions to the work of the missions, although since 1906 New York, with greater wealth and numbers, had outstripped us for first place. And Boston now gained a new glory in supplying for "the providential hour" the providential man, who, more than any other individual, was to launch Catholic America upon active participation in the epic crusade for the extension of Christ's kingdom. Every American Catholic today finds inspiration in the names of Maryknoll and James Anthony Walsh.

The latter was born in Cambridge February 24, 1867, of prosperous and pious Irish parents. He studied rather briefly at Boston College (where he helped to found *The Stylus*) and at Harvard, and in 1886 entered St. John's Seminary. Genial and witty on the surface, very serious and devout underneath,

¹⁷ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 144 f.

he made in the Seminary a record of general competence, rather than of the highest intellectual ability. What was more important — love of the foreign missions was first awakened in him there by two of his teachers, Abbé Hogan and Father Gabriel André, through stories about and letters from the martyrs of Tonquin and laborers then at work in the vineyard. Blessed Théophane Vénard, who had been Abbé Hogan's classmate at Paris and his correspondent from the field afar, became the lifelong hero of the young Brighton seminarian. After the latter's ordination in 1892, he spent eleven busy and successful years as a curate at St. Patrick's, Roxbury, years during which he had neither time nor opportunity to keep in touch with the missions. But in 1903, by what might seem an accidental train of events, he was named Diocesan Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. His office was a single room in a wooden building at 62 Union Park Street, the rest of that second story being shared with Mrs. Farrell's Laundry. But from that more than modest headquarters — "the Rookery," he called it — great influences were to proceed.

As Diocesan Director in the next eight years, Father Walsh showed himself extraordinarily effective. His heart and soul were wrapped up in the cause; he was indefatigably active; he was wise, prudent, tactful, an enthusiast who 'kept his feet on the ground,' no "foreign mission maniac" — to use his own phrase. But very early he convinced himself of the urgent need that the American Church, if only for its own good, should at last take its proper share in the missionary crusade by sending its own sons; and that there ought to be established here, as in many European lands, a foreign mission seminary to train those who should volunteer for this glorious work. From about 1904 on, it would seem, this seminary idea haunted his mind. He discussed it with certain friends round about the country. For a while he hoped that other persons, blessed with more resources and influence than he, would carry out the project. But as no one did, in October, 1906, he joined with three other Boston priests, Fathers James F. Stanton and John I. Lane (both his classmates at Brighton), and Father Joseph Bruneau,

S.S., of the Seminary faculty, in forming the "Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau," a private society which planned to conduct a literary campaign "to deepen and widen the mission spirit in the United States and ultimately to establish a foreign mission seminary." On January 1, 1907, this group began to publish *The Field Afar*, a bi-monthly magazine. Written in a lively and entertaining style, well sprinkled with humor, full of vivid reports from the field, and replete with the illustrations that Americans love, this journal was a sparkling novelty among missionary publications. It soon began to have an effect on the country, and later, when adopted as the official organ of Maryknoll, was to prove of inestimable value.

The missionary spirit was steadily growing among American Catholics, but for some years still Father Walsh held back from definite action about the proposed seminary. Presumably, he was deterred both by doubts as to his own fitness to lead such an enterprise and by the difficulties inherent in the project. The hour of decision came at the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal, in September, 1910. There Father Walsh happened to meet his friend and occasional correspondent of the past six years, Father Thomas F. Price, of North Carolina, a gentle, saintly priest, whose soul was also aflame for the cause of the missions, and who, quite independently, had also arrived at the conviction that what the American Church needed most was a foreign mission seminary. After together attending the open-air Mass at Fletcher's Field, the two men went to the Hotel Windsor and talked for hours and hours. It was "sensible, solid talk, with just a trace of tenseness to show the tremendous enthusiasm beneath";¹⁸ ways and means, difficulties, advantages were carefully threshed out; and, each gaining courage from the other, they ended by shaking hands and exchanging assurances that, "We will found a seminary."

The first member of the hierarchy whom they consulted was Archbishop O'Connell. Father Price, who had been a school-mate of His Grace at St. Charles, came to Boston not long after the Congress and laid the project before him. The Archbishop

¹⁸ *Pilot*, May 2, 1936.

very definitely approved, offered financial aid, and tendered various wise suggestions. He advised, particularly, that the teachers in an American seminary should be American priests, and that the institution should be located, not at Washington, as both its sponsors then contemplated, but somewhere in the North, near the centres of Catholic strength and vocations. He was willing to release Father Walsh to undertake this great work.

Much encouraged, Father Price next consulted Cardinal Gibbons and the Apostolic Delegate. Both were favorable, but pointed out that everything would depend on the decision of the American archbishops at their next meeting. That meeting was held in Washington on April 27, 1911, and the plan was very quickly and unanimously approved. Fathers Price and Walsh (the latter now released from his duties in Boston) then departed for Rome, equipped with very helpful letters from Archbishop O'Connell to Cardinal Merry del Val and other important dignitaries. On June 29th the two American pilgrims obtained the sanction of their project from the Congregation of the Propaganda, and on the following day their "cup of joy was full" when they received the warm approval and paternal blessing of Pius X.

Returned to this country, the two co-founders proceeded to organize themselves as "the Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America." While they had been cordially invited to settle in the Diocese of Boston, they decided to establish their seminary near New York because of its more central location; and here by 1912 they were established at Ossining, on the spot now famous as "Maryknoll."

The subsequent development of this splendid enterprise does not belong within a diocesan history. But it may be recalled that this Diocese furnished another great figure in that development in Mary Josephine Rogers, a Bostonian by birth, at one time a teacher in Smith College, and an assistant to Father Walsh from the earliest days of *The Field Afar*. When the Maryknoll Sisters (or, more strictly, the Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic) were organized in 1920, she, as Mother

Mary Joseph, became the first Mother General of the Congregation, and she still holds that position today. Father James A. Walsh, as the first Superior General of the Maryknoll Missioners, was privileged to direct the upbuilding of his society for a quarter of a century. He was made a bishop in 1933. At his death, on April 14, 1936, he left one thousand "sons and daughters in Christ," including two bishops and one hundred and fifty priests actively at work in foreign missions, fifty priests teaching in Maryknoll seminaries, three hundred students, and five hundred Sisters. At the funeral Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, Archbishop McNicholas, of Cincinnati, did not hesitate to say: "Bishop Walsh is the greatest missionary that America has ever given to the Church. His Society has done more to make America mission-minded than all the religious institutes in our country."¹⁹

V

More important, of course, than all the material and institutional development of the Diocese was the quickening, deepening, and enriching of its spiritual life. It goes almost without saying that Archbishop O'Connell from the outset exerted himself most actively with that end in view, mindful that his friend and model, Pius X, had taken as the motto of his reign *Instaurare omnia in Christo*.

One example of this activity was the Archbishop's Pastoral Letter of 1911 on the Blessed Sacrament, in which, after citing the Holy Father's recent decrees on the subject, he called upon priests to do their utmost to encourage the laity to the very frequent or even daily reception of Holy Communion, and to make sure that children, as soon as they reached the age of reason, should approach the Table of the Lord.²⁰ Probably no greater change has taken place in recent generations in Catholic

¹⁹ On the foregoing, see especially: Daniel Sargent, *All the Day Long: James Anthony Walsh, Cofounder of Maryknoll* (New York, 1941); Rev. George C. Powers, M.M., *The Maryknoll Movement* (Maryknoll, 1926).

²⁰ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 401-411.

devotional life than the movement, thus inaugurated in this vicinity, towards early and frequent Communion. The Archbishop often manifested his concern that in every parish a mission should be preached annually or at least every two years, that the devotion of the Holy Hour should be held weekly, that triduums and novenas should be multiplied. Particularly striking was his championship of the Retreat Movement. Nothing better illustrates the Church's responsiveness to changing needs than her recent emphasis upon this movement, which aims to induce the faithful frequently to retire from the rush and tumult of the world to the quiet of a religious house to spend a few days in serious thought, prayer, and other religious exercises. But in Boston retreats for the laity were still far from common, and there were no religious houses specially destined to that purpose. Archbishop O'Connell resolved to provide them.

It happened that the Passionist Fathers had long desired to found an establishment in this Diocese, in which for many years they had preached missions most successfully. The Archbishop knew well, not only the general excellence of the work done by this zealous, strict, and mortified congregation, but especially the influence for good of their great monastery at Rome (SS. John and Paul), a favorite place of retreat for bishops, priests, and laity. Even while Coadjutor he had promised Father Fidelis, the Passionist Provincial (the famous convert, James Kent Stone), that he would some day help the Congregation to establish a house in Boston. As soon as he became reigning Archbishop, he invited Father Fidelis to come at once. The Provincial promptly arrived, accompanied by his consultors, Fathers Justin Carey and George Basel. They were told that they might open a house in Boston, providing it were intended particularly to serve retreatants. For a fortnight the three Fathers canvassed various possible locations. In the end they decided for the site which His Grace had long before noted as ideal for such an establishment, and which he had strongly recommended to them — the Nevins estate in Brighton, on a hill commanding a glorious view of a great part of Boston. This

property the Provincial purchased a few months later, on March 11, 1908. On April 9th four priests and two brothers arrived to take up residence there, an ancient and rather dilapidated mansion serving as living quarters while an old barn was fitted up as a temporary chapel. Within a year plans had been drawn for a permanent monastery and retreat house, in the style of the old Spanish missions of California. The cornerstone was blessed on September 27, 1909, and on May 14, 1911, the Archbishop dedicated the completed edifice as Blessed Gabriel's Monastery (now "St. Gabriel's"). It was named in honor of a noble young Passionist, deceased at twenty-six, who had just been beatified in 1908 and whom recent Popes have held up as a model to Catholic youth and particularly to young religious. Crowning one of the highest hills in the vicinity, this handsome structure, with its white adobe walls, red-tiled roof, truncated towers, and many gilded crosses, has become one of the most familiar and striking features of the western landscape of Boston. On December 8, 1911, the first laymen's retreat was opened there.²¹

Meanwhile, the need for a retreat house for women was being met by the foundation of the Cenacle Convent. The Religious of Our Lady of the Cenacle, who devoted themselves with great success to this kind of work, had been introduced into this country only in 1892, but were beginning a fairly rapid expansion. In the summer of 1909 their Superior at New York, Mother Marie Majoux, "the builder of the Cenacle in the United States" and later to be Mother General of the Society, came to Boston, was received in the kindest way by the Archbishop, and readily obtained his permission to open a retreat house here. Not long after, through the generosity of a friend who later became a member of the Society (Mother Louise Dunn), the Religious were able to purchase an admirable site

²¹ On the foregoing: Rev. Felix Ward, C.P., *The Passionists: Sketches Historical and Personal* (New York, 1923), pp. 325-335; Walter G. Smith and Helen G. Smith, *Fidelis of the Cross: James Kent Stone* (4th ed.: New York, 1928), pp. 358 ff.; *Souvenir of Solemn Blessing of St. Gabriel's Chapel, Brighton, Mass., Sept. 14, 1930* (n.p., n.d.); *Pilot*, Sept. 20, 1930; excerpts from the Chronicle of the Monastery kindly communicated to the writer by the Very Rev. Cuthbert McGreevy, C.P.

for a convent (September 14, 1909). It was the Paine estate at the corner of Lake and Kenrick Streets, Brighton, on the eastern slopes of Nonantum Hill. Various *contretemps* delayed the occupation of these premises, but on September 26, 1910, the first small band arrived, headed by Mother Alexandrina Filippi as Superior. This energetic, talented, and valiant woman, who seemed to have transmuted into spiritual treasures the best traditions of the fighting Piedmontese nobility from which she sprang, was to have a preëminent part in the up-building of the Brighton Cenacle.²²

At first a remodeled house on the grounds had to serve as a convent, and in its improvised chapel the Archbishop on October 1st celebrated the first Mass and welcomed the Religious to the Diocese. Before long, however, the firm of Maginnis and Walsh had prepared plans for the stately brick edifice, in the French Gothic style, which now towers above the steep hillside. Ground was broken on June 12, 1911; on October 1st the Archbishop laid the cornerstone; the provisional chapel was blessed by Father John B. Peterson on April 28, 1912; and on May 19th, with the Archbishop presiding at the ceremony and speaking, the new Convent was solemnly opened to the public. Meantime, already in 1911 the retreat work had started. Associations or guilds were organized (for married women, for business women, for teachers), whose members gathered at the Convent once a month for a "quiet day" of prayer and recollection and once a year for a three days' retreat. Such were the modest beginnings of what has since become a hive of quiet religious activities, a haven of rest and refreshment for countless souls, a centre from which spiritual strength and blessings are carried by a myriad of channels far and wide around this community.²³

²² The daughter of Count Victor Filippi di Baldissero, she was born at Turin, April 11, 1877. Her first term as Superior in Brighton was quickly cut short by illness, but her second term lasted from 1915 to 1925, and she died here April 19, 1932. Cf. "Rev. Mother Filippi," *The Cenacle Review* (May, 1932), pp. 2-3.

²³ (Mother) Helen M. Lynch, r.C., *In the Shadow of Our Lady of the Cenacle: Published in Commemoration of the First Half Century of the Cenacle in America. 1892-1942* (New York, 1941), pp. 122-134; *The Brighton Cenacle*;

A third new religious order which Archbishop O'Connell at this time brought into the Diocese may be mentioned at this point: the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, or the White Nuns, as they are often called because of their striking religious habit. These devoted Sisters had done such remarkable work at Rome that Pius X declared that they were the greatest women workers in the world, and that they could do anything — except, perhaps, shoe a horse. Recognizing the need of missionary and protective work in the newly established Italian colony in East Boston, the Archbishop in 1908 called in the White Nuns and settled them in a house prepared for them at 171 Orient Avenue, Orient Heights. They were to work among Italian families, gathering the children every Sunday for religious instruction, visiting in homes, attending to the material as well as the spiritual wants of the poor, and offering a temporary refuge to dependent children until a permanent home could be found for them.²⁴

Another means of raising spiritual levels was through laymen's societies. From the outset Archbishop O'Connell gave great attention to uniting and organizing the laity for their religious and intellectual improvement and for social work. He lost no opportunity of addressing Catholic societies, and always with wise, pertinent, and practical admonitions. He warned them against the dangers of routine and inertia, against sinking into being chiefly social clubs, or falling into "the mere frivolities of comic opera and anniversary dinners." He constantly urged upon the laity the need of knowing their religion more thoroughly and practicing it more perfectly; of acquainting themselves with Catholic views of history, science, social problems and tendencies; of exemplifying in their lives the highest moral and civic ideals, and of furnishing men who would be "true and influential leaders in every good cause in the Commonwealth." For such purposes he organized one course of educational lectures after another. For such purposes, also, he laid

Twenty-Five Years of Catholic Action in the Cenacle of Brighton (n.p., 1935); *Maison de Boston: Histoire de la fondation* (Ms., *Cenacle Convent, Brighton*).

²⁴ *Boston Journal*, Oct. 23, 1908; *Boston Globe*, Nov. 22, 1908; *Pilot*, March 8, 1930.

down the rule (in 1910) that each Catholic society which was not strictly parochial must henceforth have a chaplain appointed by the Archbishop, and that these chaplains should each year give a series of addresses on subjects pertinent to the nature and purpose of their society.

Among Catholic associations of a purely religious character for men, one of the oldest and most widespread is the Holy Name Society, which can trace its origin back to the Council of Lyons in 1274. While its primary purpose is to promote reverence for the sacred names of God and Jesus and to combat the evils of profanity, blasphemy, perjury, and improper language, it also holds up Our Lord's life as a model to Catholic men and urges upon them fidelity in attending Mass, in receiving the Sacraments, and in the discharge of their Christian duties generally. Archbishop O'Connell very early made known his desire to see a branch of this Society established in every parish and all the men of each parish enrolled in it.²⁵ He also instituted the custom that each year on the Feast of the Holy Name in each district of the Diocese the various local branches of the Society should gather at a designated church for a union meeting and the rededication of the members to the purposes of the Society. With the active coöperation of the pastors, the number of branches and members increased very rapidly. Boston soon became familiar with the impressive spectacle of tens of thousands of Holy Name men marching through the streets to the annual union meetings, or forty thousand of them in line on such special occasions as the Centenary celebration of 1908 or the first observance of Columbus Day as a State holiday in 1910.

Another of the Archbishop's fruitful ideas was to band together Catholic professional men in guilds, for the purpose of helping them to carry the spirit and principles of their religion into their professional work. St. Luke's Guild for physicians and surgeons was organized as a result of a meeting of about one hundred Catholic medical men, which was called and presided over by him, on May 14, 1910. In January, 1911, a similar

²⁵ *Pilot*, April 25, 1908.

society was formed for dentists, called the Guild of St. Apollonia.

The foundation of the League of Catholic Women may be traced in part to the great success achieved by the organization of that name which in recent years had been overspreading England. In the spring of 1910 Miss Pauline Willis, a New Englander who had long resided in London,²⁶ while on a visit to Boston described to Mrs. James Dwight and other zealous ladies the work and methods of the English league, and suggested the utility of forming such a society here. Mrs. Dwight consulted Archbishop O'Connell, who warmly approved of the project and directed her to take the preliminary steps towards carrying it out. In consequence, on May 2nd a meeting of several hundred representative Catholic women was held at the Cathedral. His Grace presided and explained the purpose of the proposed organization; Miss Willis set forth what had been effected in England; and after speeches by Mrs. Dwight, Katherine E. Conway, Louise Imogen Guiney, Susan L. Emery, and others, the formation of the League of Catholic Women was enthusiastically resolved upon. The formal organization was completed in October.

The aims of the new society were: to unite Catholic women for the promotion of religious, intellectual, and charitable work; to provide lectures and debates; and to keep both a register of opportunities for voluntary and for paid professional work open to Catholic women, and a list of Catholic women seeking such work. Headquarters were established at 1372 Washington Street. As membership was open to all Catholic women in good standing, and the fee but one dollar a year, the League soon came to have about seven hundred members.²⁷ From 1910 on, it sponsored annual courses of lectures. Its members engaged in numerous forms of charitable work, such as visiting the sick and poor, reading to the blind, ministering to the needs of immigrants, caring for friendless or homeless girls, or striving to reclaim lapsed Catholics.

²⁶ She was a member of an eminent family of converts, and was a cousin of Phillips Brooks.

²⁷ *Pilot*, March 23, 1912.

These years also saw the upbuilding of another splendid society of generous-hearted women, the Guild of the Infant Saviour. This is the oldest of the several auxiliary societies that have grown up around the Diocesan Charitable Bureau. Its founder was Bishop Anderson, and its origin goes back to a meeting held at the Hotel Somerset on October 15, 1906. The primary purpose of the Guild was to prevent the loss to the Faith of infants born to Catholic parents who were unable or unwilling to support them. Essentially, it was a problem of illegitimate children. The Guild sought to get in touch with destitute or abandoned women who were about to become mothers and to place them in maternity hospitals. It tried to make sure that all Catholic babies born in hospitals or infant asylums were baptized. It endeavored to help destitute mothers to keep their children, either through financial aid or assistance in finding employment; but if this could not be done, efforts were made to place such children in Catholic homes or institutions. These tasks were, naturally, entrusted chiefly to the Guild's visitor, a trained social worker. The main duty of the members (of whom there were seven hundred by 1913) was to raise the funds needed for this great work of mercy.

Mention has already been made of Archbishop O'Connell's keen interest in the Federation movement, which was then striving to unite all Catholic societies for certain common purposes. The organization of that movement here was completed on December 18, 1908, when the five county branches were combined in an Archdiocesan Federation. From that time Federation meetings, both county and diocesan, followed thick and fast. By 1911 the Archdiocesan Federation counted about four hundred thousand members.²⁸ Doubtless its great activity in those years was helpful in many ways, but especially in making Catholics realize their own strength, in arousing their interest in social and civic problems, and in enlightening them more fully as to the Church's attitude towards current questions.

²⁸ *Pilot*, March 11, 1911.

VI

It is impossible to close this survey of those first four years of the new régime, so packed with events and achievements, without some tribute to the immense and many-sided activity of the new Archbishop. Although weighed down with innumerable tasks — with ruling and reorganizing a diocese; with Confirmations, cornerstone layings, dedications, ordinations, visitations, consultations, the inspection of reports, and the planning of new enterprises; with the business of the Province, the meetings of the hierarchy, the general affairs of the American Church — he yet found time to do many fine things that were not strictly required of him: to visit, for instance, the Home for the Aged Poor in Roxbury and make the acquaintance of every inmate; ²⁹ to visit the bedside of every sufferer in the Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables in Cambridge; ³⁰ to say Mass at 3 A.M. for the night workers in downtown Boston.³¹ His public addresses were assuredly among the major factors working to raise the tone of Catholic life. Those addresses ranged over every subject from Music to Sociology and from St. Joan of Arc to President Eliot's "new religion"; but always he had something fresh and stimulating to say, and said it with clearness, force, and conviction.

His labors were not confined to his own flock. He was ever ready to coöperate with men of other faiths in all legitimate and helpful ways. Thus, for instance, he joined with Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Baptists in 1908 to found the North American Civic League for Immigrants; he combined with such men as Charles W. Eliot, Henry Lee Higginson, and Rabbi Fleischer in 1910 to form the Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Union (to assure efficient milk inspection and a pure milk supply); he participated with other Catholics, Protestants, and Jews in that same year in establishing the Industrial and Social Justice League of America. Right-thinking citizens of all creeds were especially grateful for his strong stand on behalf of honesty and integrity in public life. He addressed, or prepared papers for, not a few non-Catholic organizations — and his

²⁹ *Pilot*, Oct. 30, 1909.³⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1909.³¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1907.

essay on "What the Catholic Church Stands For," written at their request for the Women's Alliance of the Second (Unitarian) Church in Boston, should be remembered as a masterpiece of apologetics.³²

Whether delivered before a Catholic or a non-Catholic audience, many of his addresses contained analyses of existing conditions and forecasts of things to come that deserved the attention of the whole community. Again and again he pointed out the perils of the prevailing spirit of rationalism and religious indifference, of the "concerted attempt to flout the supernatural in human life and to substitute for it merely human methods and measures."

Outside the Church's pale [he declared] men are groping in doubt and darkness for the great principles upon which all civilization and society rest. Where the light of faith has gone out there is naught but gloom and confusion. The very simplest and most fundamental truths are being questioned. The whole aspect of life is changing. Out of darkness millions of hands are searching for something that is secure. Out of the babel of myriad voices, each crying its own panacea, arises only the dismal discord of a vain and purposeless philosophy. Amid all the splendor which prosperity and wealth show forth, there is a pathetic hollowness and shallowness which foretells great moral danger.³³

Already, he often warned, a titanic struggle had begun between Christianity and "the old Paganism, reborn and equipped with new allurements," a battle that was raging far more fiercely than surface appearances would indicate, a struggle on which depended the preservation, not merely of this or that particular doctrine, but of religion itself, and morality, and all the other bases on which Western civilization rested.

With many people, living in the apparently secure and halcyon days of the early twentieth century, when intellectuals were declaiming about the "brave new world" in which men would live very happily without any assistance from God or

³² *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 200-237.

³³ *Ibid.*, III, 192 f.

even believing in Him, such warnings probably fell on deaf ears. Today, a generation that has lived through the catastrophic age since 1914, and confronts the titanic struggles now going on, may well look back upon those warnings as poignantly prophetic.

At all events, there can be no question of the lofty position which Archbishop O'Connell had won, even in the first years of his administration, in the esteem of the community. Catholics were immensely proud of having so able, talented, and eloquent a leader. Eminent Protestants, the public authorities, and the daily press gave very frequent evidence of their respect and admiration for him. Most people would probably have agreed that if in the nineteenth century a Channing or a Phillips Brooks had been the most outstanding spokesman for the religious interests in this community, in the early twentieth century that position had passed to the Catholic Archbishop of Boston.

CHAPTER V

THE CARDINALATE (1911-1914)

I

IT IS SIGNIFICANT of the position that Archbishop O'Connell had won in the public mind that from the time he was appointed to the See of Boston, the newspapers began frequently to prophesy that he would soon be raised to a still higher dignity — to that of Cardinal. It was, perhaps, the most dramatic moment of his extraordinary career when in 1911 these prophecies were realized, only four years after he had taken charge of this Archdiocese, only sixteen years since he had been but a curate in the West End, and at a time when he was still wellnigh the youngest archbishop in the United States.

To be admitted into the Sacred College of Cardinals is, as is well known, the highest honor that the Catholic Church can bestow, save for the Papacy itself. It means to be received into the most ancient and august Senate to be found on earth. It means to become one of an élite group of seventy men, who, chosen from among 350,000,000 Catholics, are called upon to counsel and assist the Supreme Pontiff in ruling his world-wide spiritual kingdom. It means to share, when a Pontiff dies, in the solemn responsibility of electing a new Vicar of Christ on earth. It means to rank as in very truth a prince — a prince of a kingdom which, although not of this world, remains the greatest empire the world has seen. Within the Church the Cardinals come immediately after the Pope and precede all other dignitaries. In the world they rank next to monarchs and presidents, and stand on a par with princes of royal blood.

It was natural that the United States, until recently considered but a missionary country, should long have had but a slight representation in the Sacred College. Down to 1911 only two Americans had "received the red hat": namely, Cardinal

McCloskey, of New York, who died in 1885, and Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore. With the phenomenal growth of the Church in this country, however, a larger representation was now desirable, and this Pius X, always deeply sympathetic towards America, was quite disposed to grant. But a difficulty presented itself in choosing from among the group of eminent prelates whose personal merits or the importance of whose sees entitled them to consideration for this high honor. In this group Archbishops O'Connell, Farley of New York, Ryan of Philadelphia, Quigley of Chicago, and Ireland of St. Paul were the outstanding figures. If one may believe the newspapers of that time, it was chiefly because of this American problem that after December, 1907, the Pope held no Consistories and created no new Cardinals for almost four years. Finally, when the ranks of the Sacred College were becoming gravely depleted through deaths, the Holy Father rather suddenly decided to cut the Gordian knot.

On October 28, 1911, it was announced at Rome that seventeen new Cardinals would be created at an impending Consistory — and soon after this number was raised to eighteen. This represented the largest group of promotions to the Sacred College that had been seen for nearly four centuries. On the list were the incumbents of many famous sees — the Archbishops of Paris, Vienna, Seville, Westminster, for instance. But what most struck the attention of the world was that the list included three Americans, a larger number than had been hoped for. These three were Archbishops O'Connell and Farley and Monsignor Diomedes Falconio, then Apostolic Delegate in this country, who, although Italian-born, had long been a citizen of the United States.

The great news reached Boston by press cablegrams on the evening of the 28th; next morning the Sunday newspapers were filled with it; but it was only on the 30th that the Archbishop himself received official confirmation of the honor that was to be bestowed upon him. It would be difficult to exaggerate the impression produced upon this community. The Catholics were filled with the profoundest joy and gratitude. They exulted at

seeing "one of their own," a son of Massachusetts, sprung from the people, raised to be a Prince of the Church; at seeing Rome set the seal of her highest approval on the work of a leader of whom they were so proud; at seeing the Diocese of Boston now placed on a par with the greatest dioceses of the Old World as worthy of cardinalitial honors. The non-Catholics, too, displayed the keenest interest and a real elation over the new kind of distinction that had come to Boston from the majestic City of the Seven Hills.

The finest expression both of the significance of the event and of the feelings of that hour is to be found in the Pastoral Letter which Archbishop O'Connell addressed to his clergy and people on November 1st. He wrote as follows:

You are already aware that the Vicar of Christ, Pius the Tenth, has decided to raise to the exalted dignity of the Cardinalate of Holy Roman Church the Archbishop of this beloved See of Boston.

To be ranked among the princes of the Church; to be exalted to the sublime Senate of the Pope; to take station among those great and holy men chosen from historic Sees and selected from among the most pious and learned in the whole Christian Commonwealth; to partake of the historic glory of those who in centuries past have kept the gates of the City of God; to be chosen an elector of the oldest and most potent throne in all the world; — that is the meaning of the overwhelming honor to which your own undeserving spiritual father of this Diocese has been raised by him who holds for us Christ's place on earth. The greatest and highest proof of affection from the best and most powerful of earthly sovereigns is given into these weak hands of mine to treasure and to guard and defend, if necessary, even to the pouring out of my life-blood.

In the full measure of all this glory and honor before God and the whole world you, beloved children, have more than share for share. Upon you, through your faith, your unflinching loyalty to the Holy Church, your undying attachment to the See of Peter, your splendid generosity, even to sacrifice, upon you this sovereign dignity descends. To me it has come only through your merits and your works — yours and those,

too, of our fathers in the Faith and in the flesh, valiant champions of the Church, holy prelates, zealous priests, and saintly parents of this Church of Boston, who in their tears and sufferings and labor reared the fold which today is lifted up before the whole Christian world to highest honor.

No wonder your hearts are stirred to the depths with holy joy. No wonder the echoes of your jubilee have already reached beyond the sea to the Throne of the Fisherman. Never before has this fair and powerful city received such world-wide distinction as in her enrollment among the principalities which govern three hundred millions of souls the whole world over.

Even in the smallest hamlet of the farthest East today Boston is known as never before, honored as never before. And every lover of our noble and historic city is a debtor to Pius the Tenth for this invaluable benefit conferred upon her name. Once more the perpetual youth of Christ's Church is demonstrated in this rejuvenation of her electors. Once again the splendid democracy of her constitution is revealed, since upon the humblest she places the crown of the princes of her people. Once again, and this time more than ever, the oldest monarchy takes the young western republic into the very intimacy of her noble family and into her centuries-old halls of sacred council and government. All this and much more is the immense import of this event, which in the future much more than now will assume its truly vast significance.

But while we have all these weighty reasons for rejoicing, let us turn our thoughts toward heaven and implore Almighty God, the Giver of all good gifts, to illumine our minds and strengthen our hearts by His Divine aid, thus to serve Him as to be not utterly unworthy of His benefits. And let us turn the love of our hearts toward our Holy Father, Pius the Tenth, who, while bestowing this joy upon many cities and states, himself sits solitary amid grief and difficulties, deprived of his own rightful inheritance and left utterly dependent upon the charity of the Christian world.

Let Boston, now more than ever, since never before had she such reason, rouse herself to a full sense of her sublime Catholic duty. Let all the world know that this Diocese, so vigorous and so faithful, has taken her place among the highest and

noblest sees of the world with grateful pride and that this youngest principality knows its own regal glory in the performance of high duty to God, to Mother Church, and to Peter's Successor. I commend myself humbly to the prayers of my beloved flock — priests and people — that my voyage to Rome may be a peaceful one, and that I may return from this historic visit to the Tomb of the Apostles and from the high and holy converse with him who for me is next to God Himself on earth, strengthened and consoled, ready again for more and better work for the Church and for our own beloved country.¹

It was a remarkable farewell demonstration that the Archbishop received as he sailed on November 11th from the White Star docks in East Boston. Thousands of people lined the wharves, waving flags, and handkerchiefs, and joining in the singing of the Te Deum and "Holy God, we praise Thy name." Not less cordial was the reception given to him and to forty pilgrims from Boston by Pius X upon their arrival in Rome. To these pilgrims the Holy Father declared: "Boston is one of the greatest Catholic cities of the world"; "America is the hope of the Church in the future"; "You, as well as those in Boston and in America, honor me by honoring Cardinal O'Connell, who is dear to my heart."²

The formal creation of the new Cardinals took place at the Secret Consistory of November 27th, at which the Pope announced the names of the eighteen prelates whom he had resolved to raise to the purple, and the members of the Sacred College signified their assent. Immediately after this brief ceremony, Cardinal Merry del Val went to the American College to bring official notification of their election to the three representatives of the United States. Two days later the Pope himself presented them with their red birettas. The culminating ceremony was the Public Consistory on November 30th (which, most appropriately, happened to be Thanksgiving Day in the United States).

¹ *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 430-432.

² *Pilot*, Dec. 2; *Boston Post*, Nov. 27, 1911.

Seldom, perhaps, has even the Vatican witnessed a more imposing scene, a function conducted with more solemnity, pomp, and splendor. Because of the almost unprecedented number of new Cardinals to be received, the ceremony was held in the Hall of Beatifications, the immense chamber above the vestibule of St. Peter's. Within this sumptuous apartment were gathered the ambassadors accredited to the Holy See, the Roman aristocracy, and five to six thousand other spectators, including about one thousand Americans. The picture was magnificent as the procession came in. First, chamberlains in red brocade, then the cross-bearer, the Swiss Guards, the Sistine choir led by *Abate* Perosi, singing as they marched. Next, ecclesiastics of all degrees, priests in black, monks in brown or white, heads of religious orders, members of the Papal Court. Then came the Cardinals of Curia, the Noble Guards, and finally the Holy Father, in full pontifical robes, borne upon the *sedia gestatoria*, and blessing the kneeling multitudes as he passed. Looking fatigued and frail, but calm and serene as ever, the Pontiff took his place on the throne, and received the greetings of the Cardinals present. Then the new Cardinals, who a few minutes before had taken their oath of office, entered from the Sistine Chapel. One by one, they made their obeisance to the Holy Father, received his embrace, and retired to their places. Soon they came forward singly a second time for the investiture with the red hat. Holding for a moment the immense and oddly shaped hat of cardinal beaver over the head of each, the Pope repeated the traditional formula:

Receive for the glory of Almighty God and the advancement of the Holy Apostolic See this red hat, the sign of the unequaled dignity of the cardinalate, by which is declared that even to death, by the shedding of thy blood, thou shouldst show thyself intrepid for the exaltation of the blessed faith, for the peace and tranquillity of the Christian people, for the increase and prosperity of the Holy Roman Church. In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, amen.³

³The same hat, with its immense flat brim and conical crown so small that no one could wear it, is used throughout this ceremony. Afterwards each new Car-

At the close of this ceremony, the Holy Father was escorted back to his apartments, while the new Cardinals retired to the Sistine Chapel to render their thanksgiving to God and for the singing of the *Te Deum*. Shortly afterwards, they and the older Cardinals rejoined the Pope in the *Sala Consistoriale* for a supplementary Secret Consistory. Here, after the traditional ceremony of "closing and opening the mouths" of the new Cardinals (i.e., giving them the right to participate in the deliberations of the Sacred College), the Pontiff bestowed upon each of them a ring, assigned to them their titular churches, and designated the Roman congregations of which they were to be members. Cardinal O'Connell received the important Church of San Clemente, and was appointed to the two Congregations of the Council and of Studies, to which he has ever since belonged. The first of these congregations has for its province to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent and, in general, the disciplinary laws of the Church. The latter, which is now called the Congregation of Seminaries and of Universities of Studies, has surveillance over the whole field of Catholic higher education. Thus ended an historic ceremony, which the press at that time acclaimed as the climax of the reign of Pius X. It marked, especially, an immense rejuvenation of the Sacred College and "the official entrance of America into the comity of the old Catholic powers."⁴

For some weeks afterwards His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, remained in Rome, busied, especially, with replying to an avalanche of congratulatory visits, telegrams, and letters — including a warm cablegram from President Taft. On December 8th he took formal possession of San Clemente. After a brief and much needed rest in Southern Italy, he then sailed from Naples and arrived in Boston on the morning of January 31st.

dinal receives his own hat, of similar design; but its sole purpose is to serve as a symbol of his rank and, after his death, to be hung up in his church as a memorial.

⁴The phrase is from the *Hartford Times*, of Dec. 1, 1911. Among the best of the innumerable newspaper accounts of the ceremony are those in the *New York Evening World* (by Monsignor Robert Seton), the *Springfield Republican*, and the *Chicago Examiner*, of Dec. 1, and the *St. Paul Dispatch*, of Nov. 30.

II

His homecoming as New England's first Cardinal was greeted with such a welcome as this city has rarely accorded to any individual. The streets of Boston that morning were ablaze with color — with American or Papal flags or bunting of cardinal red. Met at quarantine by Bishop Anderson, Mayor Fitzgerald, and others, and brought in a small government boat to Long Wharf, His Eminence was then escorted across the city to his home by a large procession of Catholic societies, delegations from various parishes, and the uniformed companies of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. In spite of a driving snow-storm, one hundred thousand cheering people lined the route.

On the following day a solemn pontifical High Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated at the Cathedral by Bishop Nilan, of Hartford, the great edifice being sumptuously adorned as never before and filled with an immense congregation. After the Gospel, Bishop Anderson voiced the feelings of the Diocese in an address of welcome and congratulation, and the Cardinal responded with a sermon on "The Power of the Papacy." In this eloquent discourse he described the grandeur of the universal and eternal spiritual kingdom whose centre is the Vatican mount, and the glory that had come to Boston and to all the people of the Archdiocese through the new relationship now established with that centre of power. "To be the humblest subject," he declared, "of such a sublime, religious, world-wide imperial power is immeasurably greater than the glory which the ancient Roman felt in his Roman citizenship. To be a prince in such a kingdom is to be greater than a king." He expressed his deep gratitude for the unstinted munificence which Rome and America had shown to him. He reiterated his lifelong loyalty to both; "for when," as he added, "was it forbidden to any good son to love, according to their merits, with all the fullness of his heart's love both mother and father?" He ended with a plea for the continuance of the loyal coöperation of the past; "and if," he continued, "out of our united efforts, by God's blessing and favor, good comes to this city,

and to this See of Boston, to God be all the glory. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.*"⁵

Soon after there began a long series of meetings through which innumerable groups of Catholics sought to express their delight in the supreme honor that had come to their Archbishop.

On February 5th five hundred of the clergy gathered at the Hotel Somerset for a reception and banquet. Bishop Anderson, Fathers Peter Ronan and John B. Peterson, and others expressed the sentiments of the priests of the Diocese, and the Cardinal replied with a grateful and affectionate speech on "The Bishop's Consolation."⁶

Two days later it was the turn of the laity to assemble for a banquet at the same hotel and to pledge their enthusiastic loyalty to their Cardinal Archbishop. After speeches by Governor Foss, Mayor Fitzgerald, Mayor O'Donnell, of Lowell, Hon. Joseph O'Neil, and others, His Eminence responded with an address notable particularly for the strong enunciation of certain aims that were very dear to him. Reviewing the work of education and organization of the past five years, he summed it up with the phrase: its only object had been "to make the Catholic people realize their own essential dignity."

For five years [he continued], often wearily enough, my voice has been lifted and my pen has been wielded with one sole purpose — to bring out conspicuously the best in every walk of life that we have to give; to prove by deed and by fact the falsity and the injustice of time-worn prejudices and misconceptions; to make our people as a whole stand out in the open, on the solid platform of Catholic doctrine and Catholic virtue; to show so clearly our own realization of what we have a right to be considered, *that never again shall we shrink from the intolerance of mere ignorance, which would place us in a position inferior to anything but the best in this city and this community.*

Reviewing some recent history that seemed to show that "with the best of goodwill it is hard in a community like this

⁵ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 23-28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 29-38.

for the Catholic cause to get a fair hearing," he recalled, nevertheless, his words at the Centenary of 1908 as to the great rift in the social structure of New England.

"Let us not," I said, "stand glaring at each other over a chasm. Let us rather fill up the space between us with honest goodwill towards one another and come together with mutual understanding and coöperation." *I have done my share; my people, too, are doing theirs. What have some of the others done, and what do they propose to do? . . .* We mean no political conquest. We want no Catholic party until the tactics of European Freemasonry and Anarchy compel every Christian to stand, if need be, with ballot in hand to defend our altars and our homes. No, it is the conquest of right and justice. A fair field for all, and no favor. . . .⁷

On February 15th, four hundred physicians, under the auspices of the Guild of St. Luke, held a reception in the Cardinal's honor. On the 17th, eighteen hundred Catholic women assembled at the Hotel Somerset for a like purpose. On the 25th, all Lowell seemed to unite in tribute to him — and all the more heartily as people learned that the new Prince of the Church had prefaced his participation in the rites of the day by visiting the graves of his parents in St. Patrick's Cemetery and the home of his childhood on Gorham Street. And so for a long time the demonstrations continued.

One more of these gatherings deserves to be mentioned. On February 16th, twenty-five of the foremost bankers and business men of Boston, all non-Catholics, came to the Cardinal's residence on Granby Street to tender their congratulations and welcome. They presented to him a gold casket, containing an illuminated Latin address, engrossed on parchment, and a check representing a gift of one thousand dollars from each of them. The address ran:

To the Most Reverend Archbishop, to the Most Eminent Cardinal William Henry O'Connell, from Boston Friends and Admirers, Greeting.

Deeply moved by the signal honor which the Holy Father,

⁷*Ibid.*, 39-50 (italics as in the original).

by promoting you to the highest dignity in the Catholic Church, has graciously bestowed on our city, and at the same time actuated by the desire of testifying the esteem and regard which we feel towards you, we ask you kindly to accept this little gift, small, indeed, but given most freely.

We have seen with what care you have directed the large diocese entrusted to you as Archbishop, and with what great zeal you have endeavored to serve the interests of the Church, rightly most dear to you; and not less have we beheld in you a broad-minded, sturdy citizen, devoted to country, and inflamed with love for its welfare, which is dear to every man's heart.

We are well aware that the great office now entrusted to you brings with it greater cares and responsibilities, and that much is required of him to whom much has been given; yet we congratulate you on the exalted and well-merited honor.

Most joyfully we welcome you, clothed in the purple of your office, on your homecoming, and we humbly beseech the great, good God bountifully to bless you with good health, success, happiness, and many years, of which we and the nation may abundantly gather the rich fruit.⁸

This gracious and generous act on the part of a large and eminent group of men outside the Catholic fold had scarcely a parallel in our history since the famous letter of the Protestant gentlemen of Boston to the King of France in 1823, requesting that Bishop Cheverus should be allowed to remain in this city. In expressing his profound appreciation, Cardinal O'Connell recalled the numerous instances in which Protestants had aided the struggling Catholic Church in Boston, and remarked that "our people all have heard the beautiful story of this spirit of helpfulness, until it has now become a part of the golden tradition of this Diocese." "Surely," he added, "this is an historic occasion, one which, like the others named, will be handed on to all posterity. . . . No one of us here present fully realizes how far this deed will travel and the good its animating spirit will set in motion."⁹

⁸ *Pilot*, Feb. 24, 1912.

⁹ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 53-55.

III

One immediate result of that gracious deed was that it helped to enable the Cardinal to carry through one of his greatest works, the saving of his titular church of San Clemente.

This famous basilica is named in honor of that martyred Pontiff who was the convert and the third successor of St. Peter, who may well have been that "fellow laborer" to whom St. Paul alludes in his Epistle to the Philippians, and who, at all events, as St. Irenaeus wrote, "saw the blessed Apostles, and conversed with them, and had yet ringing in his ears the preaching of the Apostles." The church lies in one of the most historic sections of Rome, in the depression between the Esquiline and the Coelian Hills, midway between the Coliseum and St. John Lateran, close to the Baths of Titus and Trajan and the Temple of Claudius. The present edifice is now known to have been built only about the year 1100; but with its atrium, its choir enclosed by a marble wall, its ambos, and other antique features, it offers a perfect example of the arrangement of the earliest type of Roman churches. Indeed, it was long supposed to be either the original basilica erected about the time of Constantine in honor of St. Clement, or else a mere reconstruction of it. The present church is also of deep interest because of its artistic treasures: its unique mosaic apse, its frescoes by Masaccio, its paintings by Sassoferrato and others. It is believed to contain the remains of St. Clement, of St. Cyril, the great Apostle to the Slavs, and of that heroic martyr of the first Christian century, St. Ignatius of Antioch. Since 1648 the church had been under the care of the Irish Dominicans.

With the revival of interest in the Christian antiquities of Rome around the middle of the nineteenth century, the Prior of San Clemente, Father Joseph Mullooly, O.P., a close friend of the great archaeologist, De Rossi, conceived the idea of exploring underneath his church. His excavations, begun in 1857, revealed marvel after marvel, and aroused the deepest interest of the religious and scholarly world.

First of all, he discovered the original Constantinian basilica,

directly below but larger than the present San Clemente. It had evidently fallen into disuse after having been partially gutted by fire (presumably by the conflagration started in Rome by the Norman soldiers of Robert Guiscard in 1084). Nevertheless, its walls, which form the foundation of the present basilica, were still well preserved, and all its essential details. Moreover, it contained a remarkable series of frescoes in fair condition, frescoes of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh centuries, which form an invaluable addition to the records of Christian art in its least-known period and link the art of the Catacombs to that of the late Middle Ages. Indeed, these frescoes give the first indications of a rebirth of art from which was to spring the glory of the Italian Renaissance.

On a still lower level underground there was found a fine Roman palace, in the style of the late Republican or early Imperial period. This palace Father Mullooly and De Rossi identified with great probability as the home of St. Clement. One room in it appears to be the Oratory — the "*Dominicum Clementis*" — a house-church, such as the earliest Christians were accustomed to use for their religious gatherings, and one in which SS. Peter and Paul may well have celebrated the holy mysteries. At some time in the second or third century the palace had evidently passed into the hands of another religion, which was then struggling with Christianity for supremacy in the Roman world. Close to the Oratory of St. Clement was a room where the priests of Mithras had once performed their sanguinary rites. This room, transformed into a cave, with its curious vault intact, its mosaics, and its mutilated altar still *in situ*, offered one of the most perfect of the few extant examples of a temple of Mithras.

Finally, beneath all this and extending much beyond the limits of the two basilicas was a wall, of massive stone construction, which appeared to date back to the early Republican period or even the time of the kings. Some archaeologists have taken this to be part of the walls with which Servius Tullius surrounded Rome, while others have surmised that it enclosed the palace of Tarquin the Proud.

The site of San Clemente thus offered a most unusual case of archaeological stratification, a series of constructions superimposed upon each other in the course of fifteen or sixteen centuries, a kind of synthesis of the history of Rome. With its mysterious pre-Christian remains; with its reminiscences of Apostolic times, of the struggle of the early Church with paganism, of the triumph of the Cross under Constantine; with its monuments of Christian painting and architecture, ancient, mediaeval, and modern, this complex of edifices was of almost unique interest and importance, whether viewed from the standpoint of religion, history, art, or archaeology.

But this superb treasure was in peril. In 1869 water began to infiltrate into the substructures, coming, supposedly, from a lost aqueduct or from underground springs whose former outlet had in some way been obstructed. Presently the *Dominicum Clementis* and the Mithraic temple were inundated to a depth of five and later eight feet. For many years they became inaccessible, and all further exploration was impossible. What was worse — it was feared that the foundations, supporting three layers of superstructure, were threatened with ruin, and if they should collapse, the loss to Christendom, both historically and artistically, would be appalling. After various fruitless attempts had been made to solve the problem of removing the water, in 1908 the right solution was found, thanks to the efforts of an Irish Dominican and to the assistance of municipal engineers. It was decided that since the inflow was constant, a permanent outlet must be provided, and that this could be effected by digging a tunnel from the lowest structures at San Clemente to the *cloaca*, or great drain, of the Republican period at the Coliseum, which was still in use and which emptied its waters into the Tiber. But such a tunnel, half a mile long and twenty-six to forty-five feet below the surface, would be extremely expensive. Exact plans for it were drawn, and a committee was formed to solicit funds for saving the historic basilica, but little could be accomplished until a real Maecenas was found. It was with this idea in mind that the Irish Dominicans asked

for and obtained the appointment of an American, Cardinal O'Connell, as titular of San Clemente.¹⁰

Three days after formally taking possession of the church, His Eminence attended a meeting at the Dominican Convent, at which the state of things was fully laid before him and the plan that had been devised to remedy it. Not being accustomed to promise more than he could fulfill, he said not a word that day as to his intentions; but then and there he inwardly resolved to do everything in his power to save this great monument of Christianity. Two months later the gift of the twenty-five gentlemen of Boston came as a heaven-sent means of covering at least a good part of the cost of the undertaking. Immediately he wrote to the Dominicans that they might begin at once with the draining of San Clemente and that he would bear the whole expense. Construction was started on June 10, 1912, and went forward day and night for nearly two years. At times difficulties were encountered that seemed almost insurmountable, particularly in cases when it was necessary to cut through deeply buried and massive ancient Roman walls. Often the workmen had to be hauled out of the holes to save them from suffocation. Finally, in April 1914, the great new tunnel was completed and opened. The accumulated waters in the substructure of the basilica were carried off, and did not return. The problem was solved. On May 20th of that year, Cardinal O'Connell had the happiness of presiding at the ceremony which marked the triumphant ending of this immense enterprise.

It had been truly "a Roman work," as Pius X said of it. The Dominican who had been most closely associated with it, has written:

The splendid tunnel or "*Emissarium Clementinum*" stands a great monument to a great Cardinal, who, since the days of Mercurius in the sixth, and Anastatius at the beginning of the twelfth, century, must be ranked as the most beneficent of the many great Cardinals of San Clemente.¹¹

¹⁰ The original intention of the Vatican had been to assign to him Santa Susanna, the American church in Rome.

¹¹ (Rev.) Louis Nolan, O.P., *The Basilica of San Clemente in Rome* (2nd ed.: Grottaferrata, 1914), p. 250.

The *Osservatore Romano* fittingly commented:

We cannot close the chronicle of this important event without previously having fulfilled a grateful duty, namely, that of expressing, as Catholics and as Romans, and also in the name of our fellow citizens, our sense of the most unmixed admiration and of the deepest gratitude to His Eminence Cardinal William O'Connell for the grandiose work which he has accomplished for the advantage of an illustrious Christian monument of our city.

We know, indeed, that in this way we render ourselves the faithful interpreters of all who are citizens of Rome by origin or by choice, who have a veneration for our glorious monuments, in which are interwoven the records of two civilizations, and who are justly jealous of their preservation. It is to him, to the Most Eminent Prince and Maecenas, to this generous son of noble America, that Rome is today indebted for the precious restoration of the crypt of this ancient basilica, left for long years, in the deplorable indifference of the authorities, inundated permanently by the waters of the sub-soil, and which Cardinal O'Connell, by a work really worthy of Roman greatness and of the splendor of the Sacred Purple, has happily restored to the admiration and the veneration of the Roman public and of the innumerable foreign visitors to Rome.

The work completed yesterday, even setting aside any religious consideration whatever, is an event of such importance that all the city press, without distinction of party, should have had to occupy itself with it with the deepest interest, offering a loyal tribute of merited homage to the princely munificence of a Prince of the Church.¹²

IV

The year 1912, happily inaugurated by the celebration of the new honors that had come to Boston's Archbishop, was for

¹² Quoted from *The Pilot*, June 13, 1914. On San Clemente, see especially: (Rev.) Joseph Mullooly, O.P., *Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and His Basilica in Rome* (2nd ed.: Rome, 1873); (Rev.) Louis Nolan, *op. cit.*, (also 3rd ed.: Grottaferrata, 1925); *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, publié par le R^{mo} dom Fernand Cabrol et le R.P. dom Henri Leclercq*, t. III, 2^{me} partie (Paris, 1914), pp. 1874-1902; Eduardo Junyent, *Il titolo di San Clemente in Roma* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1932).

him another extremely busy period. Again eight new churches were dedicated, and the cornerstones laid for two more. Not a few new enterprises were launched which will be mentioned later in these pages. And that year of feverish excitement and rampant radicalism gave Cardinal O'Connell more than usual occasion to stand forth as a wise counselor to the American people.

The various political and social reform movements that had been gaining headway since the "muck-raking" and "trust-busting" era at the beginning of the century, seemed in 1912 to be reaching a climax. That was the year of the Bull Moose. In February, Theodore Roosevelt 'threw his hat into the ring,' announcing himself again a candidate for the presidency, with a program that included not only the initiative and referendum, but — to the horror of all clear-thinking men — the recall of judicial decisions by popular vote. It was against this then very popular proposal that the Cardinal spoke out at the annual dinner of the Charitable Irish Society on March 18th, on which occasion he shared the honor of being principal guest with President Taft. Responding to the toast, "Civil and Religious Liberty," His Eminence delivered a noble address, in which he said in part:

Civil and religious liberty — well are they thus united, for unless both are secure, neither is safe. Wherever the State has sought to enslave Religion, making her a servant in bondage instead of a sacred guide, the liberty of the State itself was soon a mere myth. And wherever a false interpretation of religious freedom has led to encroachments upon the well-defined domain of civic rights, Religion soon lost her hold upon the souls of men.

Liberty of the soul to worship God, to obey His commands, to follow His divine guidance, that is the noblest right of man, and the assurance of it is the strictest duty of the State. . . . The permanency of religion is the only guarantee of the stability of law. And where law is unstable, there results only tyranny. . . . Justice is not founded upon votes, but upon principles. The fact that the form of government is popular franchise can no more change the origin and foundation and genuine interpretation of law than a plebiscite can banish God.

Long live the people — no man raises that cry with more sincerity than I, and all here. But the very life of the people's liberties, religious and civil, is always in danger when the foundations of law and the independence of judges, be they civil or ecclesiastical, are imperiled. The law is not the people — the people is not the law. The law is the principle of justice governing the people. And its application to individuals, to associations, to business, to every relationship of civil life must be so hedged around with reverence and security that the civil courts may in moments of popular passion save the whole people from the tyranny of lawless majorities.

God and our Country — that phrase expresses it all. Liberty, founded upon the eternal principles of divine justice, interpreted and applied in civil life by God-fearing magistrates, untrammelled and unfettered, and unafraid of passing popular passion; that, in a word, is the guarantee of what alone has made this country great — perfect security of civil and religious liberty to all. While that lasts, while the people themselves realize its value beyond price, this land is safe. . . .¹³

About that same time public attention was riveted upon what was, perhaps, the bitterest and most distressing struggle between capital and labor that this Commonwealth has known. This was the great textile strike at Lawrence (January 12 to March 14, 1912), which involved over twenty thousand workers. Essentially it was a revolt against intolerably low wages, wretched working conditions, and "a smug and complacent management, which had for years disregarded the fundamental rights of labor."¹⁴ Unfortunately, the strikers, who were mostly recent immigrants, accepted the leadership of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), a revolutionary and anarchist organization, committed to the class struggle, direct action, the overthrow of the political State. Under its guidance the strike was conducted by violent methods scarcely known here before. The mob invaded the mills, brandished weapons, damaged machinery, drove out those who wanted to work. The militia

¹³ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 75-77.

¹⁴ Albert Bushnell Hart (ed.), *Commonwealth History of Massachusetts*, V (New York, 1930), 437.

had to be called in, guns and bayonets were used, two working-class people were slain. If the strikers eventually won a very considerable victory, this was due more to the justice of their grievances and the support of public opinion than to the I.W.W. But for the moment that organization got much of the credit. That was, indeed, the climax of its brief career.

Seeking to keep the working class stirred up, at the end of the summer the I.W.W. called for a new strike. On September 29th almost eight hundred of their sympathizers paraded through the city. "Red flags and sacrilegious banners were carried through the streets; the American flag was trampled on; at the head of the procession rode Carlo W. Tresca, an I.W.W. leader, and behind him flaunted a large banner bearing the inscription, 'No God, No Master.' " ¹⁵ The police had a hard fight before they could break up the crowd.

This outrageous demonstration ruined the I.W.W. in this vicinity. Public opinion turned sharply against them. At the suggestion of the beloved Father James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A., the city authorities organized a series of counter-demonstrations intended to vindicate the good name of Lawrence and express the true sentiments of her people. The greatest of these manifestations came on October 12th — "Flag Day" — when thirty-two thousand citizens of all classes joined in a parade "for God and Country."

The troubles at Lawrence furnished the background for the very notable Pastoral Letter which Cardinal O'Connell issued on November 23rd, on the subject of "The Relations between Employers and Employed." This is the most comprehensive treatment of that burning problem that His Eminence has ever put forth. It followed, of course, that line of the golden mean to which the teachings of the Church and the encyclicals of her Pontiffs have ever adhered. His Eminence began by pointing out that the questions at issue between capital and labor were not to be settled merely by appealing to economic laws — supply and demand, and all that — nor by referring to what the law

¹⁵ Maurice B. Dorgan, *History of Lawrence, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 156.

of the State allowed or forbade. Over and above these norms there were natural rights and obligations rooted in the dignity of human personality and in the fundamental relations which God had established between human beings. And there was the positive Christian moral law of justice and charity, by which employers and employees were equally bound. For workingmen the Cardinal championed the right to a living wage, the right to form unions, the right (under certain conditions) to strike. He demanded that employers should treat their employees not only in a just, but in a humane, kindly, and Christian spirit, using all reasonable means to promote their material and moral well-being. He denounced as pure paganism the attitude of those men of means who considered themselves the absolute owners of their wealth, free from any moral obligations to society or to their weaker brethren. Capital had a right to a just share of the profits of industry, but to no more than that. On the other hand, it was the workingman's duty to make an honest return for his wages, not shirking nor defrauding his employer. Workers were warned against succumbing to the idea that all labor was a burden to be thrown off as quickly and with as little effort as possible; against the spirit of envy and an inordinate hankering for material comforts and pleasures; against the agitators who were disseminating fallacious theories or trying to stir up trouble among them. The conclusion was:

The social problem of the relations between employers and employed must be solved on a Christian basis, or not at all. They must face each other in the proper frame of mind, sprung from a Christian spirit, . . . must regard each other as brothers in the same great brotherhood of Christ. . . . When the worker, imbibing her [the Church's] spirit, will look upon labor as a conscientious duty to be done with care and diligence, and when the employer, accepting her teaching, will be content with reasonable profit and treat the laborer generously and humanely, the battle will be already won.¹⁶

The outstanding event of 1913 was the second Catholic Missionary Congress of America, held in Boston from October

¹⁶ *Pilot*, Nov. 30, 1912.

19th to the 22nd. Like the preceding Congress in Chicago in 1908, this gathering met under the auspices of the Catholic Church Extension Society, whose concern was with home missions. In the past five years, however, the missionary spirit and the interest in missions in general had developed so rapidly in this country that this time it was determined to take foreign as well as home missions under consideration. The feeling was in the air that the American Church stood at the beginning of a great crusade. The sermon preached by Cardinal O'Connell (the President of the Congress) at the initial pontifical High Mass was a clarion call to action.

We open today [he said] a new chapter in the history of the expansion of the Church. . . .

If ever obligation rested upon a country to work wide and large for the salvation of souls, surely that solemn obligation rests upon the Church in America. . . .

And at the very moment when the Church in America stands like a giant rejoicing to run his way, God opens opportunities for the spread of the Gospel, at home and abroad, such as have never before existed. . . . At such a crucial period in history for the giant Church in America to hesitate to throw herself into the crusade for the conversion of the world, to walk with halting step, to give with niggard hand, would be basely to betray a great trust imposed on her by God for the great advance of the Kingdom of Christ. . . .¹⁷

The Congress in Boston brought together the largest gathering of Catholic prelates, priests, and laity that had yet been seen in the United States. Ten archbishops and fifty-four bishops were there to represent the hierarchy, not only of the United States, but of Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Apart from the huge meetings in Symphony Hall, distinguished speakers from the Congress appeared at missionary rallies held in seventy-five churches of the Diocese. The newspapers estimated that 150,000 to 175,000 persons participated in some of the meetings of those four days.¹⁸ Admirably planned, organized, and conducted, the Congress passed into

¹⁷ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 135-148.

¹⁸ *Pilot*, Nov. 8, 1913

history as a most impressive and inspiring gathering, which must have given an incalculable impetus to American Catholic missionary activities.

V

These years witnessed continued vigorous progress in the educational and charitable work of the Archdiocese.

The first of the new buildings of Boston College, the Administration and Recitation Building, with its magnificent tower, was completed early in 1913. On March 28th it was informally opened by Father Gasson in the presence of the professors and students of the senior class, and that class henceforth held its sessions there until Commencement. On June 15th the building was solemnly blessed by Bishop Anderson in the presence of many ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries and about ten thousand people. That ceremony happily marked the fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the College charter, and inaugurated the most enthusiastic Commencement week that the institution had known. In the following September the College definitely moved out to University Heights, leaving the High School in sole possession of the venerable building on Harrison Avenue.

The Boston Academy of Notre Dame, after half a century of existence in its handsome building on Berkeley Street, found that its increasing number of pupils and the encroachments of business required a change of location. Late in 1912 the Sisters of Notre Dame purchased eight acres of land, bounded by the Riverway, the Avenue Louis Pasteur, and Brookline Avenue — a splendid site in that Fenway region where so many monumental buildings have latterly been erected. On July 25, 1914, the cornerstone was blessed for the new convent and academy.

Mount St. Joseph Academy, Brighton, in 1912-1913 erected a three-story brick building, of Renaissance design, alongside its older edifice, doubling its facilities to meet a patronage which since 1907 had more than doubled.

A group of nuns exiled from France a few years before, the Religious of Christian Education, were received into the Diocese in 1913 by the kindness of His Eminence. As the schools which this congregation had conducted in France and England enjoyed an excellent reputation, he secured for them a beautiful site at Arlington Heights, with two spacious buildings (the former Robbins Spring Hotel), which were easily converted into a school and convent. Here, in September, 1913, the nuns opened a boarding-school for girls, called Marycliff Academy.

One particularly interesting educational development at this time was the rise of the night schools conducted under the auspices of the Young Men's Catholic Association of Boston. Regular evening classes for men were started in 1910, and opened to women the following year. By the beginning of the 1913-1914 session, a thousand men and six hundred women were enrolled in classes, and thirty-five courses were being offered in such subjects as accounting, bookkeeping, commercial law, salesmanship, civil service, modern languages, and philosophy. There were then, perhaps, not many such "people's universities" in the country. If this development was due in great part to the Cardinal's patronage and interest, it was at his direct suggestion that an evening school of social service was added in 1912, under the direction of the Diocesan Charitable Bureau. Down to that time the number of Catholics employed by the public departments of charity and social welfare had been almost negligible. It was largely thanks to that school and to the pioneering work of His Eminence that within a dozen years Catholic trained social workers were coming to be very numerous and much to the fore in these branches of public service.¹⁹

To help the colored Catholics of Boston the Cardinal brought in the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, a recently established congregation, founded by Mother Mary Katherine Drexel, of Philadelphia, for work among negroes and Indians. On August

¹⁹ Cf. *A Brief Historical Review of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1923*, pp. 17-19.

18, 1914, these devoted women began their labors here from the house acquired for them at 21 Worcester Square, South End. The nature and results of their work can be gauged from a letter written two years later by one of the foremost colored Catholics of Boston, Robert Leo Ruffin:

When the Sisters came to Boston, they found the colored Catholics struggling under discouragements; they gave the colored people encouragement to persevere and remain faithful to their labors and vows; they have visited the poor and lowly, administering to their spiritual wants in sickness and in death; they have called upon many who had drifted away from their faith; they have reconciled members of families estranged because of religious differences; they have won over many non-Catholics to become Catholics; they have instructed in the catechism and have happily seen their efforts in catechetical work rewarded by baptism; they have made a host of friends among the non-Catholic colored people of Boston and vicinity; they have proved to be truly servants of God and tireless workers in the vineyard of Christ.²⁰

In 1910 the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, with the hearty approval of Archbishop O'Connell, had undertaken to establish a memorial to Archbishop Williams in the shape of a rural retreat which might be used in the summer as a vacation house for poor children from the city, and during the rest of the year as a convalescent home for poor women. The ten-acre farm in Hingham which was at once given to them for that purpose by Miss Ellen Roche,²¹ was never utilized, presumably because of lack of funds with which to erect the necessary buildings. But in October, 1912, Thomas B. Fitzpatrick donated a beautiful farm of seventy acres in South Framingham, with a house that would suit all requirements. By the following year the Archbishop Williams Memorial Farm was in full operation.²² Four years later the ownership of the property was transferred to the Diocese. The Sisters of St. Joseph have from the first been in charge of this very successful charity.

²⁰ *Pilot*, Jan. 15, 1916.

²¹ *Boston Post*, Dec. 18, 1910; *Pilot*, May 27, 1911.

²² *Boston Post*, Oct. 26, 1912; *Report of the Boston Particular Council for 1913*.

In 1912-1913 a new and much larger home was built for St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, Lowell, on a new site on Stevens Street, overlooking the whole city. At that time, too, the character of this institution was changed in so far as His Eminence directed that it should henceforth receive boys as well as girls, and that it should be supported, not merely by St. Peter's parish, but by a pro-rata assessment on all the English-speaking parishes of the city.²³

The House of the Angel Guardian on Vernon Street, Roxbury, had long been overcrowded, and the Brothers conducting it desired a location where they could extend their work and give the boys the benefit of country air. Hence, in December, 1910, the trustees had bought a farm of 112 acres in Danvers, close to the State Insane Asylum. But the erection there of the proposed buildings, capable of accommodating five hundred boys, would have cost, it was estimated, the formidable sum of \$350,000. Many priests of the Diocese did not favor the idea of the institution leaving Boston. And the Cardinal, although he had given permission for the transfer, was at heart not in sympathy with it. Hence everyone interested was rejoiced when an opportunity to gain a much superior location presented itself. The Perkins Institution for the Blind desired to dispose of its ample grounds and fine group of buildings on Perkins Street, Jamaica Plain, in order to remove to Watertown. The trustees of the House of the Angel Guardian decided, therefore, to sell their Danvers estate and buy this very desirable property. The purchase was consummated on September 25, 1913.²⁴ Nine acres of secluded land were thus acquired, and five handsome buildings which with some alterations and additions would amply meet all requirements. By the end of 1915 the House of the Angel Guardian was transferred to its present quarters in Jamaica Plain.

The greatest achievement of that time in the field of charity was the establishment of the new St. Elizabeth's Hospital.²⁵

²³ *Pilot*, Sept. 20, 1913.

²⁴ *Suffolk Deeds*, book 3759, p. 473.

²⁵ The story of this achievement has been fully told in the little volume, *A History of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Brighton, Massachusetts, with an Account*

The old institution of that name on West Brookline Street, Boston, had long been overcrowded and sadly cramped for room to expand. His Eminence determined to remove it to a new location and to make it into a Catholic hospital of the first class. The location was secured by the purchase in 1910 and 1911 of a large tract of land on the northern slopes of Nevins Hill, Brighton, adjacent to the Passionist Monastery.²⁶ This was an ideal site from the standpoint of elevation, light, freedom from noise and smoke, and opportunity for future expansion. On March 16, 1912, *The Pilot* announced that a magnificent new hospital would be built here, one of the finest in the country; and that its special field would be "to offer the best hospital facilities to persons of limited financial means, and to provide a limited number of free beds for worthy persons who otherwise might be compelled to seek admission to some public institution."

On November 13, 1912, in the presence of the other trustees and the Franciscan Sisters, His Eminence broke ground for the main building, whose construction was begun not long afterwards. The architect, Mr. Edward T. P. Graham, had offered plans along the general external lines of Spanish monasteries, with red tile roof, cream stucco walls (covering brick), and curving gables. The main building, 227 feet long, parallel to Cambridge Street, was to be three stories high. At both ends of the front, wings were to project back up the hill, and it was planned to extend these wings farther as fast as growth should warrant it, each extension being raised one story higher than the previous one. On the inner side of the quadrangle thus outlined, a colonnade and windows opening to the floor would permit patients to be wheeled out into the open air, while always being sheltered from north, east, or west winds. The quadrangle was to be closed on the south side by a chapel, with a home for the Sisters and one for nurses on either side of it.

of the Great Ten-Day \$200,000 Campaign Successfully Conducted in Its Behalf (n.p., n.d.).

²⁶ The main purchase was made in December, 1910, and some additional land was bought six months later. (*Suffolk Deeds*, book 3503, p. 545; book 3552, p. 61.)

As the hospital approached completion, the need became urgent for additional funds with which to finish and equip it. Money had been solicited more than once, but the sums raised fell far short of what was required. Hence in the autumn of 1913 it was decided to make a direct appeal to the people of the entire Diocese. The goal to be aimed at was \$200,000, and the effort was to take the form of a ten-day drive, a "whirlwind campaign," with the slogan "Help the Sick." In view of St. Elizabeth's forty-six years of service to people of all faiths, the appeal was to be addressed to the whole community. This was the first time that any Catholic institution had made such a general appeal, and the first time that any Catholic institution had sought to raise so large a sum all at once.

The drive, carefully planned in every detail during three months of preparation, was carried through during the ten days, January 26 to February 4, 1914. Under the direction of a large general committee, teams of five collectors worked in every section or parish, in friendly but keen rivalry and with unsurpassable devotion. Large meetings to arouse interest were held far and wide around the Diocese. The newspapers without exception gave whole-hearted coöperation. Huge "thermometers" set up on Washington Street, Boston, and in several other parts of the city, kept the public informed of the progress of the campaign, and crowds gathered daily to watch "the mercury" go up and see whether "the thermometer" would be "smashed." Great was the excitement in the last days of the campaign, and great the jubilation when it was learned that the drive had been crowned with magnificent success, with a grand total of \$250,000.²⁷ No one who was present could forget the scene at the Victory dinner of the Diocesan General Committee. As *The Pilot* described it:

Every man there was filled with the fire of a great religious enthusiasm. The Cardinal's face was a mirror reflecting the proudest satisfaction in the scene and what it stood for. The atmosphere was charged with a wonderful force of holy ardor, and the joy was so keenly felt that anyone of that assembly

²⁷ *Pilot*, Feb. 7, 1914.

could have wept merely as a relief of surcharged happiness. A spark was all that was needed to make the moment sublime, and the spark came when His Eminence, raising both hands to heaven, thanked God for granting him the supreme satisfaction he had a right to feel in being surrounded by such men and supported by the clergy and people in this great, unique undertaking.²⁸

Then, as the newspaper continued, after a moment of awed silence there came a cheer for the Cardinal that could be heard for blocks. As speaker after speaker reiterated that night, the victory was in large part due to his wise, tactful, and efficient leadership. While non-Catholics had given much, the great bulk of the sum raised had come from Catholics; and so the outcome constituted not only one more proof of the oft-tested generosity of our Catholic people, but a revelation of their financial strength.

The new hospital was opened on September 1, 1914 — without ceremony because of His Eminence's forced absence in Europe. After his return he blessed the chapel on October 4th, and, about a year later (November 21, 1915), the convent. The nurses' home was completed by 1917. The splendid new five-story building named the Cardinal O'Connell House, intended for patients wishing private rooms, was dedicated May 28, 1925. And on January 19, 1927, His Eminence blessed the stately new chapel which he had erected in memory of Mrs. Mary Catherine Keith.

From the outset the new St. Elizabeth's amply vindicated the wisdom of its foundation. For thirty years now it has ranked among the foremost hospitals of Boston, distinguished for the excellence of its staff (all Catholics), its complete and up-to-date equipment, its progressive methods, its ever-increasing service to the community. Not the least reason for its success has been the devoted and selfless labors of the Franciscan nuns who attend it, one of whom, Mother Mary Rose, by almost a lifetime of beneficent service here, stamped her name very deeply upon the history of the institution.²⁹

²⁸ Feb. 14, 1914.

²⁹ For completeness mention should be made of the disappearance during these years of two Catholic institutions. The Looby or City Orphan Asylum,

VI

In the late spring of 1914, Cardinal O'Connell was in Rome for his second *Ad limina* visit and for the inauguration of the tunnel of San Clemente. He then had what proved to be his last talks with that beloved Pontiff whom he had always found "a dear and intimate friend and father."³⁰ The sudden gathering of the war-clouds after the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand forced him, like countless other Americans, to accelerate his departure for home. He sailed on July 29th from Hamburg on the German steamship *Cincinnati*. Only a few days later England declared war on Germany, and the latter days of the voyage were an exciting and perilous time, as the ship zigzagged her course, muffled her lights, and sped blindly through darkness and fog to evade the British cruisers that were searching for her. On August 8th His Eminence reached home.

Only twelve days later came the news of the sudden death of Pius X, brought on, in great part, by his anguish over the outbreak of a world war. With what feelings one may imagine, Cardinal O'Connell at once paid his tribute through the press to that great and saintly Pontiff, who, as he said, had been "a friend and father to all humanity," but who had shown a special predilection for America, and had "cherished for the Diocese of Boston an affection and love as though it were his own immediate diocese."³¹ Then, seven hours after learning of the Pope's death, His Eminence sailed from East Boston on the White Star liner *Canopic*, in the hope of participating in the election of a new Pontiff (August 20th).

According to the existing regulation, the Conclave must be opened in ten days. Many people hoped that this rule would now be waived because of the extraordinary world situation and in order to give the American Cardinals every chance

of Salem, was destroyed during the great fire in that city on June 25, 1914, and for financial reasons and because its purpose was being largely fulfilled by other diocesan institutions, it was not rebuilt. The Free Home for Consumptives in Dorchester about this time appears to have transformed itself into a non-denominational institution.

³⁰ *Recollections*, p. 335.

³¹ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 201-202.

to take part in the election. At any rate, all America watched with keen interest the race with time on which Cardinal O'Connell and Cardinal Gibbons (who was with him) were now engaged.³²

After being retarded by rough weather, the two illustrious travelers landed in Naples on the morning of September 3rd. They hired motor cars and sped towards Rome. Halfway on the journey they learned they were too late: about eleven that morning a Pope had been elected. Their disappointment can be imagined — and it was shared by wellnigh the whole press of America.

The Conclave had opened on August 31st, and three days later had chosen Cardinal della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, who took the name of Benedict XV. Cardinal O'Connell had known him for nearly twenty years, since the days when the new Pontiff, a favorite pupil of Cardinal Rampolla, had been assistant to Leo XIII's great Secretary of State. Arriving late on the afternoon of September 3rd, His Eminence had a brief opportunity that evening to tender his congratulations to the new Pope, and in the following days he enjoyed two longer and very cordial audiences. The coronation — expedited in time and simplified in ceremonies — took place on September 6th. Four days later, Cardinal O'Connell sailed for home, delighted to escape from war-racked Europe, but reassured, as he told the press, because the Church had received a Pope who 'combined the best qualities of a priest with those of a diplomat' — which was just what was needed at that time.

³² Cardinal Farley, who was in Switzerland, reached Rome in time without difficulty.

CHAPTER VI

THE WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS — I (1914-1922)

I

IF THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS of Cardinal O'Connell's régime had been a time of marvelous prosperity and progress for the Archdiocese of Boston, the ensuing period witnessed, indeed, continued and remarkable progress, but a progress achieved under vastly more difficult conditions. The arrest of immigration, the rise of a new anti-Catholic movement, the ever-growing shadow of the European war, the unprecedented strain of America's participation in that war, the malaise and disillusionment and the economic crisis of the years immediately following the conflict — such were some of the features of this new period.

With the outbreak of the struggle in Europe, immigration to the United States at once sank to the most modest proportions, and by 1918 and 1919 it had virtually ceased altogether. With the restoration of normal communications, it rose again in 1920 to 246,295, and an inrush of 805,228 in the following year showed that, without restrictions, the pre-war movement would be resumed and would probably be exceeded, in view of the eagerness of the masses in war-torn Europe to flee to the Land of Promise in the West. But that very fact called forth redoubled efforts on the part of all those elements that had long been striving to restrict the immigrant flood, particularly that from Eastern and Southern Europe. As a result, Congress passed the Act of May 19, 1921, which limited the number of aliens of any transatlantic nationality that might be admitted into this country in any fiscal year to three per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality who were resident in the United States at the time of the census of 1910. In the following year immigration fell off to little more than

300,000. The new policy, adopted in 1921 as an emergency measure, was later to be made a permanent and even more restrictive system. Whatever its general merits may have been, one obvious result was that the Catholic Church in this country was no longer to enjoy that enormous and almost unparalleled growth in numbers which unrestricted immigration had provided throughout the previous seventy-five years.

That growth during the time when immigration was at its peak seems to have been the chief cause of a new anti-Catholic movement, the fifth in the history of the Republic and one which forms the intermediate link between the A.P.A.'s of the 1890's and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. Other contributing causes were such manifestations of increasing Catholic strength as the centenary celebrations of 1908 in four important dioceses, the many great national Catholic gatherings of those years, the appointment of three American Cardinals. In Massachusetts the fears always latent in certain circles were aroused by the prospect that if matters continued as they were going, the Catholics would soon form a clear majority of the State's population, and by the fact that Catholics were already rising to higher and higher positions in political life. It was not only that many of our chief cities now commonly elected Catholic mayors — in Boston, for instance, that position was held from 1910 to 1913 by John F. Fitzgerald, and from 1914 to 1917 by James M. Curley. But in 1912 a Catholic was for the first time elected Lieutenant Governor, in 1913 Governor, and in 1918 Senator from Massachusetts (the victor in all these elections being the Hon. David I. Walsh).

The beginnings of the new anti-Catholic campaign have been traced back to the year 1908.¹ *A propos* of the Catholic Missionary Congress of that year in Chicago, first one and then a large number of Evangelical ministers' associations came forth with pronouncements that, in brief, declared the Catholic Church a menace to American institutions. Professional Cath-

¹ *Final Report of the Commission on Religious Prejudices* (Supreme Council, Knights of Columbus: Chicago, 1917), pp. 56 ff. Cf., also, on the whole movement: Michael Williams, *The Shadow of the Pope* (New York, 1932), pp. 112-122.

olic-baiters and rabble-rousers, who had for a decade found business in their line very dull, once more began to prosper. In 1911 a veteran in the profession founded, at Aurora, Missouri, a weekly called *The Menace*, which for twenty years was to conduct a campaign of hate and furious abuse against the Church, and which during its early years rolled up such fabulous profits as called forth a horde of imitators (including several journals in Boston). There was a new burgeoning of anti-Catholic secret societies. The most important of them were the Guardians of Liberty, founded at Washington in 1911 by Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, General Nelson A. Miles (of Spanish-American War fame), and others; the American Minute Men, the Pathfinders, the Covenanters, and the Knights of Luther. By 1914, when the campaign approached its height, there were said to be sixty anti-Catholic journals published in the United States; tons of anti-Catholic tracts and other "literature" were being distributed; scores, or, as some claimed, hundreds of anti-Catholic lecturers were "enlightening" the public, and anti-Catholic legislation of some sort had been proposed in over forty State legislatures.

In Massachusetts the movement made itself chiefly felt by the small flood of petitions for such legislation which, especially in the years 1914 to 1917, were regularly presented at each session of the General Court by groups of ministers, "patriotic societies," and excited women. One such proposal was that all private schools should be placed under the supervision of the State Board of Education. Another was to tax all religious institutions, including rectories, schools, and convents. A hardy perennial was the convent inspection bill, which, in 1915, for instance, proposed to establish a State committee of ten to investigate and inspect all "private charitable institutions, nunneries, convents and other religious institutions, asylums, seminaries, and schools maintained by religious denominations."² That these proposals were regularly smothered in the Legislature showed that the great majority of Massachusetts citizens had no desire to go back to the days of the Know-Nothings or the A.P.A.

² *Pilot*, April 3, 1915.

But that a vast number of Massachusetts citizens were still haunted by certain apprehensions about Catholicism was shown by the history of another proposed measure, the Anti-Aid Bill. This was intended to prevent forever the appropriation of any public funds to assist any "sectarian" (i.e., Catholic) educational or charitable institution. It, too, emanated from anti-Catholic ministerial circles and from the secret societies — it was the favorite project of the Guardians of Liberty and of the Minute Men. But by dint of incessant propaganda and an adroit appeal to the deep-rooted American fear of "a union between Church and State," it won the support of many influential people who prided themselves ordinarily on their freedom from religious prejudice. At bottom, it appealed to the emotions of those who feared that, once the Catholics had become the majority in the Commonwealth, as it was assumed they might be in another ten years, they would begin to demand for their institutions some part of the public funds which for nearly three hundred years had been so generously accorded to institutions of an openly or veiled Protestant character. Proposed almost annually in the General Court from 1900 on, the Anti-Aid Bill never got as far as a roll-call until 1912. But from that time onward, it was for five years defeated by ever closer votes. Finally, it was brought up in the Constitutional Convention of 1917, and, in order to make it less objectionable to Catholics, was widened into a proposal to forbid the appropriation of public funds for the support of any private institution. In this form it was accepted by the Convention as an amendment to the Constitution, and, after a contest, ratified by the voters. To Catholics this was rather a bitter pill. It was but too obvious that the measure originated in animus against their Church, and that it was based, not upon anything that Catholics had done — for out of nearly \$17,000,000 of public funds granted to private institutions since 1860, only \$49,000 had gone to Catholic institutions; nor upon anything that Catholics were then doing — for they were not asking anything for their institutions at that time; but solely upon gratuitous and uncharitable assumptions as to what they might do in the future. To them it was bound

to appear that the amendment was, as the *Boston Transcript*³ had said of the undiluted Anti-Aid Bill, "unnecessary and unwise and unkind."

Apart from this episode, at all events, the anti-Catholic campaign in Massachusetts, as elsewhere, seemed to die away with the entry of the United States into the World War.

II

At his first Consistory, on September 8, 1914, Pope Benedict XV had urged the faithful everywhere to pray fervently for the end of the war in Europe, and had announced his own determination to do all that lay within his power to help the world back to peace. With the words of the anguished Pontiff still ringing in his ears, Cardinal O'Connell returned to Boston, filled with horror and pity over what was going on abroad and determined, likewise, to do whatever lay within his power to further the cause of peace. At that moment the whole American public, from President Wilson down, seemed unanimous in the passionate desire both to see the speedy end of the slaughter and destruction in Europe and to avoid any entanglement of this nation in the conflict. In accordance with a request of the President to all religious bodies, October 4, 1914, was designated here as "Peace Sunday." Throughout the Archdiocese that day all the Masses were offered for peace, and all the sermons were on "The Blessings of Peace." Speaking for the first time in public on the European conflict, His Eminence at the Cathedral described the horrors of war, emphasized how great a blessing it was that the United States was still at peace, and urged his hearers to uphold the peace efforts of the Holy Father and to pray constantly for the restoration of peace to all mankind. Quite in line with the President's injunctions of that period — to be "impartial in thought as well as in action" — the Cardinal exhorted his people not to discriminate between the warring nations, but to think of all as brothers. The true basis for peace, he concluded, could be found only in the

³Quoted from *The Pilot* of April 17, 1915.

law of Christ, and the duty of nations to each other according to that law, and the restoration of religion to its due place in the government of men.⁴

To this line His Eminence adhered throughout the next two troubled years. As American opinion became divided, as "pro-Allied" groups and "pro-German" groups came into evidence, as propaganda from both sides — much of it now known to have been highly mendacious — multiplied, as the country was swept by waves of warlike emotion after such incidents as the sinking of the *Lusitania* or the *Sussex*, as the likelihood that we should be drawn into the conflict grew ever graver, Cardinal O'Connell continued to urge fraternal charity towards all the belligerent nations but partiality for none, distrust of propagandists, coolness and self-possession at each recurring crisis, support for "our calm, noble, and high-minded President," support for every reasonable effort for peace, and the avoidance, if honorably possible, of our involvement in the war. Peace was, indeed, the dominant theme of his public messages of that period. For peace he constantly worked and prayed, though recognizing that its preservation was becoming more and more dubious.

Meanwhile, he did what he could for the cause of suffering Catholic nations. His was one of the first voices raised in this country to protest against the infamous persecution of the Church which was starting in Mexico.⁵ He lent his support to Belgian relief. At the end of 1915 he ordered collections to be taken up in all the churches to help relieve the dire distress of Poland. Not long after the Easter Rebellion in Ireland, he seized the opportunity, in two addresses before the national convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, to pay a glowing tribute to the faith and the historic glories of the Irish race, coupled with a clear intimation of his belief that the Irish people could best win their freedom by holding loyally to their highest Catholic ideals and by trusting to the justice of God, the force of public opinion throughout the world, and the awakening conscience of the democratic masses in England.⁶

⁴ *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 208-211.

⁵ Address on "Justice in Mexico," delivered Nov. 15, 1914, before the Diocesan Federation (*Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 224-231).

⁶ Addresses of July 18 and 19, 1916 (*Sermons and Addresses*, V, 144-152).

The very trials and anxieties of those years seemed to call forth the Cardinal's highest powers. No period of his life, perhaps, has been more packed with outstanding and stirring public addresses. Among those on purely spiritual subjects, one of the most beautiful was that which he delivered before a vast throng at the Passionist Monastery on "Strife and Peace," in which he portrayed "the constant, silent, penetrating influence, the ever-present, ever-persistent power" of religion, of those divine voices speaking within men's souls, "curbing, reproofing, warning, guiding, encouraging —" that saving, bracing, inspiring, indispensable force without which "the world would be one vast madhouse."⁷ Mention should also be made of his inspiring address to the Italian people of the North End of Boston on "Keeping the Faith" (March 12, 1916), and of the talk on "The Kindly Light," which he gave before a great gathering of converts on June 17th of the same year.⁸ It was on the latter occasion that he inaugurated the custom that all the adults who had been received into the Church anywhere in the Diocese during the previous year should gather in the spring at the Cathedral to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation in a body. For many years thereafter it was to be an impressive spectacle, this annual meeting of one thousand to one thousand five hundred men and women of all classes and conditions of life, who had found their way by diverse routes into that haven of peace and unity which is the Catholic Church.

Education, as always, occupied much of His Eminence's thought at that time. At the exercises commemorating the Silver Jubilee of the Catholic University in Washington, on April 15, 1915, in the presence of a brilliant assemblage of the hierarchy and other friends of the institution, he delivered an address on "The University's Functions" which, for wealth of ideas and beauty of expression, reminds one of Cardinal Newman's famous lectures on a similar theme.⁹ On August 15th of that year he issued a beautiful pastoral letter on "The Child's Training,"¹⁰ and this was followed by his notable article on

⁷ Sept. 19, 1915 (*op. cit.*, V, 46-53).

⁸ *Sermons and Addresses*, V, 17-26.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 109-118, 135-139.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-45.

"The Necessity of Continuing Religious Training at Secondary Schools and Universities," which was published in the *New York Sun*.¹¹

After all his efforts to promote peace and mutual confidence in the community, the anti-Catholic campaign of those days was a deep sorrow to His Eminence. He met the new outpouring of old misunderstandings and misrepresentations with a number of calm, frank, and fearless speeches, which ought to have disarmed suspicion if reasoning was capable of doing so. One of the strongest of these statements was his address on "The Catholic Position," delivered before the Knights of Columbus in Somerville on November 28, 1915, in which he said in part:

Any unsophisticated Bostonian, reading the Monday morning papers, would imagine that a certain element in this community was doing everything in its power to seize this government for its own purposes, to rifle the State treasury, to set up a State within a State, and to bring about the bugbear of a union of Church and State and other evils too numerous to mention. Such is the trend of the violent harangues that consume the sacred hours of Sunday in some quarters.

That these statements are mere inventions and misrepresentations, or else the delusions of overheated or diseased minds, is as well known to every Catholic man, woman, and child in this community as their daily prayers. The Catholics in public office who are accused of being concerned in this imaginary conspiracy know that such vaporings are absurd. . . .

Until the true position of Catholics is understood, there will be no rest. We all want a peaceful, happy, law-abiding America. We Catholics are laboring for that with as much energy and goodwill as any others in the land. We want no political union of Church and State here. We merely want harmony between the two.

We have perfect freedom for the Church, the greatest freedom perhaps she has ever enjoyed. We want and will accept nothing else. We desire to live side by side with people of other beliefs in peace and concord. In religious matters they

¹¹ Sept. 1, 1915.

have a right to go their way. . . . We stand against the exclusion of any man from office on account of his religion. We stand unalterably for complete freedom of religion for all. We stand unflinchingly for our fullest and freest rights as American citizens.

We are ready to die for this country, and until that duty faces us, we are determined to live in it as free men, Americans, Catholics. We want no religious controversy; we will have none of it; it rarely accomplishes anything good, and more often produces only bitterness. . . . We want to live in the present, unembittered by prejudices based on dissensions in centuries long forgotten and in lands far distant. Federation will strive for that; that is why it has my blessing. . . .¹²

This frank exposition of Catholic principles and views was hailed by the newspapers far and wide as one of the most powerful and significant speeches that Cardinal O'Connell had delivered. But it was to be surpassed by his great address in Madison Square Garden, New York, on August 20, 1916. The occasion was the opening of "Catholic Week," when the annual convention of the American Federation and seven other societies had brought together the greatest assemblage of Catholics that any American city had yet witnessed. At the initial mass meeting of the Federation that Sunday evening, over fifteen thousand people filled every available foot of space in that vast hall. The principal speakers were the three American Cardinals, Gibbons, Farley, and O'Connell. All three stressed the note of patriotism — for that summer the "Preparedness" movement was sweeping the country, and in certain prejudiced quarters the patriotism of Catholics was being called in question. Beyond question, it was Cardinal O'Connell's address on "Our Country" that formed the supreme event of the evening. He was treating one of his favorite themes and voicing some of his deepest convictions, and rarely, if ever, has he risen to greater heights of eloquence. Over and over again he brought that huge audience to its feet amid thunderous applause, his fellow Cardinals joining in the cheering; and the ovation at the end was indescribable.

¹² *Sermons and Addresses*, V, 76-89.

He began with a magnificent tribute to American liberty, which, he declared, "more than all else, infinitely more than all the treasures of this country, is the very heart and core of the love we all bear for America . . . a love next only to that we owe to the Kingdom of God." He powerfully portrayed the dangers threatening America's liberty from within, through the subversive doctrines being preached throughout the land, which, attacking religion, morality, and the whole existing social order, would, if successful, lead either to anarchy or to despotism. As against such dangers, and in view of the admission of many Protestant leaders that their faith had lost its hold upon the masses, he presented the Catholic Church as the strongest bulwark of the Republic. Nothing so much aroused the enthusiasm of his audience that night as his declaration: "But of all the vast array of those who love America, upon none may she so surely and reliably depend in every need and emergency as upon the eighteen million Catholics, who are proud to be at the same time subjects of the Kingdom of God on earth and citizens of America."

One of the startling phenomena of the age, he added, was the tremendous growth of Catholicism in this country; and it was well for America that this was so; "for here, at least, is a religious organization upon whose sterling and steadfast worth she can absolutely rely, as the very cornerstone of law and order, the prop and support of government, and a bulwark against the corrupting forces of anarchy and decay, of irreligion and infidelity." What other organization in America had the Church's experience in dealing with the great masses of the people, or possessed, as she did, "the full confidence, loyalty, and respect of the general population? . . . And this wonderful and universal influence over the hearts of men is the reason why no one who has the welfare of the whole people at heart can afford to ignore her."

Then, turning to the anti-Catholic campaign, His Eminence continued:

We are all well aware of the suspicions with which she is regarded, the jealousy which her influence arouses. To the

suspicious she answers, "Here are my principles, read them; they are no secret, but the same for all alike." . . . Though her enemies and those who distrust her ask her brutally, "What do you want?" and "What are you after here?" she answers frankly, honestly, and sincerely,

"Nothing but liberty. We want only what is our right, the right of every legitimate organization in this whole country — no more, no less.

"We are strengthening the nation by strengthening the moral fiber of the whole people. We teach them to love America even when often they can see small reason for unselfish affection. We teach them to obey your laws and respect your authorities; we care nothing for your mines, your wealth, or your riches. We are neither a trust nor a syndicate who seek to control your franchises or exploit your resources. We inculcate truest patriotism founded upon divine law. We are here to help men to keep alive the light of their souls, the hope of heaven, the love of God. That, and that alone, is why we are working here. And for that we demand and insist upon our perfect liberty — a liberty which in the end brings far more help to you than you can summon from any other organization living under your flag.

"We have not committed to this country the safeguarding of our lives, our fortunes, our property with any other understanding than that in return for our loyalty you guarantee us protection in what to us is the most essential of all human rights — religious liberty.

"We ask no favor. Your protection of our liberty is no favor; it is part of this dual contract between our country and ourselves. We pledge ourselves to keep our part; see to it that you keep yours as sacredly. We have a right, an unquestionable right, to legitimate representation in all the affairs of the country. If you discriminate against us, you are not keeping your contract; we are not getting true liberty.

"If because a citizen is a Catholic a thousand plausible pretexts are set out to discard him and discredit him in your cabinets and your courts, you are not keeping your contract: this is not liberty. . . .

"You are only wounding the hand, the strongest hand held out to help you; you are spurning the aid of those whom again

and again you have found in your hour of need the most willing to die for you.

"Oh, yes, we know very well the whole litany of accusations against us: that we give only a divided allegiance, that we are scheming for government."

These are all lies so patent that they need no answer. Indeed, those who fling them out will never listen to any answer. But I am going to answer them once and forever here tonight.

As a cardinal I may be supposed to know what I am saying on this subject. And on my word as a gentleman of honor I am speaking the simple, absolute truth.

I have known intimately, personally, and officially, three Sovereign Pontiffs — three Popes of the Catholic Church. I am a priest now thirty-two years; I am a bishop fifteen years, and a cardinal five years. I have had the closest relations not only with the Pope, but the whole Roman Curia; I know well every priest in my Diocese, and every bishop in this country. Yet never, never in all that experience, have I ever heard spoken, lisped, or whispered, or even hinted at by any or all of these, anything concerning America and American institutions but words of affection, of tender and kindest solicitude for her welfare, never a syllable that could not be printed in the boldest type and distributed throughout the land; neither plot nor scheme nor plan, but only sentiments of admiration and love. If there is plotting, I ought to know it. Yet absolutely and honestly, of such things I have never heard even a whisper.

This is my answer to all these miserable insinuations. That I know the truth, I think no one will deny; that after such a pledge I am still concealing the truth, that I must leave to those who, I repeat, will never listen to any answer.

The Catholic civil allegiance divided? Look across the sea to where all Europe is in arms. Every Catholic is fighting loyally, giving his very life for his own country. Though some of these countries have merited little gratitude from any Catholic, still the very priests are in the trenches, each a defender of his native land. Where, I ask of any honest witness of these facts under his very eyes, where is this divided civil allegiance? And the Pope — is there one in this country who after this war will ever dare to accuse the Pope of interference in civil affairs or of weakening the loyalty of citizens?

Behold him, the universal Father of the faithful, looking out over all the world, and weeping and praying for the peace of all the nations, offering solace and counsel to all alike — a lonely, pathetic figure like Christ — begging the world to listen that he may heal all and help all. The world knows the truth today of the position of the Pope in relation to all the nations. Not another word is needed. . . .

Beyond our lives we love our faith, and with these lives we stand ready to defend the land which gives us liberty.

These are the sentiments of every Catholic throughout the land. . . . The great metropolis may well be proud of this gathering here tonight; yes, and America may well thank God that the Catholic Church, heeding neither malice nor slander, goes peacefully along her glorious way, fortifying the souls of men with the hope of a blessed immortality, and building up the strength of the nations as she passes. For they who adore the King of Kings and recognize His dominion over all the world are always they who also learn to bow reverently to the just mandates of earthly authority. . . .

The Catholic Church and all her children abiding here love America with a sacred and undying love for the liberty she has promised to secure for her. Let America also learn to love the Catholic Church and Catholic Federation as the staunchest safeguard of American liberty.¹³

III

When the Imperial German Government, on January 31, 1917, abruptly informed the Government of the United States that, despite its promises of the previous year, it had resolved to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, war between the two countries became almost inevitable. Fervently as Cardinal O'Connell had desired to see this dread extremity avoided, he at once declared (February 20th) that in the event of war all the societies and agencies connected with the Archdiocese would be placed at the disposal of the Government, and at the same time he ordered the Director of the Charitable Bureau to make a survey of the services which these organizations might

¹³ *Sermons and Addresses*, V, 153-167.

render. Nor did he fail to exhort his people — whatever might happen — to stand solidly behind those to whom God had entrusted the government of this country.¹⁴

After the ensuing loss through German submarines of numerous American ships and American lives, on April 6th, Good Friday, Congress declared war on Germany. As soon as the solemnities of Holy Week were over, the Cardinal on the 9th issued a statement which was hailed by the entire press of the country as a clarion call to patriotic duty:

There is but one sentiment permissible today — that sentiment is absolute unity. Our country is at war. Our nation, therefore, needs us all — every man, woman, and child of us — to strengthen her, to hearten her, and to stand faithfully by her until her hour of trial has passed and her hour of glorious triumph shall arrive.

So up from our knees! Our souls have gathered strength and sacrifice from the sight of Calvary. God and our nation! Let us lift that cry to heaven. Neither base hate nor sullen anger may dim the glory of our flag, but let the love of true freedom — blessed, God-given freedom, which above all other lands our country has cherished and defended — let that be the thrilling power that will quicken our pulses with a still greater love of America than we have ever known till now.

We are of all races. Today we are one — Americans. Whatever we can do in honor and justice, that we must in conscience do to defeat our enemies and make our flag triumphant.

Christ is risen! He has triumphed over iniquity and death. Let us look up to where He now sits in glory and read anew from the story of His passion and His triumph the greatest of all lessons men can learn — that evil is conquered only by divine courage, that death has no terror for the man of faith, and that not all the riches of this world are worth a passing thought in comparison with the things that endure forever.

Let us hasten now to act; we have spoken enough. May God preserve and bless America!¹⁵

At the request of the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, His Eminence directed all the priests of the Archdiocese

¹⁴ *Boston Herald*, March 19, 1917.

¹⁵ *Sermons and Addresses*, V, 225 f.

to observe April 15th as "Patriotic Sunday" and to preach that day on duty to the nation and on the need of men in the various branches of the service. Soon after, he offered to turn over St. Elizabeth's Hospital to the Government for the duration of the war, with all its equipment and staff; and other Catholic hospitals — the Carney, St. Margaret's, and St. John's, Lowell — were soon after offered in the same way. For some reason these offers were not accepted by the authorities, although the Catholic hospitals found opportunity during the war to render much service to members of the armed forces. On April 21st, *The Pilot* announced that, as a result of the survey ordered two months earlier, the Diocesan Charitable Bureau now had a list of about two hundred Catholic organizations whose members were ready to aid in any patriotic work that might be requested.

Meanwhile, the archbishops, at their annual meeting in Washington, on April 18th, had adopted a resolution, affirming in the strongest terms the readiness of the Catholic hierarchy and laity to coöperate with the National Government in every possible way for the winning of the war. This proposal emanated from Cardinal Gibbons, but the text is said to have been written by Cardinal O'Connell at the request of his colleagues. It ran:

Standing firmly upon our solid Catholic tradition and history, from the very foundation of this nation, we reaffirm in this hour of stress and trial our most sacred and sincere loyalty and patriotism toward our country, our government and our flag.

Moved to the very depths of our hearts by the stirring appeal of the President of the United States and by the action of our national Congress, we accept whole-heartedly and unreservedly the decree of that legislative authority proclaiming this country to be in a state of war.

We have prayed that we might be spared the dire necessity of entering the conflict. But now that war has been declared, we bow in obedience to the summons to bear our part in it with fidelity, with courage, and with the spirit of sacrifice,

which as loyal citizens we are bound to manifest for the defense of the most sacred rights and the welfare of the whole nation.

Acknowledging gladly the gratitude that we have always felt for the protection of our spiritual liberty and the freedom of our Catholic institutions under the flag, we pledge our devotion and our strength in the maintenance of our country's glorious leadership in those possessions and principles which have been America's proudest boast.

Inspired neither by hate nor fear, but by the holy sentiments of truest patriotic fervor and zeal, we stand ready, we and all the flock committed to our keeping, to coöperate in every way possible with our President and our National Government, to the end that our beloved country may emerge from this hour of test stronger and nobler than ever.

Our people, now as ever, will rise as one man to serve the nation. Our priests and consecrated women will once again, as in every former trial of our country, win by their bravery, their heroism and their service new admiration and approval.

We are all true Americans, ready as our age, our ability and our condition will permit, to do whatever is in us to do, for the preservation, the progress and the triumph of our beloved country.

May God guide and direct our President and our Government, that out of this trying crisis in our national life may at length come a closer union among all the citizens of America, and that an enduring and blessed peace may crown the sacrifices which war inevitably entails.

James Cardinal Gibbons,

Archbishop of Baltimore, Chairman

William Cardinal O'Connell,

Archbishop of Boston

John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul

Sebastian G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee

Henry Moeller, Archbishop of Cincinnati

Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco

George W. Mundelein,

Archbishop of Chicago.¹⁶

¹⁶ The text is given here as printed in *The Pilot*, April 28, 1917. It has been published not infrequently, but sometimes in slightly garbled form.

The Catholic Church was the first religious body in the country thus to pledge its support for the national effort and to volunteer its services. President Wilson, to whom Cardinal Gibbons had hastened to transmit a copy of this historic pledge, replied with a letter in which he declared: "The very remarkable resolutions unanimously adopted by the Archbishops of the United States . . . warmed my heart and made me proud indeed that men of such large influence should act in so large a sense of patriotism and so admirable a spirit of devotion to our common country."¹⁷

No one could have made good that pledge more fully than did Cardinal O'Connell. His ordinary activities, always strenuous enough, were redoubled during the war period, as he threw every ounce of his strength into work for America's cause. Never did he show himself more splendidly a leader, both of his own people and of the community in general.

His wartime addresses, in the first place, were a fine contribution, with his gift for saying what needed to be said and of saying it forcibly, simply, and clearly. In these addresses he deprecated all emotionalism, war-hysteria, hatred. "Hate no one, despise no one," "no feelings but those of love, charity, forbearance, and patience for all, even our enemies" — those were his sentiments. But he emphasized the natural love of American citizens for "this wonderful and blessed land," "the best and strongest and justest government in the whole world." He dwelt particularly on the idea of duty to country, "the first principle of Catholic life," which ought to render every Catholic doubly patriotic, as a citizen and as a Christian. And, as President Wilson's successive utterances revealed the lofty ideals to which he wished to dedicate our war effort, Cardinal O'Connell's addresses affirmed more and more strongly the noble and disinterested aims for which we were fighting: the triumph of right over brutal force; a permanent peace, "that all the peoples of the earth may be rescued from the perpetual menace of war"; a peace settlement based upon "no mere force

¹⁷ Allen Sinclair Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore*, II (New York, 1922), 815.

or weight, no mere greed for greater power or more territory," but upon even-handed justice for all; and the vindication of "the rights of small nations, the independent sovereignties of distinct peoples" (including Ireland and Poland).

Among the most stirring of His Eminence's wartime messages were: his address of May 13, 1917, before the Diocesan Federation on "Standing the Test";¹⁸ his speech for the Red Cross at the Boston Opera House on June 21st on "The Catholic Position";¹⁹ his talks to the soldiers at Camp McGuinness on August 31, 1917 (on "Christian Soldiers"), and to those at Camp Devens June 16, 1918 ("The Secret of True Valor");²⁰ his addresses to the Holy Name Societies on January 6, 1918 (on "The Power of the Holy Name"), and to the League of Catholic Women on January 20th (on "Patriotic Service");²¹ his talks before the Irish County Clubs and the Polish Catholic societies on Thanksgiving Day, 1917;²² and his Pastoral Letter of January 25, 1918, on "The Cardinal Virtues" — this last a particularly eloquent and bracing message to a nation at war on the need of prudence, justice, temperance, and fortitude.²³

The many patriotic and humanitarian campaigns for funds received strong coöperation from Cardinal O'Connell. He spoke in public repeatedly for the Red Cross. He launched the Second Liberty Loan drive here by appearing as the first speaker at the initial rally on Boston Common, and by his words and his example in at once purchasing some bonds he started an avalanche of buying.²⁴ For the Fourth Liberty Loan he issued a public letter which was reprinted widely throughout the country. He served as a member of the Rebuilding France Committee of Boston, along with such other eminent citizens as Governor McCall, Senator Lodge, Bishop Lawrence,

¹⁸ *Sermons and Addresses*, V, 227-229.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-238.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, V, 250-252; VI, 114-117.

²¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 1-17.

²² *Ibid.*, V, 281-287.

²³ *Ibid.*, VI, 18-45.

²⁴ *Boston Transcript*, May 2, 1918.

and President Lowell. He contributed to the Jewish War Relief Fund and to innumerable other war charities.

His Eminence left nothing in his power undone for the benefit of the men in our armed forces. Already in 1916 he had started the custom of having a solemn military Mass celebrated around Memorial Day for the repose of the souls of the soldiers and sailors who had died in the service of the United States. While the Mass was first said in the Charlestown Navy Yard, in the following year it was transferred to Fenway Park. There this deeply impressive religious service has ever since been held, with a normal attendance of thirty to forty thousand persons, many of them in uniform, and with His Eminence presiding whenever possible. When in August, 1917, the first Massachusetts troops who were to be sent to France were gathered at Camp McGuinness, South Framingham, the Cardinal not only sent forty priests thither to hear confessions, but visited the camp himself, said Mass for the troops, addressed them, and gave a rosary and prayer book to every Catholic soldier. He did not forget these boys after they had gone overseas. His Christmas giving that year was largely directed to them, and he wrote to them through their chaplains. One of his letters, sent to the heroic Father De Valles, was read to the twenty-four hundred Catholics of the 104th Regiment at the last Mass before they moved up to the front.²⁵ In June, 1918, he likewise visited the troops at Camp Devens, where he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, and, addressing the largest religious congregation ever gathered there — five thousand Catholic soldiers — brought them, as a newspaper said, “a ringing message of courage and comfort.”²⁶

His Eminence's talent for organization was also much called into play. This was a new kind of war for all the belligerents, probably the first example in history of “total war.” Our Government, faced with enormous and unprecedented tasks, needed the coöperation of the whole nation; our citizens were called upon to work, to give, to lend, to conserve, to submit to regimentation, to volunteer their services, as never before; and all

²⁵ *Herald-Journal*, March 8, 1918.

²⁶ *Boston Globe*, June 17, 1918.

the social and religious organizations of the country found amplest opportunity to aid the national effort. As far as the Catholic Church's contribution was concerned, at first each diocese proceeded on its own lines, but it was soon realized that nation-wide organization was necessary.

The first outstanding example was furnished by the Knights of Columbus. During the previous year, when American forces were "on the border" or chasing Villa in Mexico, the Knights had started a war service, running a chain of "huts" which dispensed coffee, candy, tobacco, and other creature comforts gratis to the soldiers and served as recreation centres. Encouraged by the success of this experiment, in 1917 the society had the courage to undertake to render similar services to the armies of many millions which we were now raising. In July they were designated by the Government as the official agency for looking after the moral and social welfare of Catholics in the armed forces, and placed on the same basis as the Y.M.C.A. for Protestants. There is no need to recount here the magnificent work which they performed at the cantonments in this country and for the fighting men abroad, though that is one of the most stirring chapters in the Catholic war record.²⁷ But mention should be made of the numerous establishments which, with the cordial approval of Cardinal O'Connell, they conducted in this Diocese: at Camp Devens, for instance, or at Lowell, Cambridge, Parker Hill (Roxbury), East Boston, Bumkin Island, or their familiar "hut" on Boston Common, or their servicemen's club on Warrenton Street, or the really sumptuous Home for Soldiers and Sailors which they opened on October 27, 1918, in the former Notre Dame Academy on Berkeley Street — well named "Liberty House," for its motto was "Everybody Welcome and Everything Free."

The second important step in organizing Catholic war work on a national basis was taken at an American Catholic Congress, held at Washington on August 11-12, 1917. This gathering, called with the sanction of the three American Cardinals,

²⁷ The story is admirably told by Maurice Francis Egan and John B. Kennedy, *The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War* (2 vols.: New Haven, 1920).

was made up of official clerical and lay representatives of sixty-eight dioceses, of delegates from twenty-seven Catholic organizations, and representatives of the entire Catholic press. Its resolutions proposed that in order to unify and coördinate Catholic war activities, a National Catholic War Council should be established, and local war councils in each diocese, and that the Knights of Columbus should be recognized as the representative Catholic body for the special work they had undertaken. The Convention also pledged the united power and combined resources of the entire Catholic body and of all Catholic organizations to assist the Government in every need and problem arising from the war.

The National War Council, which was set up immediately afterwards, did not assume final form until January, 1918. By that time it had been agreed, with the consent of the entire hierarchy, that the archbishops of the United States should constitute the War Council; but since they could not meet as frequently or give as much time as the situation demanded, the actual management of the work was entrusted by them to an administrative committee of four bishops, assisted by a large number of special committees of priests and laymen. The admirable and many-sided work of this organization is another splendid part of the Catholic war effort, but it, too, does not belong within a diocesan history.²⁸ It should be recorded, however, that Cardinal O'Connell had an important share in shaping and directing the National War Council, and gave it enthusiastic support, and that some representatives of this Diocese, such as Monsignor M. J. Splaine and Mr. James J. Phelan, did notable work on its committees.

The Archdiocese itself was a hive of Catholic patriotic activities. The Diocesan Charitable Bureau coöperated whole-heartedly with the public committees and agencies in all that related to the war. Under its stimulus the various Catholic women's societies from the outset went busily to work, and

²⁸ On it see, especially: Michael Williams, *American Catholics in the World War: National Catholic War Council, 1917-1921* (New York, 1921); *Handbook of the National Catholic War Council* (Washington, 1918); and the monthly *Bulletin of the Council*.

throughout the conflict they were sewing and knitting, preparing needed articles for soldiers and sailors, making bandages, spreading the idea of and diffusing knowledge about food conservation, donating ambulances and chaplains' kits, helping out in Red Cross, Liberty Loan, and war savings drives, assisting the Knights of Columbus, doing protective work for women, girls, and children menaced in one way or another by war conditions. The Food Conservation campaign, in particular, of which His Eminence discerned the importance as soon as the Government took it up — and the slogan ran, "Food Will Win the War" — was probably better organized and conducted here than in any other Catholic diocese.

In order to bring out all possible coöperation and to unify Catholic activities, more and more elaborate forms of organization were set up. First, at a meeting on June 18, 1917, the Cardinal launched the Catholic Women's War Relief Organization of the Diocese, with a comprehensive and varied program. After the formation of the National Catholic War Council, a diocesan War Council was established, with a number of committees such as those for Chaplains' Aid or Food Conservation. In the fall of 1918 His Eminence directed each pastor to form a parish war committee, made up of four men and four women. For women's work, in particular, the three dioceses of the State combined in June, 1918, to establish the Catholic Women's War Service Council of Massachusetts, which in this Diocese was built around the League of Catholic Women. In order to complete this mobilization of feminine workers, in the following October all the Catholic women's societies of the Archdiocese were federated with that League. How intensive this work of organization had been was brought out in that same month when more than one thousand delegates of the Catholic parishes and societies of Greater Boston assembled in St. Alphonsus' Hall, Roxbury, to hear the Cardinal's representative explain the plans for Catholic participation in the great United War Work campaign, through which all the agencies throughout the country engaged in such work were combining to raise \$170,500,000.

Thirty priests from the Archdiocese were in service as chaplains by the time of the Armistice. Of their fine performance many stories are related. For example, the late Father William J. Farrell, on April 16, 1918, went to the aid of an American battery in which many gunners had been killed; he carried up ammunition and helped to keep the guns going through the night; he was injured, but he refused to have his wound attended to next morning until he had carried a wounded comrade, a Connecticut lad of nineteen, to a dugout dressing-station. Father Farrell was officially cited for bravery on this occasion.²⁹

Although it has very often been estimated that Catholics, though forming only about eighteen per cent of the American population, contributed twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of the Army and forty to fifty per cent of the men in the Navy and the Marine Corps during the First World War, it must be admitted that no adequate statistics on the subject are available.³⁰ All that may be asserted with tolerable certainty is that the proportion of Catholics in our armed forces much surpassed their ratio in our total population. It was officially reported in the summer of 1918 that 32,145 young men from the Archdiocese of Boston had gone into service.³¹ The Mission Church in Roxbury led all the other parishes, with 937 stars in its service flag.³²

Catholic military memories of the war, so far as this vicinity is concerned, centre chiefly about the Twenty-Sixth Division ("The Yankee Division"), which was organized in the late summer of 1917. It included the best known of Boston Irish-American militia regiments, the old "Fighting Ninth" of Civil War and Spanish-American War fame, which, in the reorganization then taking place, was incorporated in the 101st Regiment of infantry. The Twenty-Sixth Division was one of the first four American divisions sent to France. It saw service in

²⁹ *Pilot*, May 4, 1918, Feb. 1, 1919.

³⁰ The best summary of the evidence now available is in Daniel J. Ryan, *American Catholic World War I Records* (Diss., Cath. Univ.: Washington, 1941).

³¹ *Pilot*, July 6, 1918, quoting the Chancellor of the Archdiocese.

³² *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1918.

the front line for two hundred and ten days, and took part in most of the major engagements in that period — at Belleau Wood, Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, the Argonne Forest. Its beloved commander, General Clarence R. Edwards, later declared: "No division had harder service, no division was longer in the line or gained more distance or fought off more attacks than did this division."³³ Among its other most popular officers were such Catholics as Brigadier General Charles H. Cole, Colonel Edward L. Logan (in command of the 101st Regiment), and Father Michael J. O'Connor, chaplain of the 101st and then of the whole Division.

Greater than the loss of American lives in all the battles of the World War was the loss produced by the terrible epidemic of Spanish influenza, which overspread the country in the autumn of 1918, bringing in its train the still more fatal pneumonia. Its first appearance on our shores was in Eastern Massachusetts in early September. By the end of the month a pall hung over the community. Sickness and death were everywhere, striking at all classes, but particularly at the young. The hospitals were filled to overflowing, and many had to turn away patients. There was a grave shortage of doctors and nurses, despite the efforts of the Federal authorities and the Red Cross to rush such skilled workers here from other parts of the country. Theatres, clubs, lodges, and most other places of assembly were closed. A great part of the Protestant churches suspended their services, and in Catholic churches services were reduced to Low Masses made as brief as possible. In early October, Boston had one hundred and fifty to two hundred deaths daily from "the flu" and pneumonia. Fortunately the epidemic subsided towards the end of the month, with the coming of the frosts. But it had been the worst scourge of the kind in the history of Massachusetts, and it had cost the State about ten thousand lives.³⁴

This trying ordeal brought forth splendid manifestations of

³³ Harry A. Benwell, *History of the Yankee Division* (Boston, 1919), p. xii. Cf. also Frank P. Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France* (Boston, 1919), and Major Emerson Gifford Taylor, *New England in France, 1917-1919: a History of the Twenty-Sixth Division, U.S.A.* (Boston, 1920).

³⁴ *Boston Globe*, Nov. 7, 1918.

Catholic charity and public spirit. Cardinal O'Connell, who had gone to New York in the third week of September for the obsequies of Cardinal Farley, hurried home on learning of the gravity of the situation, eager to do everything in his power for a stricken community. Henceforth for weeks he gave himself almost exclusively to such tasks. His first step was to offer St. John's Seminary, with all its equipment, grounds, and buildings, to the Massachusetts Emergency Public Health Committee for hospital purposes — an offer which was promptly and gratefully accepted by Henry B. Endicott, Chairman of that committee. In order to relieve the congestion in the regular hospitals and to prevent influenza patients who had passed the crisis of the disease from returning to their homes too early, it was decided to turn the Brighton institution temporarily into a home for convalescents. So for a few weeks (October 6th to 26th) St. John's Seminary became "St. John's Hospital," with a staff of six doctors, nine registered nurses, and a total of ninety-two patients. Twenty seminarians also served as attendants upon the sick, their fellow students, all of whom had volunteered for such work, being sent home. Brief as it turned out to be because of the quick abatement of the epidemic, this use of the Seminary was "productive of splendid results."³⁵

At the outset His Eminence also called upon the teaching Sisters of the Diocese to volunteer for district nursing and other relief work. Their response was magnificent. At Mount St. Joseph Academy, Brighton, for instance, sixty Sisters of St. Joseph at their breakfast table heard the Superior read the Cardinal's letter; and all sixty at once volunteered. So it went in every community. *The Pilot* later summed up the labors of these brave and devoted women as follows:

During the epidemic for over three weeks 900 Sisters, representing 20 different communities and 91 convents, worked, in conjunction with the public authorities, for the relief and comfort of the afflicted. In 25 towns and cities of the Diocese they could be seen from day to day going from house to house

³⁵ George Hinckley Lyman, *The Story of the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety, February 10, 1917-November 21, 1918* (Boston, 1919), pp. 241 f.

on their errands of mercy, supplementing in the most acceptable manner the efforts of the doctors and nurses. They cared for whole families for weeks at a time, preparing meals, bringing order out of confusion, mothering countless little ones, besides ministering to the sick. In all over 13,982 visits were made to the homes of the sick by the Sisters. In addition 175 Sisters gave 556 days' service at 10 public open-air hospitals, in Boston, Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, Waltham, Arlington, Cambridge, Salem, Stoughton, and Amesbury. . . . The services of the Sisters were without doubt effective beyond measure, and of this the public authorities of the State and of the cities and towns in the Diocese have made grateful acknowledgment. . . .³⁶

At the same time the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the League of Catholic Women, and many parish societies set up canteens or nourishment stations, where food, clothing, bedding, and medicine were offered to stricken families. The St. Vincent de Paul men alone conducted seventy-two of these canteens. The League of Catholic Women also opened refuges for children who needed temporary shelter because of the sickness or death of parents, using for that purpose the Franciscan Convent at Orient Heights and St. Elizabeth's Day Nursery, Boston.

The priests of the Diocese have seldom known more strenuous days. Giving themselves with complete self-sacrifice to their duties, they were busy day and night with bringing the Sacraments, the other consolations of religion, or material help to the sick, the dying, or the bereaved. It may safely be said that out of nearly a score of Boston priests who died during the epidemic, many paid with their own lives for their devotion to duty.

In fine, during the sore trials of that time the best traditions of the bishops, clergy, religious, and laity of this Diocese were heroically maintained. Public recognition was amply expressed. Thus Henry B. Endicott, who had directed the State's battle against the influenza, wrote to Cardinal O'Connell on October 18th:

³⁶ *Pilot*, Feb. 15, 1919.

Your Eminence:

Again I have to thank you for the great help you have given me during this terrible epidemic. I wonder if you realize just how it has strengthened my position, not only during this awful plague, but almost from the very start of our work [that of the Massachusetts Committee of Public Safety] to have the feeling as I do that if necessity arises I can call upon you (which, as you know, I have done many times), and have your help and sympathy.

I consider that one of the most important things which we have done during this sickness is to have established a place where men who are convalescing could be sent and be sure of good care, good air, good sunshine, and good surroundings, and this was made possible by your splendid offer of St. John's Seminary.

Then, as you know, as soon as this epidemic got well under way, the call for nurses was almost overwhelming. Again we turned to you, and you sent your splendid Sisters to help out.

I know something of the splendid sacrifices which these women have been willing to make, and of the bravery they have shown. I consider the courage of these women is one of the most wonderful exhibitions of faith and bravery that it is possible to show. . . . The people of Massachusetts owe you, and these brave women whom you have sent out to save lives, more than they can ever repay. If it is possible, will you convey to these Sisters through the proper channels our feeling in regard to the wonderful work which they have done? . . .

In similar vein Governor McCall wrote to His Eminence on November 6th to thank him for the support given full-heartedly to the State authorities throughout the war and for his "splendid coöperation" and "great assistance" during the epidemic.³⁷

The clouds of gloom produced by the influenza scourge were just beginning to break away when there came the glorious news of the Armistice. On the evening of November 11th a Te Deum was sung at the Cathedral, and from a full heart the Cardinal spoke to his people of gratitude for God's assistance

³⁷ The texts of both these letters are in *The Pilot* of Nov. 16, 1918.

during the long days of trial. After all that had happened, it was fitting that His Eminence was chosen to offer the prayer at the great Victory mass meeting in Symphony Hall which the State authorities organized on the following evening.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR AND POST-WAR YEARS — II (1914-1922)

I

IN THE PERIOD OF REJOICINGS that followed the Armistice, one event that showed the place Cardinal O'Connell had won in the hearts of his fellow citizens was the dedication on November 17th of the new Parkway at Lowell, which the municipal authorities had named in his honor, and of the fountain and the bronze bust of His Eminence which had been erected in it. In spite of stormy weather, half the population of the city turned out that day to honor Lowell's most famous son and to witness the parade and the exercises at City Hall. In his address on this occasion the Cardinal paid glowing tribute to the city of his deep affection, and especially to its love of industry and devotion to religion, "Lowell's best bulwarks and highest traits." He ended on the note: "In war we have faced our duty nobly; in peace we must do likewise, for peace has its high obligations as well as war."¹

This note was to dominate his speeches during the ensuing period, when the nation faced innumerable grave problems connected with the peacemaking, demobilization, and economic and social adjustments, and when it was to be expected that there would be a sharp reaction from the spirit of unity, idealism, and sacrifice that had marked the war days. To maintain that spirit he exerted himself for the success of the United War Work drive. In a new public statement he pleaded for generous giving, pointing out that two million American soldiers would be detained abroad for months still and that there was now more need than ever, perhaps, to provide for their welfare and comfort. Soon after he made a similar appeal for the Red

¹"A City's Tribute," in *Sermons and Addresses*, VI, 157-163.

Cross, and later for the Fifth Liberty Loan. On January 10th he issued a letter urging that all the congregations of the Diocese should pray daily that the Peace Conference, then opening in Paris, would deal justly with all the nations concerned, adding that otherwise "we shall have not peace but the beginning of a longer and fiercer war."²

In this letter, as in other utterances of that time, His Eminence expressed confidence in President Wilson and enthusiasm for the principles which, under Wilson's leadership, the Allied nations had inscribed on their banners during the war: the vindication of right against might, the assertion, in particular, of the rights of small nations, the principle of national self-determination. But the letter also showed that the Cardinal was far from sanguine as to the outcome at Paris, realizing that the forces representing old-style diplomacy, imperialism, and selfish national interests would be numerous and active. And already at this time a question had loomed up which seemed to him to offer a crucial test as to whether the world was to receive a peace founded upon principles or upon interests. This was the question of Ireland.

As everyone knows, Irish opinion had gone through a very rapid evolution during the war, as a result of events that need not here be described. By 1918 the Home Rule program, still so attractive in 1914, had been left far behind, and the great mass of Irishmen had rallied to the Sinn Fein Movement and to its demand that Ireland should be left entirely free to decide her own destiny. But the situation looked bleak, around the time of the Armistice. The British Government stood adamant against granting more than Home Rule (to be accompanied by partition). Its military might had never been more overwhelming. Most of the Sinn Fein leaders were in British jails. And America, the perennial source of encouragement and aid to Ireland, had paid little attention to, and said still less in public about, the Irish situation during the period of our war with Germany and our military partnership with Britain.

That Ireland did not sink into despairing lethargy, but in-

²"A Momentous Assembly," *Sermons and Addresses*, VI, 199-201.

stead aroused herself to a new national effort that within three years led to virtually complete independence, may be ascribed, in no inconsiderable part, to the new campaign on her behalf that was begun by her friends in this country soon after the Armistice. In this campaign Cardinal O'Connell played a decisive rôle and performed one of his most historic actions. When New York, the strongest of Irish-American centres, prepared to launch this movement with a great public meeting, it invited him to be the principal speaker, for, as an eminent writer at that time remarked, "There seemed to be no other on the continent, or perhaps in the whole world, ready to say what needed to be said or able to concentrate in his person the authority to do so."³

On the evening of December 10th, Madison Square Garden was packed as seldom in its history. There were other and eloquent speakers, including Governor Whitman, of New York. Every mention of President Wilson's name was hailed enthusiastically. But the supreme event of the evening was His Eminence's address. His appearance on the platform had been the signal for a tremendous ovation; as he spoke, he was continually interrupted by cheers — and even more impressive were the intervals of tense silence as that vast throng hung upon his every word; and at the end there was thunderous applause. He spoke without a trace of passion or bitterness, with the moderation and dignity of a Prince of the Church. He did not argue the justice of Ireland's claims — that was self-evident. He made no appeals for sympathy. His whole aim that night was to make the world, and especially the rulers of the world, realize the consequences of refusing justice to Ireland.

The great war is over now [he declared], but he who fancies that, because the great war is over, universal peace will appear on schedule time has a great disillusionment ahead of him. No, unless, now that the war is over, Justice begins her rightful reign over the whole earth, there may be a momentary lull, but enduring peace will not be attained. It was for justice that humanity fought, and humanity will still be ready to go on with even fiercer wars, until justice holds full sway.

³ Shane Leslie, in the *Irish World* (New York), Dec. 21, 1918.

He pointed to the cataclysmic changes then going on in Europe, with thrones being overturned, empires falling, and the Red Revolution threatening to sweep the Continent. "Disorder has broken loose upon the earth," he went on, "and unless some power greater than the forces of anarchy prevails, all Europe — all the world — will be shaken to the foundations of civilization." What was needed to resist the forces of anarchy was that the governments gathered at the Peace Congress in Paris should retain the confidence of the peoples of the world by keeping their promises, living up to the principles they had professed, and, in particular, doing justice to the universal cry of oppressed or enslaved nations for the right to rule themselves. And he continued:

The deepest purpose of this meeting is, that faith may prevail — faith in governments, faith in rulers and congresses, and all that set of divine principles and influences and human agencies by which the world is held in order.

This war, we were told again and again by all those responsible for the conduct of the war, was for justice for all, for the inviolable rights of small nations, for the inalienable right, inherent in every nation, of self-determination.

The purpose of this meeting tonight is very specific. The war can be justified only by the universal application of those principles. Let that application begin with Ireland.

Ireland is the oldest nation and the longest sufferer. If these principles are not applied in her case, no matter what else may be done, there will be no complete justice, no genuine sincerity believable, and the war, not bringing justice, will not bring peace.

Who was it that, by the enumeration of these great principles, united the peoples of the whole suffering world? It was our own President — once Wilson of America, now Wilson of the world. Tomorrow he lands at Brest — Brest, the very port out from which Count Arthur Dillon sailed with his three thousand Irish troops to aid America to obtain from England the very principle of self-determination which today Ireland demands, and which we of America, in accordance with the principles enunciated by our President, today also are determined by every legitimate and lawful and Christian means to aid Ireland

to obtain. For Ireland, equally with America, fought in this conflict for right.

America has fought in this war not for selfish aims. She has given her best blood, her hardest toil and her enormous wealth, and in return gets not one foot of soil, not a single material gain. She has a right to demand that for which alone she has made such tremendous sacrifices — justice to all.

Let the test of sincerity be Ireland. Then we will be convinced that truth still lives.

Ireland must be allowed to tell the world freely what she wants, how she wishes to be governed. . . .

May God grant that the voice of Ireland be heard, and that, at last, peace, entering Europe through Ireland's freedom, bring even to England its blessings and its fruits.

I firmly believe that, the day that England honestly faces her full duty to Ireland and fulfills it faithfully, God will bless her as she has not known His blessing for many centuries. For, as with the individual soul, so with the soul of a nation — a clear conscience is the only door to happiness.

We want this honest and frank expression of our principles, the principles upon which the stability of this nation and every nation must now rest, to be borne undiluted across the sea, that first Ireland may hear and rejoice, that England may hear and consider, and that our President and all those about him at the great conference of peace may hear and heed.

When these men in whose hands now rests the fate of all freemen arise, with their work for the welfare of the world completed, may one of the very first articles of that treaty of peace for all the world read: "We meant what we said — Ireland, like every other nation, must be free — one united Ireland, indivisible, unseparated, now and forever."

And the children of the Gael, scattered over all the earth, will hear that soul-stirring message, and then, moved by a common impulse, they will turn their faces toward Erin, lift up their hands to Heaven, and, at that moment of Ireland's triumph, will sing in unison the greatest *Te Deum* that ever arose to God.⁴

It was an historic address, one of the most powerful that the Cardinal has delivered. It reminded many who heard it of

⁴"Ireland, One and Indivisible," in *Sermons and Addresses*, VI, 190-198.

the great orations of Daniel O'Connell. Of its effect in this country, a leading journal attested: "It is no exaggeration to say that the note he then sounded did more than any other single cause to breathe new life into the Irish movement on this side of the Atlantic. Its echoes resounded in every part of the United States."⁵ And of its effect beyond the Atlantic an equally competent witness declared: "The speech of Cardinal O'Connell got into the Irish press and roused the country like a trumpet call. They felt that they had the intellectual and moral force of America working in their favor, and they have begun to hope again. He is regarded as the greatest external asset to the Irish cause since Gladstone's conversion."⁶

From that time on, meetings for the Irish cause were held constantly and far and wide throughout this country. Many State legislatures, including that of Massachusetts, voted resolutions in favor of the independence of Ireland, and Congress ultimately did likewise. Cardinal O'Connell continued to speak vigorously from time to time upon the subject.⁷ In spite of this "tidal wave" of public opinion in America and although in January, 1919, the elected representatives of the Irish people had proclaimed the establishment of the Irish Republic, with Eamonn de Valera as President, the Peace Conference at Paris failed to do anything for Ireland. President Wilson, although deeply sympathizing with the Irish cause, did not dare force the question to the front, in the face of threats that if he did, the British would bolt the Conference, as the Italians had done and as the Japanese threatened to do, in which case he believed the Conference could scarcely continue to function, no peace at all could be concluded, and Europe would be left to chaos and to Bolshevism.

The result was that Irish-American sentiment turned sharply

⁵ *Irish World*, June 21, 1919.

⁶ Shane Leslie's statement in the *Boston Post*, April 2, 1919.

⁷ See especially his letter to the Convention of the Irish Race at Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1919; his talk to the A.O.H. of March 15th on "Patience in Trial"; his speech on "The Triumph of Faith" at the Common Cause Forum on March 16th; his striking address at the great meeting in Mechanics Hall, Boston, on June 10th, on "Ireland and American Public Sentiment": *Sermons and Addresses*, VI, 220, 221-225, 226-229; VII, 1-10.

against the Peace Conference and all its works, against President Wilson, and against the League of Nations. This change began to be manifested in this vicinity from the end of March, 1919, on, and was definitely sealed at the meeting at Mechanics Hall, Boston, on June 10th, which resolved that, "We register our opposition to any proposed League of Nations which does not safeguard American rights and ideals, and which binds us to safeguard the territorial integrity of the British and Japanese Empires." A few weeks later this point of view was endorsed by *The Pilot*.⁸

During the next two critical years, when the mounting tension in Ireland culminated in a desperate armed struggle, the "Black-and-Tan War," Cardinal O'Connell followed events with anxious interest and unflagging zeal for the vindication of Ireland's rights. Doubtless, he would have preferred to see the resort to force avoided. He had tried discreetly to dissuade from violent methods, and had urged that Ireland should stake her hopes upon a moral appeal to the civilized world, the pressure of public opinion, and an awakening of conscience among the democratic masses in England. At any rate, he continued to champion warmly on every proper occasion Ireland's right to self-determination. Filled with anguish over the loss of life, the destruction, and the suffering entailed by the struggle, he strongly supported the American Committee for Relief in Ireland, and was delighted to see his people respond to its appeals with splendid generosity. Ultimately, with the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 6, 1921, and the setting-up of the Irish Free State, he saw the substantial, though not altogether complete, triumph of the cause for which he had done so much.

II

The word Reconstruction was on everybody's lips in the period immediately following the World War. Among the innumerable plans for social and economic rebuilding that were brought forward, none emanating from a religious body

⁸ July 5, 1919.

put forth more advanced views of social justice or attracted more attention than the so-called "Bishops' Reconstruction Program," which was published by the four prelates who made up the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, on February 12, 1919.⁹

If the Church in the United States was to meet the problems of reconstruction as effectively as she had met those of the war period, there was need of a permanent organization such as that which the National War Council had furnished. The initiative towards its creation came from the Holy Father himself. When on February 20th, seventy-seven bishops gathered at Baltimore to honor Cardinal Gibbons' episcopal Golden Jubilee, there also appeared Archbishop Bonaventure Cerretti, Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, who had been sent from Rome for this occasion. He informed the bishops present of the desire of Benedict XV that henceforth the entire American hierarchy should meet annually, in order to take common counsel on matters of general import, and should establish definite departments that would under their direction carry on the work assigned. The assembled prelates having immediately and unanimously acceded to the Holy Father's request, plans were made for a general meeting in the autumn. A Committee on Catholic Affairs and Interests was appointed to study and to report to that meeting upon the whole complex of questions that called for attention.

On September 24-27, 1919, therefore, there was held at Washington the first assembly of the whole American hierarchy since the Baltimore Council of 1884. Of all the prelates who had sat in the Third Plenary Council, Cardinal Gibbons was the sole survivor. One splendid fruit of the new meeting was the issuing of a pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the country, the first that had come forth from the united episcopate in thirty-five years. This document reviewed in the most comprehensive and masterly way the whole position of the Church in

⁹ On the genesis of this remarkable document and the degree to which its proposals have since been translated into reality, cf. Right Rev. John A. Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action: a Personal History* (New York, 1941), pp. 143-151.

the United States and the tasks and problems that confronted it. The scope of this review is indicated by the headings of its subdivisions: The Progress of the Church, Secular Conditions, Catholic War Activities, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Lessons of the War, the Present Situation, Justice, Charity, Social Relations, Industrial Relations, National Conditions, International Relations, Education, Our Higher Destiny.¹⁰

The most important action of the meeting was to establish a National Catholic Welfare Council, to be made up of all the bishops of the country. Its purpose was to further the religious, educational, and social welfare of American Catholics, to aid the Catholic press and promote Catholic publications, to assist all recognized agencies engaged in foreign and home missions — in brief, to provide regularly and efficiently for all the public interests of the Church in the United States. For these ends the hierarchy was to hold annual meetings, and in the intervals between these gatherings the work was to be carried on by an Administrative Committee, consisting of three archbishops and four bishops. Under this committee there were to be five permanent departments: Education, Press and Literature, Social and Charitable Services, Societies and Lay Activities, Home and Foreign Missions.

The new Council was, in large measure, a continuation or an outgrowth of the National Catholic War Council, which brought its activities to an end in 1920. Nevertheless, the creation of the National Catholic Welfare Council marked a very important milestone in the organization of Catholic forces and activities in this country. Some doubts and divergences of opinion did, indeed, arise in the early years as to the nature and competence of the Council. Rome clarified the situation by a decree of June 22, 1922, which defined that the annual meetings of the American hierarchy, assembled as the National Catholic Council, were not "councils" or legislative assemblies in the sense contemplated by the Sacred Canons; that their res-

¹⁰ The text is printed in (Rt.) Rev. Peter Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)* (Washington, 1923), pp. 265-340.

olutions, therefore, did not have the force of law; that these gatherings were to be considered rather as "held merely for friendly conference about measures of a common public interest for the safeguarding of the Church's work in the United States."¹¹ In order to avoid all ambiguity, the name "Council" was changed in the following year to "Conference." Nevertheless, the activities and importance of the "N.C.W.C." have grown marvelously with the years. The number of its officers, departments, bureaus, committees, and affiliated organizations has steadily expanded. Today it renders an amazing variety of services. As an active agency or a clearing-house of information, it deals with education, library service, social work, family life, rural life, industrial relations, immigration, youth movements, lay organizations, Catholic Action, missions, Inter-American collaboration, historical records, and many other matters. It maintains a Catholic Evidence Bureau, a Catholic news and pictorial service, a radio bureau, a Committee on Motion Pictures, a National Organization for Decent Literature, a National Catholic School of Social Service, a register of Federal, State, and local legislation affecting Catholic interests, and many other highly useful works. There is no need to dwell upon the advantages of the practice of holding yearly meetings of the hierarchy — something for which many bishops of the nineteenth century sighed in vain.¹²

The beloved Cardinal Gibbons, who for nearly half a century had presided over the common enterprises of the American hierarchy, died on March 24, 1921. In a heartfelt tribute given to the press, Cardinal O'Connell described him as "America's first and finest citizen." The Cardinal Archbishop of Boston

¹¹ *National Catholic Welfare Council, Bulletin*, Sept., 1922, pp. 2, 10.

¹² The genesis of this great organization is better documented than most subjects in our most recent Catholic history. See Most Rev. Austin Dowling, "The National Catholic Welfare Conference," *The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXIX (Oct., 1928), 337-354; Cardinal Cerretti's statement in *N.C.W.C., Bulletin*, Feb., 1929, p. 3; the Papal Brief *Communes*, of April 10, 1919, in *Eccl. Review*, LXI (July, 1919), 57-61; Cardinal Gibbons' instructions to the Committee on Catholic Affairs and Interests of May 5, 1919, published by Mr. Theodore Maynard in *Cath. Hist. Review*, XXVII (1942), 449-456; Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, *Social Doctrine in Action*, pp. 151-158; Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., "The Catholic Church Between Two Wars," *Review of Politics*, IV (1942), 411 ff.

now succeeded to the position of highest ranking prelate of the Church in the United States and dean of the American hierarchy. In September, 1921, he presided for the first time at the meeting of the Trustees of the Catholic University and the annual meeting of the American bishops, as he has continued to do ever since when circumstances permitted. Large as his part had doubtless been in the upbuilding of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, in his new position it may be presumed to have been even greater.

At home His Eminence helped as best he could with the problems of the post-war years. For instance, when the demobilization of our armed forces began, he set up a Diocesan Committee on Reconstruction, whose primary purpose was to help returning soldiers and sailors to find employment. With headquarters at 41 East Newton Street, Boston, and various branches around the Diocese, this committee secured positions for hundreds of ex-service men.¹³ During the depression of 1921 the Cardinal coöperated with Protestant and Jewish leaders and with representatives of management and labor in arranging a two-day session of meetings to discuss "Industrial Relations and Economic Democracy." The most outstanding contribution to this discussion was his own Pastoral Letter on "Religious Ideals in Industrial Relations," a classic exposition of the Catholic solution of the problem of capital and labor.¹⁴ In that same year he joined with ex-Presidents Wilson and Taft and other national leaders in a public protest against the existing wave of anti-Semitism, and by a circular letter he urged all Catholics to attend Mass on Armistice Day and pray for the success of the Disarmament Conference in Washington. He served on committees for the restoration of the devastated districts and the devastated churches of France. He strongly supported, by word and example, the Holy Father's efforts to collect funds to relieve the suffering in Central Europe and the Near East.

A number of visits to Boston at that time of outstanding

¹³ *Pilot*, March 22, 29, 1919; *Boston Herald*, April 3, 1919.

¹⁴ Of Nov. 12, 1921, in *Sermons and Addresses*, VII, 186-199.

figures in the World War helped to recall how large had been the Catholic contribution to the victory of the Allied nations. Cardinal Mercier, the intrepid shepherd of the Belgian people during four years of German occupation, was in this city October 4-6, 1919, as the guest of Cardinal O'Connell. At the High Mass at the Cathedral on the 5th, the congregation had the unusual spectacle of seeing in the sanctuary not only two Cardinals, but the King, Queen, and Crown Prince of Belgium (the gallant King Albert and the sorely tried monarch of today, Leopold III). Cardinal Mercier's visit was signalized by receptions at the Seminary (where the priests of the Diocese were presented to him), Boston College, and the League of Catholic Women, the reception of an honorary degree at Harvard, a State dinner, at which Cardinal O'Connell and the Methodist Bishop Hughes were among the speakers, and a public reception in Faneuil Hall.

On November 14, 1921, Marshal Foch, that supreme architect of Allied victory — and exemplary Catholic — spent a tremendously packed day in Boston. Between receptions and ovations he found time to receive degrees from three institutions of learning, including Boston College, and to call upon and take tea with Cardinal O'Connell. On December 8th following, His Eminence received the visit of General Armando Diaz, the victorious commander of the Italian armies in the last year of the war, who was for the day the guest of Boston.

In the spring of 1920, Cardinal O'Connell again went to Rome, for the first time since 1914, to make his *Ad limina* visit and report. On this occasion he had the privilege of being present at the canonizations of St. Joan of Arc, St. Gabriel Possenti, and St. Margaret Mary Alacoque, and at the beatification of the Ven. Oliver Plunkett, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh. In repeated audiences Pope Benedict XV expressed deep satisfaction at the progress of the Archdiocese of Boston, and requested the Cardinal to convey for him a message of love and gratitude to the American people.

III

In spite of all adverse circumstances, the progress of the Archdiocese during the seven and a half years here surveyed was, indeed, remarkable.

In respect to administration, the most outstanding event was the holding, on April 7, 1919, of the Sixth Diocesan Synod. The new Code of Canon Law, which Pius X had ordered to be compiled and which Benedict XV had completed, had gone into effect May 19, 1918. Obviously, this great revision of the Church's general laws called for a corresponding revision of local legislation. Boston was the first diocese in this country to hold a synod for that purpose. The new collection of diocesan statutes promulgated at this meeting showed large changes as regards both order and content, when compared with our older collections; and they illustrated once more Cardinal O'Connell's highly developed sense of jurisprudence, his grasp of administrative and clerical problems, and his wise and temperate judgment.¹⁵

As a result of the Synod the administrative organs of the Diocese were augmented by the appointment of rural deans (one for each of the four counties outside Boston), synodal judges (a panel of judges appointed at the Synod, from among whom choice might be made for the hearing of disciplinary cases), and a diocesan building commission (to which the plans and the contract must be submitted before the erection of any parish building).

The work of the various diocesan bureaus concentrated in the Archbishop's house on Granby Street had increased so rapidly that by 1915 His Eminence's apartments had been reduced to scarcely more than a study and bedroom. In consequence, he removed his residence that year to an estate on Rawson Road, on Aspinwall Hill, Brookline, leaving the building on Granby Street entirely to the administrative offices.

¹⁵ *Constitutiones Dioeceseos Bostoniensis quae in Synodo Dioecesana Sexta die 7^a aprilis 1919 habita in Ecclesia Metropolitana Sanctae Crucis ab E^{mo} ac Rev^{mo} Gulielmo Cardinale O'Connell, Archiepiscopo Bostoniensi, latae et promulgatae fuerunt* (Bostoniae, MCMIX).

While the number of parishes and of secular priests was growing very rapidly, as will be shown later, the religious orders also were experiencing a notable development. The Jesuits of New England, hitherto attached to the Maryland-New York Province, were in 1921 organized as a Vice-Province, with headquarters at Boston College, in preparation for the erection of a separate New England Province, which took place in 1926. On October 21, 1921, the Society bought the Grant-Walker estate of one hundred and twenty acres in one of the most picturesque and secluded parts of the town of Weston. Here in the following January they opened a Scholasticate, the Fairview House of Studies. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1921 established the Vice-Province of Saint-Jean-Baptiste, with headquarters at Lowell, to serve French-speaking Catholics in the Northern States. This, too, in 1926 was made into a separate Province.

On June 6, 1921, His Eminence dedicated the magnificent new Bethany Convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph in South Framingham. The property — a fine estate of ninety acres, on a hill overlooking Lake Waushakum — had been donated five years before, along with a substantial building fund, by the generosity of the late Thomas B. Fitzpatrick. The spacious, three-story, brick and limestone edifice that had been erected was to house the Novitiate (transferred from Canton), and also to serve as a retreat-house for the Sisters and for lay women and as a rest-house for the Sisters who because of illness, fatigue, or age might need such a home. The Sisters of Notre Dame in 1921 enlarged their Novitiate in Waltham with a new and well-equipped building.

The quickening of spiritual life in the Diocese was evidenced in many ways, but especially by the remarkable growth of the practice of frequent Communion and by the spread of the Retreat Movement. It has been estimated that, for the Archdiocese as a whole, in 1922 the number of Communions on weekdays was about three million, on feast-days and First Fridays about four million, and on Sundays around ten million.¹⁶ While the

¹⁶ *A Brief Historical Review of the Archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1923* (Boston, 1925), pp. 178-179.

first retreat at the Passionist Monastery (December 8, 1911) had attracted only eleven men, during the next ten years seven thousand men attended the three hundred public retreats that were given there, quite apart from the large number of those who made private retreats. The Laymen's Retreat Guild, organized in 1915, soon came to have over four thousand members.¹⁷ At the Cenacle Convent the number of women retreatants and of guilds multiplied with equal rapidity, and annual retreats and monthly days of recollection for women were now being given at the Notre Dame Convents at Roxbury and at the Fenway and at the Academy of the Assumption in Wellesley.

Zeal for the missions is one of the best barometers of Catholic faith and fervor, and in this respect the record of these years was impressive. The vigorous leadership of Cardinal O'Connell, the unfailing generosity of his people, the enthusiasm and energy of Father (now Monsignor) Joseph F. McGlinchey, who since 1911 had been Diocesan Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith — these were the chief factors in the making of that record, but a fourth factor deserves mention, *The Pilot*. From the time when it became a diocesan organ, that paper devoted one section weekly to the work and needs of the missions and to letters from missionaries, thus helping powerfully to arouse public interest and to call forth an ever-growing stream of contributions and gifts for special purposes. Under such influences the offerings of the Archdiocese for the missions mounted from \$57,156.97 in 1911 to \$438,591.08 in 1922. Significant, too, was the fact that gifts for designated purposes — for mission chapels, rectories, schools, orphanages, leper asylums, etc. — which at first formed but a small part of the total, had now become much the largest part.¹⁸ Again and again the Diocesan Director could announce in his annual reports that in proportion to its Catholic population Boston was giving more to the missions than any other diocese in the world.

An important new step was the establishment in 1914, at His Eminence's suggestion, of the Association of the Holy Child-

¹⁷ *Pilot*, Jan. 21, 1922.

¹⁸ *Archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1923*, pp. 222-223.

hood, a kind of junior Society for the Propagation of the Faith. By 1922, one hundred and fifty thousand boys and girls were enrolled in it, paying their dues (one cent per month) filling their mite boxes, competing as to the number of Chinese babies whose lives and souls they could save — raising, indeed, almost half as much as the whole Diocese had given in 1911. In this field, too, Boston was clearly leading all the other dioceses of the world.

As a result of another fruitful suggestion of Cardinal O'Connell, a campaign was started in 1914 to raise funds so that for every student in the diocesan Seminary at Brighton, one native youth might be educated for the priesthood in mission lands. The response exceeded all expectations. By 1922 there were 213 seminarians in pagan countries who were protégés of this Diocese, as compared with 140 students at Brighton. In this respect Boston was doing more than all the rest of the United States. If one adds that nowhere else in this country, in proportion to the population, were there more branches and members of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, or more vocations for the missionary orders, it is clear that the Archdiocese had become a tower of strength for the cause of the missions.

These were also years of exceptional importance in the history of our parochial schools. This was not so much because of the increase in the number of schools, teachers, and pupils, though that was striking enough, but rather because of the numerous improvements effected at that time under the guidance of His Eminence and of the Diocesan Supervisor of Schools, Father (now Monsignor) Augustine F. Hickey.

One notable step forward was the appointment, in October, 1914, of a board of twelve community supervisors, drawn from the several teaching congregations of the Diocese. The members of the board were to visit at regular intervals the schools conducted by their respective communities, study local problems, and give assistance and guidance to the teachers. They were also to act as advisors to the Diocesan Supervisor in matters of general educational policy. They have carried on their work most effectively, and with excellent results.

The task of unifying the curriculum of the parochial schools was begun in September, 1915, and was to be completed in 1923 with the introduction of a uniform course of study for all Catholic elementary schools. A system of uniform diocesan tests to be taken at the end of each year by all pupils in grades III to VIII was established in 1919.

For the benefit of teachers His Eminence in 1917 instituted the custom of "visiting day"; i.e., each school must be closed on one day of the year in order that its teachers might visit some school in session, and, namely, one of a different teaching congregation, in order to study and observe. Extension courses for teachers during the school year were offered, from 1919 on, under the auspices of the Diocesan Supervisor, and summer schools for teachers were now being conducted by several congregations.

In 1915 the Cardinal directed the pastors of the Archdiocese to provide a medical inspector for each parochial school wherever the local public health authorities did not undertake this service for the children in such schools. Five years later the urgent need for dental supervision was met by the splendid initiative of the Guild of St. Apollonia. The original society of that name, founded in 1911, had remained active for only a few years. The present Guild was launched at a meeting of one hundred and fifty Catholic dentists on April 28, 1920, at St. Cecilia's Guild Hall, Boston. Its objects were to advance the spiritual interests and professional competence of its members and to do charitable work, and for this last purpose it undertook to organize the dental care of the children in Catholic schools and institutions. Beginning in the following autumn, therefore, the members of the Guild conducted periodical inspections of teeth in the Boston parochial schools. Children found to be in need of treatment were transported in an auto-bus, given to His Eminence by a generous donor, to the Forsyth Dental Infirmary, where their needs were attended to — in large part by volunteers from the Guild. In the first year alone four thousand parochial school-children had their teeth treated at that Infirmary. The Guild, which took up and has since

carried on this admirable work, was at first the only Catholic organization of its kind in this country, and perhaps in the world. It has since been imitated by Catholic dentists in not a few cities of the United States and Canada.¹⁹

For higher education two new institutions arose in these years, and there was much expansion of older institutions.

At Salem the Sisters of Sainte-Chrétienne, a French community which had come there in 1906 to conduct St. Joseph's parochial school, in 1918 opened a boarding-school for girls, Ste. Chrétienne Academy, at Loring Villa, a beautiful estate on one of Salem's wooded hills. This now thriving institution is today the provincial house of this congregation for the United States.

The Sisters of Notre Dame in September, 1915, transferred their Boston academy to its handsome new building in the Fenway. In that same spacious edifice in September, 1919, they opened a collegiate department for day students, Emmanuel College, which was chartered by the Legislature two years later. This was the first Catholic woman's college in New England.

St. John's Preparatory College, Danvers, in 1915 added two new buildings — a dormitory and a recitation building.

Ever since its removal to Chestnut Hill had been resolved upon, Boston College had seen its enrollment mounting rapidly. The student body had increased from 143 on October 1, 1907, to 500 in 1914, and to about 900 in 1922. The material upbuilding of "the new college" went forward steadily. Under the presidency of Father Charles W. Lyons, S.J. (1914-1919), the second of the proposed group of buildings was erected, St. Mary's Hall, which contained the residence of the faculty and the college chapel. It was opened on January 4, 1917. The college athletic field was dedicated in 1915. The next President, Father William Devlin, S.J., recognizing that during the war the public had become accustomed to "drives" for large sums, had the courage, in spite of the post-war depression, to launch a drive for two million dollars — by far the largest sum that Catholics

¹⁹ Cf. Frederick A. Keyes, D.M.D. (ed.), *The Guild of Saint Apollonia* (Boston [1924]).

in this vicinity had ever set out to raise. Cardinal O'Connell gave his strongest support to the enterprise, commending it to the clergy and laity by a pastoral letter, coöperating in every way with the managers of the campaign, making a large personal contribution and then doubling it. The alumni of the College, the Knights of Columbus, the clergy generally, and many other friends of the institution did their utmost. As a result, the drive, which was opened on May 1, 1921, "went over the top" in seventeen days. Considerably more than two million dollars had been obtained, and ninety to ninety-five per cent of it from Catholics.²⁰ From the proceeds two stately buildings were to arise in the next few years.

Among the numerous improvements of this period at St. John's Seminary, the most important was a substantial enlargement of the north (front) wing of Theology House, which added greatly to the capacity, the facilities, and the external dignity of the Seminary's main building.²¹

The problem of seminarians' summer vacations was most happily solved when in 1918 His Eminence gave the Seminary an estate of sixty acres on the shores of Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire, as a place where the students could henceforth spend most of each summer in beautiful and healthful surroundings, enjoying plenty of outdoor recreation while at the same time keeping up the devotional practices of the school year and doing a certain amount of study. With its nearly twenty buildings, including a chapel, refectory, recreation hall, priests' house, and the bungalows of the students, this is now a splendidly equipped summer camp or "villa." By introducing to this country the seminary villa system, the advantages of which he had learned when in Rome, His Eminence has set an example that has been widely followed in other dioceses.

IV

The Diocesan Charitable Bureau, of which Rev. Michael J. Scanlan was from 1911 to 1922 the Director, had by the post-war

²⁰ *Pilot*, May 21, 1921.

²¹ This work was begun Dec. 7, 1914, and the new portion of the building was formally opened on Jan. 19, 1916.

years grown into a great institution, with a large staff of trained social workers, numerous departments, and seven branch bureaux, established from 1915 on, in Brockton, Cambridge, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, Salem, and Somerville. It not only assisted and supervised the host of charitable institutions, but itself handled directly a vast multitude of cases in which relief, direction, or protection was needed. It concerned itself particularly with assisting unfortunate mothers and their offspring; neglected, homeless, or orphan children; wayward youths; Catholic children living in foster homes under the supervision of public child-placing agencies; newly arrived immigrants; and helpless and homeless old people. Its business grew the more rapidly because Cardinal O'Connell, foreseeing the trend of modern social thought, had from the first advocated the use as far as possible of non-institutional methods of relief: i.e., the policy of helping the needy in their own homes rather than committing them to institutions. The Bureau also served as a clearing-house of information; it was in constant touch and in the friendliest coöperation with the other private and the public social agencies; and its representatives were often called upon to voice the Catholic standpoint at legislative hearings or public meetings. In short, it had become, and was recognized as, "one of the most potent influences for good in the entire State."²²

Not only the Bureau but almost every Catholic charitable institution was now receiving regular and often very substantial financial aid from guilds, auxiliary societies, or benevolent organizations. Among the most generous of these benefactors were the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Knights of Columbus, the Guild of the Infant Saviour, the League of Catholic Women, the Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association, the Massachusetts Catholic Women's Guild, the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters, and the Catholic Daughters of America. Scarcely any other diocese in the country enjoyed the advantage of such well-organized voluntary support for its charities as was obtained in Boston.

²² *The Archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1923*, pp. 11-12.

Some changes in old institutions and many new charitable enterprises date from this period.

The Working Girls' Home on Union Park Street, Boston, was completely made over and greatly enlarged under His Eminence's direction in 1914-1915, and was renamed St. Helena's House. It continued to serve its original purpose, but it could now accommodate many more young women, and it now offered them, at very moderate weekly rates, the advantages of both a Christian home and a pleasant club-house — including even a spacious roof garden.

St. Joseph's Home on East Brookline Street, which had hitherto been conducted by the Grey Nuns as a branch of the Working Girls' Home, no longer seemed to be needed in view of the expansion of the latter institution. Hence in 1914 the Sisters of St. Joseph took it over and transformed it into a home for aged women, who, while able to pay their way, disliked living alone and preferred to pass their last years amid congenial and Catholic surroundings. In 1926, St. Joseph's Home was transferred to its present location in the Ashmont section of Dorchester.

After the removal of St. Elizabeth's Hospital to Brighton, its former home on West Brookline Street, comprising nearly a block of old-fashioned brick and brownstone houses, was converted by His Eminence in 1915 into St. Clement's House for Women. This institution, which was also entrusted to the Sisters of St. Joseph, was to serve substantially the same purpose as St. Joseph's Home.

Another home for working girls, St. Theresa's House, Lynn — a handsome and costly building — was erected by Monsignor Teeling, of St. Mary's Church, and dedicated by His Eminence on June 6, 1918. It was conducted by the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth until 1931, when the Sisters of St. Joseph replaced them.

During the influenza epidemic of 1918, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary had sheltered a number of orphans in their convent at Orient Heights, East Boston. The crisis over, these homeless children (or many of them) remained, and others

pressed for admission. Hence the maintenance of an orphanage, particularly for the children of East Boston, has become one of the permanent tasks, and perhaps the principal task, of the Convent of Our Lady of Good Help.

A somewhat similar institution, the Home for Italian Children on Centre Street, Jamaica Plain, was established in 1921 through the efforts of Cardinal O'Connell and the Italo-Americans of Boston. The building originally used for this purpose, the old mansion purchased with the estate, was replaced by a handsome new structure, capable of housing one hundred and fifty children, which was blessed by His Eminence on September 16, 1927.

Significant of newer trends in charitable effort was the fact that the Catholics of the Diocese were now maintaining a considerable number of social centres, such as the South End Community House opened alongside the Church of Our Lady of Pompeii on September 7, 1919; day nurseries, such as that of the Knights of Columbus in South Boston (the Columbus Day Nursery), which dates back to 1907; and summer camps for boys and girls, such as the Vacation House, at Sunset Point, Nantasket, which the Diocesan Charitable Bureau inaugurated in 1920. The approval by the Cardinal in 1917 of the Catholic Boy Scouts movement started another train of new activities.

Among laymen's organizations the American Federation of Catholic Societies, which had played so great a rôle down to 1917, seems thereafter to have become inactive, perhaps because its essential functions had been taken over by the National Catholic War Council and then by the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Among local Catholic organizations none had distinguished itself more during the war than the League of Catholic Women. A token of its enhanced prestige and of its greatly increased membership was the fact that in 1920 the League purchased the five-story brownstone mansion on the corner of Arlington and Beacon Streets, Boston, which it turned into a model club-house and which has since been the centre of its manifold activities.

The most novel work undertaken for the Church by laymen

at that time was that of two converts, David Goldstein (1871-) and Mrs. Martha Moore Avery (1851-1929). Though of most diverse backgrounds, for he was the son of a poor Jewish cigarmaker while she came of a distinguished Maine family which could trace its lineage back to the *Mayflower*, these two collaborators for half a lifetime were united by a singular identity of tastes, interests, and views; and both possessed critical, inquiring minds, rugged honesty, and dauntless courage. They became associated in the late 1890's, when both were active and zealous workers for Socialism. Both became unsettled in their Marxian orthodoxy as they discovered the anti-religious and, as they believed, the anti-moral implications of that system. When the State Convention of 1902 refused to repudiate Socialist speakers who attacked religion, preached violence, or advocated free love, Mr. Goldstein and Mrs. Avery broke with the Socialist movement and soon began actively to combat it. Forced now to reëxamine their whole philosophical position and the greatest problem of all, religion, both by degrees approached the Catholic Church. Mrs. Avery was received into it on May 1, 1903, and Mr. Goldstein on May 21, 1905.

After some years devoted to thoroughly assimilating their new faith, these two friends felt a strong desire to undertake on its behalf such active campaigns as they had once conducted for Socialism. Mrs. Avery started, and for many years presided over, the Common Cause Forum, held in Berkeley Hall, Boston. Mr. Goldstein, from 1910 on, began to lecture widely around the country under the auspices of various Catholic organizations. But the idea which haunted the minds of both of them was that of going out into the streets and public squares, as the Socialists did, and preaching Catholicism to all comers. When Cardinal O'Connell in 1916 approved this project, there began "the pioneer laymen's outdoor campaign of our modern age." Mr. Goldstein, Mrs. Avery, and some others united to form the Catholic Truth Guild — which name they later replaced by that of Catholic Campaigners for Christ. An auto-van was built which, with its body painted in Papal colors, the American flag flying in front, the motto "For God and Country" prominently

displayed, and a rostrum with a crucifix above it facing prospective audiences, sufficiently revealed the cause that it represented. This car was blessed by His Eminence on July 1, 1917, and three days later, Mr. Goldstein spoke from it at his first outdoor meeting, before five thousand people on Boston Common. With that began an open-air layman's apostolate unprecedented in American Catholic history. The "pulpit on wheels" appeared in almost every large community in this vicinity; it toured the country; it went west as far as the Pacific. For twenty years, as long as his strength permitted, Mr. Goldstein continued this striking and useful form of "campaigning for Christ" with wonderful zeal and devotion. His example has been widely imitated in other dioceses and in other countries, notably by the Catholic Evidence Guild in England, which was founded in 1918.²³

V

Pope Benedict XV, who during the war and after the war had striven so nobly to bring back into a distracted world the spirit and principles of true peace, died, worn out by his labors, on January 22, 1922.

Cardinal O'Connell at once set out for Europe, hopeful that this time he might participate in the Conclave. At Algiers his steamer was held up for a full day for the sake of a tourist party on board. Landing at Naples on the morning of February 6th, he hurried to Rome by a special train placed at his disposal by the Italian Government. But once more he had the disappointment of arriving one hour too late. Shortly before noon that morning the Conclave had elected Cardinal Achille Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, who took the name of Pius XI.

The new Pope received Cardinal O'Connell that afternoon and at several ensuing audiences with great cordiality and with repeated assurances of his deep regret that America had not been represented in the election. The question of prolonging the Conclave had been very seriously considered, he said, but the existing regulations were so strict as to make that impos-

²³ *Autobiography of a Campaigner for Christ: David Goldstein* (Boston, 1936).

sible. When Cardinal O'Connell pointed out very frankly that, as long as those regulations lasted, the American Cardinals would be forever excluded from their highest and most precious privilege, the right of taking part in the election of a Supreme Pontiff, and that this was the second time that he had rushed across the Atlantic only to be too late, the Holy Father replied: "That was a great pity, but you will never have to rush like that again. I shall attend to this."²⁴ And he was as good as his word. By his *Motu Proprio* of March 1, 1922, Pius XI modified the existing regulations, prolonging from ten to fifteen days the interval between the death of a Pope and the meeting of the Conclave, and permitting the Sacred College to delay even two or three days longer if it saw fit. With these changes, and thanks to the vigorous representations of Cardinal O'Connell, the American members of the Sacred College now have the real possibility of taking part in Papal elections.

On his return to Boston, His Eminence conveyed to the Diocese and to the country the heartiest blessings of Pius XI and the touching message which the new Pope had asked him to transmit.

Tell America [the Holy Father had said] that, as God has chosen me for this high office, I am ready to spend all the effort that I can muster in the service of God and the world, that peace may come again. The great purpose of my life henceforth will be to do everything possible to reconcile the nations to one another. . . . America can help me in that purpose more than any other nation.²⁵

It was a characteristic utterance of the Pope who had taken as the motto of his reign, *Pax Christi in regno Christi*, who was to spend himself for seventeen years in fighting for peace against the perverse currents of the time — and who was to die on the eve of a new World War.

²⁴ *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1922; *Boston Evening Globe*, Feb. 28, 1922; *Recollections*, pp. 344-345.

²⁵ *Sermons and Addresses*, VII, 211.

CHAPTER VIII

RENEWED PROSPERITY (1922-1929)

I

AFTER THE VIOLENT FLUCTUATIONS in American economic and political life in the years immediately following the war, by 1922 the country seemed to have found its way "back to normalcy," and ere long it was exulting in the exuberant and somewhat riotous prosperity of the Coolidge era. There were not a few disquieting symptoms in the situation of those years: the growth of unemployment (because of new inventions and improvements in business management), the depression of agriculture, the crime waves, racketeering, the passion for material comforts coupled with cynicism about higher ideals, artificially inflated prices, reckless spending, and, ultimately, the wild speculation that led up to the crash of October, 1929. Nevertheless, compared with what came before and after, those seven years seem like a period of sunshine between two great storms.

The policy of immigration restriction, inaugurated by the emergency Act of 1921, was definitively adopted and further accentuated by the Immigration Act of May 26, 1924. This law set up a temporary and a permanent system of apportioning quotas.

According to the temporary system, the annual quota of each transatlantic nation was reduced to two per cent of the number of foreign-born individuals of that nationality resident in the United States at the time of the census of 1890. This gave a total quota for all the restricted countries of only 164,667, eighty per cent of which was allotted to the nations of Western and Northern Europe. Nevertheless, since Canada and Mexico were not among the restricted countries, during the five years in which this system was in force we continued to admit about

three hundred thousand aliens annually — a number which shows that, while immigration had been vastly cut down, it still remained of very considerable magnitude. The Irish Free State, it may be noted, was still sending us about twenty-five thousand of its sons and daughters each year.

The permanent system provided by the Act of 1924 went into effect on July 1, 1929. It apportioned quotas on quite a different basis, the "national origins" principle — a most unhappy inspiration of Senator Reed, of Pennsylvania. Under this system the total quota from the restricted countries was fixed at 150,000, and each of these countries was to receive a share in this total proportionate to the contribution which people of its racial stock had made to the total American population as it was in 1920. Attractive as this plan might be in theory, for it purported to assure to each racial group here the permanence of the position it had won by 1920, in practice it was utterly impossible to compute quotas on this basis in any accurate or scientific fashion. Who had any adequate means of reckoning what part of the population that had been built up in this country in the course of three centuries was of English or Irish or German or Italian ancestry? The quotas actually assigned under this plan have in effect tended to encourage immigration from Great Britain and Northern Ireland and to reduce it from every other restricted country. The quota allotted to Eire was but 17,853 immigrants a year; to Poland, 6,524; to Italy, 5,802; to Portugal, 440; to Lithuania, 386.

If the immigration laws reflected in some degree the wave of nationalistic and anti-foreign sentiment that swept this country, like most others, during the post-war years, that feeling was expressed in its coarsest and most grotesque form by the Ku Klux Klan. The Invisible Empire voiced, stimulated, and exploited the dearest prejudices of rural Protestant America — antipathy to Catholics, Jews, and negroes — as many preceding societies had done and as future societies will probably do. Founded near Atlanta, Georgia, in 1915, the hooded brotherhood attained little importance until in 1920 it hired the services of certain experts in high-pressure salesmanship, and in

1922 the founder, William J. Simmons, was replaced as Imperial Wizard by the far more talented Hiram Wesley Evans. Then for a few years its growth was prodigious. By 1925 it claimed four to five million members; great sections of the South and the Middle West, particularly Ohio and Indiana, seemed quite in its grip; it had become numerically almost certainly the largest, and politically probably the strongest, anti-Catholic organization in our history. Its most spectacular achievements were its success in robbing Alfred E. Smith of the Democratic nomination for President in 1924, and in making anti-Catholicism emotionally the dominant note and politically perhaps the decisive factor in the Presidential election of 1928. In New England, or at least in Massachusetts, the Klan obtained no serious foothold, though it made petty demonstrations now and then. For the Catholics of this vicinity its chief importance was that twice it afforded them the chagrin of seeing an idolized leader of their faith defeated because of his religion, and that it furnished another revelation of the undying prejudices and the ineradicable bigotry that lurk in the minds of so many of their fellow countrymen.

II

At all events, the years 1922 to 1929 were for the Archdiocese of Boston a time of marvelous growth and achievement, a period comparable only with the great years from 1907 to 1914. The increase in the number of churches was greater than in any other seven years of Cardinal O'Connell's rule; the increase in the number of priests was exceptionally high; the increase in the number of parochial schools, of priests of religious orders, of nuns, and of seminarians was greater than in any previous period of equal length in our diocesan history.

One of the distinctive features of Cardinal O'Connell's reign has been the growth of the religious orders and the multiplication of institutions for the recruiting and training of their members. This growth was particularly striking during the years here in question.

The Jesuits in 1927 completed their new Scholasticate in Weston — the House of Philosophy and Theology for the New England Province. It is one of the largest and most imposing ecclesiastical buildings in the Diocese, and its chapel, designed by Maginnis and Walsh, is a majestic example of Renaissance architecture. By 1929, Weston College, as it had come to be called, had 224 scholastics and a teaching staff of 49 priests.

The new French-speaking Province of the Oblates established its Scholasticate of St. Eugene in 1927 on Woodland Street, South Natick.

Of Juniorates (i.e., schools in which youthful aspirants to religious orders receive their training in the Humanities) no less than five were founded in these years.

The Society of the Divine Word, a congregation of German origin devoted to foreign missions, in October, 1922, took over the fine estate called "Miramar" at Duxbury, which His Eminence had bought ten years before and at which the Sisters of St. Joseph had been conducting a guest-house. Here the Fathers of the Divine Word have since maintained what, at the Cardinal's suggestion, they named St. Francis Xavier Mission House, a preparatory seminary, with a six-year course, for young men who wish to become missionary priests of this society.

The Stigmatine Fathers (whose more formal name is, Congregation of the Priests of the Most Holy Stigmata of Our Lord Jesus Christ), a community of Italian origin which had but recently come into the Diocese, in 1923 founded a junior college on Lexington Street, Waltham.

In the same year His Eminence blessed St. Joseph's Juniorate, which the Xaverian Brothers were establishing on a famous estate ("Oak Hill Farm") which they had recently acquired in Peabody. These Brothers, well known in this vicinity for their success at the Working Boys' Home, at St. John's College, Danvers, and elsewhere, found that eighty per cent of the aspirants to their congregation came from the Archdiocese of Boston.¹

Another St. Joseph's Juniorate was set up in Tyngsboro in 1924 by the Marist Brothers, whose chief work lay in teaching

¹ *Pilot*, Dec. 2, 1922.

in the boys' schools of French-speaking congregations. In the following year the closely related Marist Fathers established their "Maryvale Seminary" (a juniorate), on Spring Road, Bedford.

The Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary, a French order which for nearly a century has devoted itself to missions in the South Sea Islands and in the British West Indies — and the quality of their effort is suggested by the fact that they conduct six leper colonies — in 1924 founded a convent at 13 Isabella Street, Boston (the Convent of Blessed Chane). Five years later they set up a second house on Spring Road, Bedford, the Convent of St. Thérèse of Lisieux, which soon became a novitiate of their society in America.

The two chief retreat-houses in the Diocese were attracting such throngs that both had to enlarge their accommodations. A second wing was added to the Cenacle Convent in 1922, with a large crypt perfectly appointed as a chapel, seating over three hundred persons. The Passionists, who had hitherto lodged their retreatants within the monastery, found it necessary to erect a separate house for them in 1926-1927. At the same time they began the construction of an outside chapel, a large and beautiful church which was solemnly blessed by His Eminence on September 14, 1930.²

A third retreat-house arose in 1928, St. Francis' Friary, Brookline. As Cardinal O'Connell had transferred his residence to Brighton, Franciscans of the Holy Name Province, New York, came, at his invitation, in October, 1927, to found a house of their order in his former home at 49 Rawson Road. The hill-side estate, with its dignified mansion and beautiful environment of lawn and grove, was soon turned into a picturesque monastic establishment. The house was reserved for retreatants, while the former garage was enlarged to furnish a residence for the priests and a chapel. The Friary was formally dedicated on July 15, 1928. Since then, with its retreats drawing about fif-

² Reference may again be made here to the handsome pamphlet, *Souvenir of the Solemn Blessing of St. Gabriel's Chapel, Brighton, Mass. Sept. 14, 1930* (n.p., n.d.).

teen hundred men each year and often filling the house and chapel to the limits of their capacity; with the well-packed monthly meetings of the Third Order (for laymen); with the daily hearings of confessions; with a weekly round of the devotions most specifically associated with the Franciscan Order; and with many other activities, St. Francis' Friary has become a factor of no slight importance in the Catholic life of Greater Boston.³

III

Quite apart from what has been said above, the educational progress of this period was remarkable. In seven years twenty-eight more parishes established schools, and fifteen more established high schools. Among new foundations of the latter class was the fine Holy Cross Cathedral High School, opened in 1927.

In 1925, His Eminence made one of the most important of his many improvements at St. John's Seminary by the construction of a large addition to Theology House. It contained a spacious and dignified (and much-needed) new dining-hall — in the best tradition of monastic refectories — with one story of rooms for students above it, and, in a wing built on at right angles, a well-equipped modern kitchen, a heating plant, and a convent for the Sisters who attend to part of the work of the refectory.

In the next few years the Seminary grounds were the scene of extensive building activities. Wishing to leave to his successors a residence worthy of the head of so great a see, His Eminence erected on the Commonwealth Avenue side of the grounds the new Archbishop's House, in the Roman style, of stately and quiet dignity, to which he removed from Brookline in 1927. The construction of this building, like numerous other new foundations of recent years, was made possible by the very generous bequest left to His Eminence by the late A. Paul Keith in memory of his mother, Mrs. Mary Catherine Keith. Close by

³ Cf. Rev. Denis Robinson, O.F.M., "Ten Years in the Bay State." *The Provincial Annals: Province of the Most Holy Name, Order of Friars Minor*, I (July, 1938), 295-297.

this new residence arose the new Diocesan House, of brick and limestone, in Italian Renaissance style, to which the Chancery office was transferred from Granby Street early in 1929. Meanwhile, in 1928 the Cardinal had endowed the Seminary with a handsome library building and with the charming little hill-top shrine of the Immaculate Conception, which he has destined to be his mausoleum.

Monsignor John B. Peterson, who had for fifteen years conducted the reorganized seminary, under His Eminence's direction, with great success, was in the autumn of 1926 made pastor of St. Catherine's Church, Somerville. He was succeeded as Rector of the Seminary by Father (now Monsignor) Charles A. Finn. It may be noted here that after the death of Bishop Anderson (July 2, 1927), Monsignor Peterson was appointed by the Holy See as titular Bishop of Hippo and Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Boston, and was consecrated by His Eminence at the Cathedral on November 10, 1927.

At Boston College, Cardinal O'Connell blessed the cornerstone of the new Science Building at the Commencement of 1922, and the cornerstone of the new Library at the 1924 Commencement. The first of these edifices, which is not only very beautiful architecturally but admirably adapted to the requirements of laboratory work, was completed and put into use by the fall of 1924. The Library was dedicated at the Commencement of 1928. With its stately exterior crowned with a sturdy, truncated, and pinnacled tower, and its interior a maze of lofty stone vaulting, Gothic arches, and exquisite stained-glass windows, this is, undoubtedly, one of the most beautiful college libraries in America.*

The administrations of Father William Devlin, S.J. (1919-1925), and James H. Dolan, S.J. (1925-1932), were marked by a number of important new enterprises, intended to widen the service rendered by the College to the community. The extension courses, which had been started during the war period, were supplemented by the Summer School for Teachers, inaugurated in 1924. If these enterprises were designed primarily to help the teaching Sisters of the Diocese, the Graduate School,

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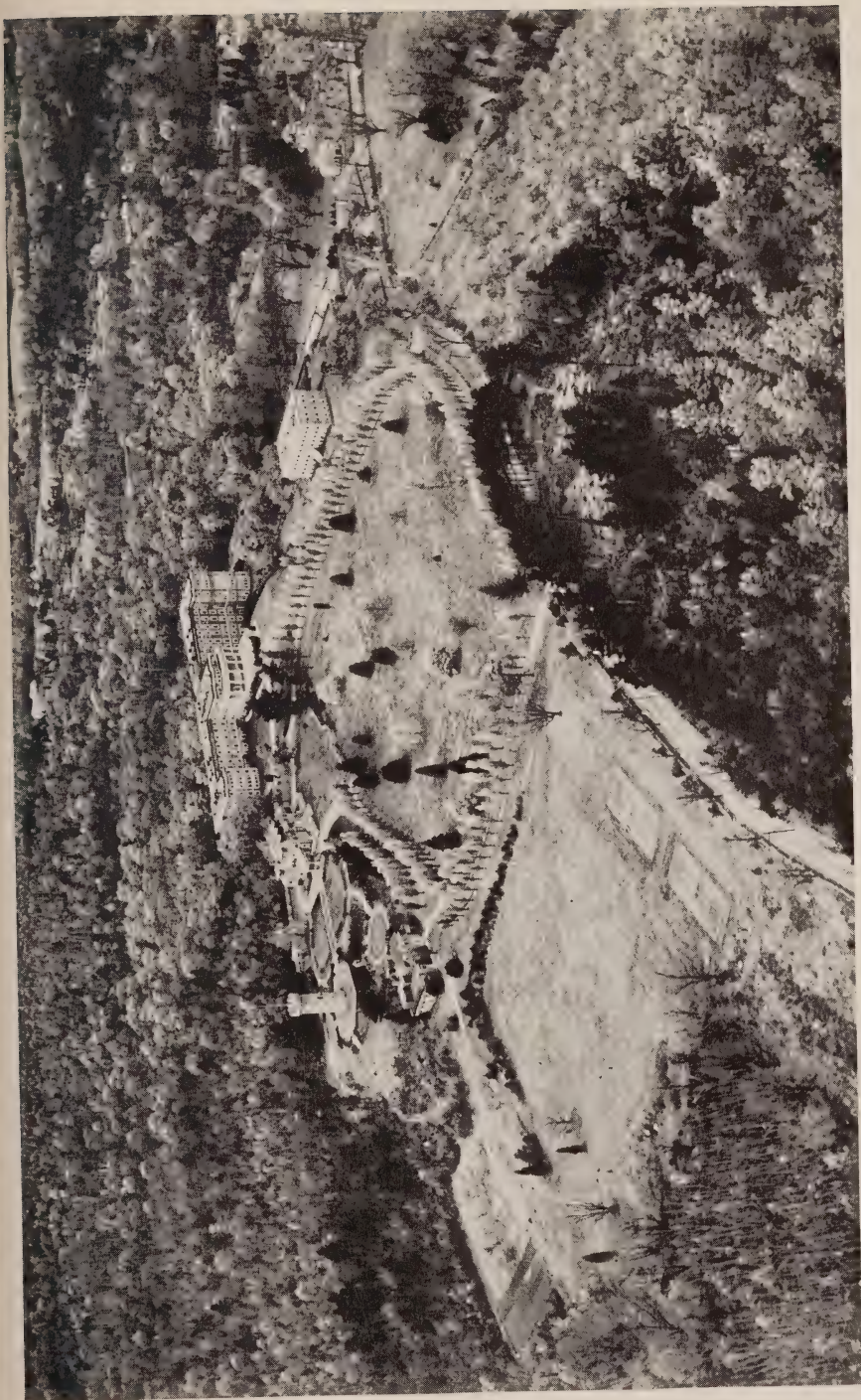
of the third to ninth grades. The Sisters of St. Joseph also began in 1927 the Walnut Park Day School in Newton for boys of primary and grammar grades.

In 1926, Cardinal O'Connell established at Lowell a finely equipped preparatory school for boys called Keith Academy, which was to be conducted by the Xaverian Brothers; and not far away from it, a girls' high school, Keith Hall, under the Sisters of St. Joseph. As their names suggest, these two institutions are further examples of His Eminence's desire to perpetuate the memory of the generosity and of the faith of the Keith family.

The Religious of the Sacred Heart, who for nearly twenty years had maintained their convent and academy on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, had long desired a less confined and noisy location. In the autumn of 1924 they learned that a most desirable property on Centre Street, Newton, containing the not quite completed mansion of a deceased millionaire realtor, was to be put on sale. With the approval and assistance of His Eminence, negotiations were opened which led to the acquisition of the Loren D. Towle estate in exchange for the four houses owned by the Religious on Commonwealth Avenue. The mansion having been remodeled and completed, and a school wing added along with an exquisite chapel (the gift of a friend), in June, 1926, the Community took possession of their new home. It is a stately and beautiful building, on Gothic lines, surrounded by fifteen acres of lawns, fine trees, and shrubbery. Here the Religious of the Sacred Heart have since maintained their Sodality, Teachers' Guild, Tabernacle Society, and retreat work.⁴

The Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, who conducted St. Leonard's parochial school in the North End of Boston, had in 1913 established a convent on Waban Hill, Newton, very close to Boston College. Here they have since maintained a novitiate. Besides, in an ample and well-equipped building adjoining their convent, they opened in

⁴Louise Callan, r.S.H., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (London and New York, 1937), pp. 615 f.



REGIS COLLEGE, WESTON

1927 a day-school for girls and younger boys, called Mount Alvernia Academy.

In the same year the Sisters of Notre Dame opened their fourth academy in the Diocese, on an estate in Tyngsboro that had belonged to the actress Nance O'Neil. The new Academy of Notre Dame was lodged in a very handsome and ample four-story building, of red brick trimmed with limestone, capable of accommodating three hundred and fifty pupils. This now large and flourishing institution receives girls as boarders and both boys and girls as day-students.

IV

In the field of charity similar gains were to be recorded.

The Diocesan Charitable Bureau steadily increased its activities and the magnitude of its services to the community. Again and again its Director could report, for example, that in the past year the Bureau had received and placed more children than any other agency, public or private, in Massachusetts.⁵ By 1927 it had found it necessary to establish five branch offices in Boston — in the North, South, and West Ends and in East and South Boston — in addition to its seven branch bureaus in other cities of the Diocese.

Among its many coöperating organizations, an important new one was the Proparvulis Club, which was formally organized at a meeting attended by His Eminence on December 10, 1922. The special work of this devoted band of Catholic young women has been to assist the Bureau in caring for the delinquent boy or girl and in preventing children from becoming delinquents. Starting with a hundred members, the Club has now come to have about a thousand, and has long contributed about five thousand dollars a year towards the expenses of this fine charity.

Another highly meritorious society of Catholic young women was the Aristos Club, formed in January, 1923. It has aimed to assist Catholic activities, both educational and charitable, sponsoring now this, now that, good cause as occasion seemed to de-

⁵ So, e.g., in the report for 1924, in *Pilot*, Feb. 14, 1925.

mand. The House of the Good Shepherd, the Home for Destitute Catholic Children, the Randolph School for the Deaf, Emmanuel and Regis Colleges are examples of the institutions that have profited by its generosity.

Various changes are to be noted from this period among the older charitable institutions of the Diocese.

The School for the Deaf in Randolph having grown so fast as to become sadly overcrowded, the Cardinal in 1923-1924 added to it a very handsome new building, reserved for the Advanced Department.

At St. Mary's Infant Asylum, Dorchester, the old, wooden dwelling-house which still sheltered the Maternity Department and chapel, was replaced in 1922-1924 by a modern brick structure, amply meeting all requirements (for hospital and chapel) and harmonizing with the other buildings of the group.

The House of the Angel Guardian, in Jamaica Plain, had also outgrown its capacity, and its directors desired to give their younger charges the advantage of the air and freedom of the country. In 1925, the Brothers of Charity were able to purchase Pipestave Hill, an historic estate of three hundred and fifty acres of high, rolling land along the Merrimac River, in West Newbury. Here they erected an imposing four-story brick building, capable of housing two hundred and fifty boys, which was formally opened on September 15, 1928. It has since been operated as the Junior Department of the Jamaica Plain institution, caring for the boys of elementary and intermediate school age.

St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum in its old location on Camden Street in the South End of Boston was in a crowded, noisy, and deteriorating district. Realizing the need of a change, Cardinal O'Connell early in 1927 purchased for it the former Cambridge City Home (for old people) in the westernmost part of the University City. After being thoroughly renovated and remodeled, at a cost of over \$100,000, this building was reopened on October 28, 1929, for what has henceforth been called St. Vincent's Home for Girls.

Studded though the Diocese was with charitable institutions, three new ones arose in these years.

St. Anne's French Catholic Orphanage, Methuen, is the product of the zeal of Father Émile Bertrand, S.M., pastor of St. Anne's Church, Lawrence, and the generosity of his parishioners. The splendid building erected for this purpose on Tower Hill, just over the Lawrence line in the town of Methuen, was dedicated by His Eminence October 18, 1925.

Another orphanage, the Polish Home of the Little Flower, Hyde Park, was blessed by the Cardinal on October 12, 1928. It occupies the ground and buildings formerly used by the Peabody Home for Crippled Children, purchased through the gifts of more than one hundred Polish societies, under the leadership of Father Alexander Syski, of Hyde Park.

In Newburyport, where the English-speaking parish in 1928 closed its Home for Destitute Catholic Children, which was deemed to be no longer sufficiently needed, the French-speaking parish in 1927 opened the present St. Thérèse's Home for Working Girls.

To turn briefly to some other phases of diocesan activity — Boston's proverbial generosity toward the foreign missions continued to be amply demonstrated during this period. In 1925, for instance, it was reported that for the past nine years Boston had given more to that cause than any other American diocese, and that in the preceding year it had given nearly one third of the total amount collected in the whole of the United States.⁶

For the Catholic press in this vicinity it was an important milestone when in 1923 Cardinal O'Connell bought for *The Pilot* the building, presses, and other equipment of the *Boston Record*. Removed from its former location on Temple Place to 309 Washington Street, *The Pilot* on October 20, 1923, issued its first number from its new home, with its own machinery and a complete, up-to-date newspaper equipment.

A new form of Catholic apostolate was started in 1929 when the facilities of station WNAC and WEAN were offered to His Eminence for a Catholic radio broadcast each Sunday. Readily accepting, the Cardinal entrusted the direction of this enterprise to Father Michael J. Ahern, S.J., of Weston College,

⁶ *Pilot*, July 11, 1925.

who has ever since been in charge of "the Catholic Truth Period."

V

Both by the spoken and the written word, His Eminence continued to show himself an inspiring leader of his own flock and an outstanding figure in civic life.

During the troubled years 1922-1924 — the time of the worst Reparations crisis, the "Ruhr war," and the Graeco-Turkish war, the Russian famine, widespread suffering in other countries, and one fruitless international conference after another — his addresses dealt frequently with international affairs. While castigating the governments which, as he said, "like the Pharisees, are merely content to quote sublime formulas, and yet do nothing towards their realization,"⁷ he constantly reiterated that the fundamental root of the world's misery was that nations had forgotten the laws of Christ in their mutual relations and had succumbed to the spirit of enmity, jealousy, meanness, and greed. The one real remedy, he affirmed, was to bring back into public life the spirit of Christ, "the spirit of love, of unselfishness, of tenderness, of affection, of thought for others, of consideration for the sufferings of others, of respect for the rights of others, of feeling even for the weakness of others."⁸ Meantime, he did what seemed practically possible: for instance, by sponsoring and directing collections for relief of starving Russia, relief of the sufferers from the great earthquake in Japan, relief for the Near East.

At home His Eminence deplored the reign of cynicism, the fact that "the bulk of the people is thinking only of amusement, of enjoyment, of acquiring more money," the "widespread wave of squandering, of extravagance, of reckless living."⁹ Over and over again he emphasized the paramount necessity of religion. "When religion goes out," he declared, "only one thing can logically enforce them [the laws] — the bayonet. When Christ's religion goes, there is nothing left but

⁷ *Sermons and Addresses*, VIII, 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 213-222.

⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 17, 28.

slavery." "You can have nothing permanent without religion behind it."¹⁰ Here, too, he lent his support to every good cause: e.g., to the Red Cross, to the American Legion, to the drive for the foundation of a Jewish hospital in Boston. He associated himself with other representative citizens from all over the country in numerous enterprises: for instance, with a Committee of One Hundred to report on the question, How far and in what manner should the United States participate in international affairs?; with a Committee of One Hundred and Sixty, drawn from all religious denominations, in an appeal for "a better mind," without which a second world war would become inevitable; with a Committee of One Hundred, headed by Herbert Hoover, to study the question of eliminating slums from American cities. His civic spirit and his reverence for authority were shown when, after the sudden death of President Harding, he not only issued a warm eulogy of the late President, but ordered memorial services for him to be held in all the churches of the Archdiocese.

While His Eminence's opinions on public affairs were constantly sought by the newspapers, they were given but seldom. When they were given, they frequently reverberated throughout the press of the country for months.

In the autumn of 1924 he took a strong stand against the proposed Anti-Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution. This was, of course, not because he was insensible to the abuses connected with child labor or would not have been delighted to see them eliminated. It was because the amendment was so drawn that it seemed to accord to the National Government sweeping powers to regulate the whole life of young people up to the age of eighteen, threatened to introduce Federal control of education, and was an encroachment upon the proper sphere of the State Governments. In this fight the Cardinal found himself allied with such leading Protestants as Bishop Lawrence, President A. Lawrence Lowell, and the heads of most Massachusetts colleges. The outcome was the overwhelming rejection of the amendment by the voters

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, VIII, 25, 30.

of this State — a defeat from which the campaign for the measure, here and elsewhere, has never recovered.

After half a dozen years of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, of the political domination of the country by the Anti-Saloon League, and of the reign of the bootleggers and highjackers, Cardinal O'Connell was the first prominent ecclesiastical leader who ventured to come out against the existing system. Early in 1926 he created a national sensation by declaring that, while the Catholic Church had always favored voluntary total abstinence, universal compulsory prohibition was something flatly opposed to the Bible and to Catholic tradition. Cardinals Hayes and Mundelein and Archbishop Messmer, of Milwaukee, then spoke out in the same sense; a grand debate on the subject broke forth in Congress; in short, a movement of opinion was started which was ultimately to end a system which had proved itself unenforceable in practice, and which was gravely to be questioned from the standpoint of moral and democratic principles.

Among His Eminence's purely religious addresses of that time, there are, perhaps, none more arresting than that of December 10, 1922, on "Moral Aid Essential," which deals with the subject of poverty and suffering, and that of March 4, 1923, on "World Peace Through Prayer," which applies the lessons of Christ's Passion to the tortured world of our day.¹¹ Longer and equally striking are such beautiful Pastoral Letters as those on "The Feast of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the King,"¹² "Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary" (a classic exposition of Catholic doctrine and feeling on this subject), "Devotion to the Holy Guardian Angels," and "The Catholic Doctrine of Purgatory."¹³

Early in 1923 the Pilot Company brought forth seven volumes of the Cardinal's *Sermons and Addresses*.¹⁴ Four more volumes have since appeared, the latest one in 1938. This mag-

¹¹ *Sermons and Addresses*, VIII, 1-8, 35-40.

¹² *Boston Globe*, Oct. 22, 1926.

¹³ *Sermons and Addresses*, IX, 216-229, 233-245, 249-261.

¹⁴ The first three volumes had appeared in an earlier edition in 1912, and the fourth in 1915.

nificent collection contains most, though by no means all, of the more important discourses that His Eminence has delivered since his early days in the priesthood. They are, as all critics have recognized, outstanding for vigorous, clear thinking, power and beauty of expression, and the superb exposition of Catholic and American ideals. "It is certain," wrote a reviewer in the *Boston Transcript*, "that his ability as a preacher of exceeding power cannot be ignored in the history of religious teaching in Boston, and that he must be numbered among the very first pulpit orators whom this city has known."¹⁵ Indeed, in the literary history of the Catholic Church in this country, there is nothing that can be put alongside this collection except, perhaps, the *Works* of Bishop England.

Just before Lent in 1923, His Eminence published his translation of Cardinal Cajetan De Lai's volume on *The Passion of Christ*, a work which had so profoundly impressed him that he was eager to make it available to his priests and people. It is undoubtedly a valuable addition to our literature in English on that most sacred subject.

Later in the same year the Cardinal issued the *Holy Cross Hymnal*. It contained twenty-two hymns of which he had composed both the words and the music, and ten other hymns that he had set to music. This, too, supplied a very real and important need, for the Catholic hymnals previously available in this country too often left much to be desired from the standpoint of musical or literary excellence. The Holy Cross collection quickly won recognition as an ideal hymnal for English-speaking Catholics.

VI

The reading and translation of Cardinal De Lai's book appears to have quickened a desire which Cardinal O'Connell had long cherished, to visit the sacred scenes associated with the life and sufferings of Christ. Early in 1924 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Lenten Pastoral which he issued

¹⁵ Aug. 4, 1923.

on his return, describing his experiences and reflections as he visited Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Lake of Galilee, Gethsemane, and Calvary, is assuredly one of the most beautiful things that he has written.¹⁶

Some months later His Eminence received the highest honor that had yet come to him. On August 30th, Pius XI appointed him Papal Legate to the National Convention of the Holy Name Society which was about to be held in Washington. The nomination was almost unprecedented in the sense that the Holy See had never before sent a Legate to a laymen's convention in America, and when it had wished to be represented at other Catholic gatherings here, it had almost invariably sent one of the Cardinals resident in Rome. Now for the first time an American Prince of the Church was to be the official representative of the Vicar of Christ at a great Catholic assembly.

The Convention in Washington was intended to commemorate the 650th anniversary of the founding of the Holy Name Society, and to recall the remarkable growth of the Society in this country in the last fifty years. It brought to the nation's capital well over one hundred thousand delegates from all parts of the country, thus being by far the largest religious gathering that Washington has ever known. Forty members of the American hierarchy and at least one thousand priests were also in attendance.

After preliminary meetings on Thursday, September 18th, the more dramatic events of the Convention began on the following day. Early on that morning came the formal reception of the Papal Legate, carried through with all the pomp and splendor with which the Church's ritual invests such ceremonies. Next came a pontifical High Mass in the University Stadium, celebrated by Archbishop Curley, of Baltimore. Then followed a mass meeting in the convention hall, at which Cardinal O'Connell delivered the principal address of the entire Convention. His subject was "God and Country" — one of his favorite themes — and he rose to the full height of the occasion. Doubtless that was one of the most powerful and eloquent

¹⁶ *Sermons and Addresses*, VIII, 106-115.

speeches of his life, and, as Archbishop Curley declared, "one of the most inspiring utterances ever delivered on the American Continent."¹⁷

In the afternoon a touching ceremony took place at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. There, in the presence of an immense throng, with Cardinal O'Connell presiding, Rev. Ignatius Smith, O.P., delivered an address on the record of the Holy Name Society during the late war. Next there was read out, diocese by diocese, the number of Holy Name men who had been in service, and the number of those who had lost their lives — and here Boston had the honor of having more men who had given their lives for their country than any other diocese. As the report for each see was made, a list of its dead was laid upon the Tomb. Finally, His Eminence placed a wreath upon the grave of the Unknown Soldier and gave the Holy Father's blessing to all who had died in their nation's service, a bugler sounded Taps, and all joined in singing "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Saturday, the 20th, was filled with another round of impressive gatherings. After another Mass in the Stadium, celebrated by Cardinal Dougherty, there followed a business session, at which Cardinal O'Connell presided and the Pope's message and blessing to the Convention was read. In the afternoon came the unveiling of the monument to the "Nuns of the Battlefield" — the Catholic Sisters who had served sick, wounded, and dying soldiers so heroically during the Civil War. This memorial, standing in front of St. Matthew's Church, had been erected through the generosity of members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the Ladies' Auxiliary of that society. At the ceremony of the unveiling, Cardinal O'Connell again delivered the principal address — a touching tribute to the "Angels of the Battlefield."¹⁸ He then led a large group of delegates to Mount Vernon, where, after exercises expressive of Catholic love and reverence for our first President, His Eminence placed a wreath upon the tomb of Washington.

¹⁷ The text is in *Sermons and Addresses*, VIII, 155-162.

¹⁸ *Sermons and Addresses*, VIII, 163-169.

Sunday, the 21st, was the final day and the culminating triumph of the Convention. It began with the solemn pontifical Mass celebrated by the Papal Legate at the University's new shrine of the Immaculate Conception. Then the national capital witnessed one of the most impressive spectacles of its history as a seemingly endless column of Holy Name men, over one hundred thousand strong, marched through the streets to the sound of martial music to make solemn profession of their loyalty to God and country. His Eminence, with Archbishop Curley and other prelates, remained for hours in the reviewing stand. The parade terminated, the final ceremonies took place near the Washington Monument. There the President of the United States (Calvin Coolidge), addressing the immense throng, estimated at over two hundred thousand persons, praised the Holy Name Society for its lofty aims and achievements. The Papal Legate, after a brief concluding speech, imparted the Apostolic benediction. Then, from the altar erected on the spot, he gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament; "Holy God, we praise Thy Name," was sung; and thus this uniquely successful Convention was brought to an end.

It had been, beyond doubt, the greatest religious demonstration that America had yet witnessed, and one in which the ideals of religion and patriotism had constantly been combined. The lesson which these memorable days had to teach, as His Eminence pointed out in one of his addresses, was that, "in the fearless loyalty of Holy Name men to the glory of God and the welfare of this country, America has a great army in battle array, strong with the strength of God, who in every time of national stress and strain may be entirely depended upon as a bulwark. . . ." ¹⁹

VII

Cardinal O'Connell's constant desire to increase among his people love and veneration for Rome was again manifested when early in 1925, for the first time, he led a pilgrimage to the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII, 161.

Eternal City, to share in the graces of the Jubilee Year. The Boston group, about five hundred in number, were the first and largest band to sail from America for this purpose that year, and throughout the trip, and especially while in Rome, they had many proofs of the advantage of going under so illustrious a leader. His Eminence guided their visits to the venerable basilicas, the Catacombs, and other shrines, leading the prayers at each. Cardinal Merry del Val said Mass for the Boston pilgrims. Cardinal Vannutelli, Dean of the College of Cardinals, received and addressed them. Even the Pope said Mass for them, and gave them the rare privilege of receiving Holy Communion from his hands. Receiving them in audience, the Holy Father blessed each and every one, thanked them and Boston's "noble, valiant Cardinal" for forming the first large group from anywhere in the world to heed his invitation for the Holy Year, and welcomed them "with a heart full of gratitude and love." So successful was this first Boston pilgrimage that a second one was led to Rome later in the year by Bishop Anderson.

On May 19, 1926, the clergy and laity of the Diocese, with unanimity and fervor, joined in celebrating the Silver Jubilee in the episcopate of their Cardinal Archbishop. Telegrams and letters of congratulation flowed in from every part of the world, including a most gracious and affectionate message from Pope Pius XI. Every church in the Diocese was packed that morning with worshipers and communicants. The formal observance of the day was, by His Eminence's express desire, made as simple as possible. After celebrating a Low Mass of thanksgiving at the Cathedral before an immense congregation, the Cardinal repaired to Granby Street to receive the members of the Diocesan Council and the Papal Knights. Monsignor Peterson presented the spiritual bouquet of the Diocese — the one thing that His Eminence had asked for — the immense number of Masses, Communion, and prayers which formed, as the speaker said, "the offering of a Diocese literally on its knees," "the tribute of unanimous, heartfelt prayer of loving children for a loved and loving father." Monsignor Haberlin presented

the special offering of the clergy: a check to cover the expenses of the recent addition to the Seminary. Then followed receptions at the Seminary, at Boston College, at St. Elizabeth's Hospital, at the Veterans' Hospital, and, as the sole banquet of the day, a dinner given by His Eminence to the inmates of the Old People's Home in Roxbury.

The emotion of that glorious day was best expressed by the Cardinal when he said: "I can sum it all up in a single sentence: we have worked together, rejoiced together, and the years and the labors have brought us into a union of mutual love and reverence blessed by Almighty God." The chief documents connected with the commemoration, together with some personal memoirs of His Eminence, were published by him shortly afterwards in the little volume, *Reminiscences of Twenty-Five Years, 1901-1926*.

A few weeks after his Silver Jubilee, Cardinal O'Connell led a large delegation from Boston to the great International Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, the first of these assemblies to be held in the United States. After the stirring and unforgettable scenes at the Congress, the Boston party, returning by steamer on the Great Lakes, stopped in the Province of Ontario, where, on the site of the old French mission house of Sainte-Marie, His Eminence dedicated the shrine over the remains of the two Jesuit martyrs whom we now know as Saints Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.

In the spring of 1929 the Cardinal led another pilgrimage to Rome to honor the sacerdotal Golden Jubilee of Pius XI. The experiences of 1925 were repeated, and once more the Holy Father was warm in his welcome and in his praise of the Archdiocese of Boston.

On December 8, 1929, His Eminence passed his seventieth birthday. The whole Diocese that day joined in a spontaneous offering of Masses, Communions, and prayers for a beloved and now venerable spiritual leader. The only formal observance of the anniversary was a dinner tendered by the pastors of the Archdiocese to the Cardinal at the Seminary that evening. The tributes of affection and devotion paid to him by the speakers

on that occasion were such that His Eminence declared that the evening was "really worth waiting seventy years for." His own feelings on reaching "the Biblical three score and ten" were expressed in a statement given to the press the day before and in an extempore address to the congregation at the Cathedral that morning. In both these utterances he poured forth his gratitude to God for all the blessings and favors of the past; and he dwelt upon the wonderful coöperation that he had constantly received from his priests and people, and upon the progress, harmony, and happy condition of the Diocese. Here and there he alluded not only to the joys but to the sore trials inseparable from a bishop's life. And he ended with the assurance: "With strength still vigorous, willing to face whatever the future may hold in store for me, my faith in God is still most secure, and in that Holy Light I shall walk until I can neither see nor do more." ²⁰

²⁰ *Sermons and Addresses*, X, 64-77.

CHAPTER IX

VIGOR IN ARDUIS (1929-1943)

I

THE LATEST PERIOD of Cardinal O'Connell's rule has again been a time of the gravest national difficulties. There is little need to recall here the events of these fourteen years: the depression of 1929, which grew steadily worse down to 1933; the uncertain and far from complete recovery under the New Deal; the outbreak in 1939 of a new World War, more cruel, brutal, and destructive than any previous conflict; the United States in 1941 forced into the most colossal, costly, and dangerous struggle in its history. Even in the days of national prosperity His Eminence had had to confront an abundance of difficult problems, and had met them with superb courage and energy. Now, in the evening of life, he has had to face the most trying and tragic conditions that the American people have known since Gettysburg, and again he has splendidly exemplified the motto engraved on the coat of arms of his family, *Vigor in Arduis*.

One result of the persistent depression of the 1930's was that immigration fell away to almost nothing. From 241,700 in 1930, it dropped to 23,068 in 1933, and has never since regained any really considerable proportions. Indeed, from 1931 to 1936 more aliens left this country than gained admission to it. With only 256 persons coming here from Eire in 1932, for example, Irish immigration has shrunk to trivial dimensions unparalleled since the early nineteenth century.

The great depression put to the test the financial stability of almost every institution in America. More fortunate than some other dioceses, the Archdiocese of Boston came through that test unscathed. Thanks to the sound and prudent system under which its affairs have been conducted under Cardinal O'Con-

nell, its parishes and institutions were not only not imperiled, but not obliged to curtail appreciably their normal activities.

What the Diocese could do, and did, to relieve the suffering caused by the depression is best illustrated by the record of its two chief charitable agencies, the Catholic Charitable Bureau and the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The sum expended by the Bureau for relief rose from \$84,897.04 in 1930 to \$461,367.73 in 1940, and that given by the St. Vincent de Paul Society from \$154,637.52 in 1930 to \$500,230.61 in 1940. In short, in the latter year nearly one million dollars were being given by the Catholics of this Diocese annually to succor their more needy brothers. The rearmament program and war industry have since somewhat reduced this outlay, though it remains extremely heavy.

Despite the untoward conditions of this period and the arrest of immigration, the Diocese continued to make very striking progress. While the Catholic population increased by only seven per cent, the number of parishes grew by twelve per cent, the number of parishes with schools by thirteen per cent, the number of parishes with high schools by twenty per cent, the number of secular priests by twenty-four per cent, the number of religious women by fifty-two per cent, and the number of priests of religious orders by sixty-four per cent.

II

To begin with the religious orders — since their growth formed so salient a feature of the period — three new seminaries were founded in these years. The Franciscans of the (Italian-speaking) Province of the Immaculate Conception, who conduct St. Leonard's Church, Boston, and several other parishes in the Diocese, in 1930 established St. Francis' Seraphic Seminary on the former Hood estate in West Andover, in a large and handsome building of brick and limestone which they had erected. The Marist Fathers in 1939 opened their Scholasticate in Framingham, and the Stigmatine Fathers in 1940 inaugurated their Major Seminary ("Elm Bank") in Wellesley.

Several new novitiates were started. The first was that of the Maryknoll Fathers, who, recognizing the great fertility of this region in vocations to the foreign missions, had desired to open a house here. Cardinal O'Connell, who was equally eager to have them here, in 1932, for a purely nominal price, transferred to them a large farm in Billerica which had belonged to St. John's Seminary. Here, after the necessary alterations and new construction, the novitiate of "the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America" was dedicated by His Eminence, in November, 1933, in the presence of the venerated founder of Maryknoll, Bishop James Anthony Walsh. The Brothers of Charity in 1936 opened their Novitiate of St. Vincent de Paul in the same town. At the end of 1942, Discalced Carmelite monks came from their Provincial House in Wisconsin to set up a monastery and novitiate on the former Cabot estate on Warren Street, Brookline. The establishment of this ancient and rigorously mortified religious order in the heart of one of our most fashionable residential districts is in itself a striking fact; and as its priests conduct missions, retreats, and other spiritual exercises for the laity, they represent a valuable addition to the active forces of the Archdiocese as well as to its contemplative life.

The cloistered nuns of the Order of Poor Clares, after residing for twenty-eight years on Bennet Street in one of the most crowded and noisy sections of Boston, were now able to remove to a spacious new home on the corner of the Arborway and Centre Street, Jamaica Plain. The handsome monastery that had been erected for them there was blessed by His Eminence on December 2, 1934.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, whose work among the negroes of Boston had at first been conducted at 21 Worcester Square, and later at 691 Massachusetts Avenue, now removed to more commodious quarters at 60 Vernon Street, Roxbury. Their new Blessed Sacrament Mission House was dedicated on December 16, 1934, in the presence of Mother Drexel, the foundress of the Congregation. This three-story brick structure afforded ample facilities for their many activities, and espe-

cially for their largely attended evening classes for religious instruction.

In 1941 the Polish Franciscans (O.F.M.) established a monastery in Hopkinton, a centre from which they conduct missions, retreats, and other work throughout New England.

The laymen's Retreat Movement had grown so mightily that two new retreat-houses were founded during these years. The one was Champion Hall, for men, which the Jesuits opened in North Andover in 1938. The other was Hammond Hall, West Gloucester, for women, which began its activities in 1940. This latter institution occupies the superb mansion and picturesque North Shore estate of the late John Hays Hammond, whose heirs, because of his long friendship with Cardinal O'Connell, donated this property to His Eminence in 1939. While the house is under the care of the Sisters of St. Joseph, the retreats here are usually given by the priests of St. John's Seminary.

To turn to the educational institutions of the Diocese—the latest period has seen further notable improvements at St. John's Seminary. After the fire of April 8, 1936, had destroyed a great part of Philosophy House, that edifice was almost completely reconstructed by His Eminence, and turned into a far more sightly and commodious building. It has since been known as St. William's Hall. In the following year the Cardinal endowed the Seminary with a fine gymnasium, erected in memory of Mary Catherine Keith. This welcome addition to the facilities of the institution was formally opened on March 21, 1938. His Eminence next proceeded to the realization of his long-cherished plan of founding a preparatory or minor seminary, in which youths aspiring to the priesthood might carry on the studies of the first two years of college before entering the Philosophy department of the Major Seminary. For this purpose St. Clement's Hall was erected on the Foster Street side of the Seminary grounds, and opened its doors to students in September, 1940. Under the direction of His Eminence, improvements in the internal régime of St. John's Seminary have kept pace with the constant growth of its material plant. The Seminary has also been fortunate in its

rectors, among whom the more recent have been Monsignors Charles A. Finn (1926-1933), Joseph C. Walsh (1933-1938), and Edward G. Murray (1938-).

Boston College during this period was presided over by Fathers James H. Dolan, S.J. (1925-1932), Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. (1932-1937), William J. McGarry, S.J. (1937-1939), and William J. Murphy, S.J. (1939-), all of whom have left a profound mark on the upbuilding of the institution. Of material construction there was, indeed, less than during the preceding period. But an extensive wing and a picturesque cloister were added to St. Mary's Hall in 1930-1931, and Father Gallagher erected on the campus a stadium of modest proportions. Already the College was beginning to overflow the somewhat straitened limits of its original land-purchase on University Heights. First, the Stimpson estate on Beacon Street was acquired and used to house the museum, laboratories, and library of the Anthropology department. Then, in 1941, His Eminence presented to the College the large Liggett estate on Hammond Street, with a fine mansion in the Tudor style (now called Cardinal O'Connell Hall) and lesser buildings, all of which have now been utilized for classrooms, offices, and centres for student activities.

The expansion of the college, started in the 1920's, proceeded in impressive fashion. In 1935 the Extension School and the Intown Junior College were located in new quarters at 126 Newbury Street, Back Bay. A few years later these two schools were merged to form what is now called Boston College, Intown, an institution which by means of late afternoon and evening classes offers substantially the same course of instruction as the College on Chestnut Hill, although five to eight years of work are necessary in order to obtain a Bachelor's degree from it. In 1936 a Graduate School of Social Work was inaugurated in the same building. In 1937 the Boston College Law School removed from its downtown location to much superior quarters at 441 Stuart Street. In 1938 a School of Business Administration was started, which, while at first conducted in town, was in 1940 transferred to Chestnut Hill.

The recent years have seen many other changes at University Heights, including a modification of the curriculum by which there are now eleven different courses of study leading to the Bachelor's degree, the introduction of an honors course for the more gifted students, and an extensive reorganization of the Graduate School.

In the field of pre-college education also a number of new Catholic enterprises are to be recorded.

In 1941 His Eminence bought the ten-acre property on Nonantum Hill and the three handsome buildings of the Country Day School in Newton, a fashionable preparatory school for boys which had recently merged with another school in Brookline. In the autumn of that year, after extensive alterations, this was reopened as St. Sebastian's Country Day School for boys, with a faculty made up of diocesan priests under the headmastership of the Rev. Charles D. McInnis.

The Religious of Christian Education, who had achieved great success with Marycliff Academy, Arlington, in 1930 opened a second country day- and boarding-school for girls, Ste. Jeanne d'Arc Academy, Milton. The site selected was an unusually happy one — "Pine Bank," the former residence of Mrs. Horatio N. Slater, one of the most magnificent estates and mansions in Milton — a property which the Sisters had purchased in 1927 and in which they had already been conducting a novitiate. The new school progressed so rapidly that in 1935 an additional building had to be erected for classrooms and gymnasium, and in 1942 an adjacent estate and house were bought to which the novitiate has been transferred.

Notre Dame Academy, Boston, which had for a dozen years shared with Emmanuel College the splendid building in the Fenway, was, because of the growth in numbers of the College, removed in 1931 to 25 Granby Street, the former residence of Cardinal O'Connell.

The Dominican Sisters, who had already established Rosary Academy, Watertown, for girls, and St. Dominic's Academy, Waverley, for boys, in 1941 opened a country day-school for both boys and girls, Mount Trinity Academy. It occupies a

fine building of Tudor architecture, which crowns one of the rocky heights of Watertown and looks down over the hills of Belmont.

III

From the administrative history of these years, mention should first be made of the successive changes in the office of Auxiliary to the Archbishop. Bishop Peterson, who had for five years held this position, was in 1932 elevated to the See of Manchester, New Hampshire, where he was installed in his Cathedral by Cardinal O'Connell on July 14th. The vacancy thus created here was immediately filled through the appointment by the Holy See of Monsignor Francis J. Spellman. A native of Whitman, Massachusetts, a graduate of Fordham University, and an alumnus of the North American College at Rome, Father Spellman had been ordained in the Eternal City on May 14, 1916. After serving for two years at All Saints' Church, Roxbury, and then as diocesan director of the campaign for Catholic literature and a member of *The Pilot* staff, and later as assistant in the Chancellor's office, he had in 1925 been called to Rome and attached to the office of the Papal Secretary of State — the first American priest to receive such an appointment. In this position he so distinguished himself by zealous and effective work and generous devotion to duty that higher honors were not long in coming. On July 30, 1932, he was named Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Boston and Titular Bishop of Sila. On September 8th he was consecrated in St. Peter's by Cardinal Pacelli, Secretary of State (now gloriously reigning as Pope Pius XII), assisted by Archbishops Borgongini-Duca and Pizzardo. A few weeks later the Archdiocese of Boston rejoiced to welcome as its new Auxiliary Bishop another of its own sons who had risen to high ecclesiastical eminence.

After holding this position for nearly seven years, Monsignor Spellman was called away to a still higher honor. On April 15, 1939, Pius XII appointed him Archbishop of New York, in succession to the late, beloved Cardinal Hayes. It was again

a great joy to the Archdiocese of Boston that, as its new Auxiliary, the Holy Father once more selected an outstanding priest of this Diocese, Monsignor Richard J. Cushing.

Born in South Boston August 24, 1895, Father Cushing had studied at Boston College and at St. John's Seminary, whence he had been ordained on May 26, 1921. Since 1928 he had, as successor to Monsignor McGlinchey, directed the diocesan office for the Propagation of the Faith with a zeal and devotion that had made his name loved not only in Boston but in well-nigh every mission land throughout the globe. Appointed by the Holy See on June 10, 1939, Auxiliary to the Archbishop of Boston and Titular Bishop of Mela, Monsignor Cushing was raised to the episcopate at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross on June 29th, the consecrator being Cardinal O'Connell, and the co-consecrators Bishops Peterson and Thomas A. Emmet, S.J., of Jamaica.

Another very notable event in the administrative history of this period was the creation of the new Diocesan Centre at 49 Franklin Street, Boston. As a memorial of his sacerdotal Golden Jubilee of 1934, the Cardinal carried to realization a long-cherished project of bringing together in one building those hitherto scattered diocesan offices which from the nature of their work needed to be located downtown. In the spring of that year he bought for this purpose a very desirable site in the centre of the business district, close to that spot, of hallowed memories to Catholics, on which the Old Cathedral had stood. The building on this site was then entirely reconstructed and turned into an admirably equipped six-story edifice. The cornerstone of the Diocesan Centre was blessed by His Eminence on December 8, 1934, his seventy-fifth birthday. In the following year, the Diocesan Charitable Bureau, hitherto located at 43 Tremont Street, the Pilot Publishing Company, previously at 309 Washington Street, and the Diocesan Office of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, formerly at 75 Union Park Street, were transferred to their new location. On May 26, 1935, His Eminence dedicated the Oratory of St. Thomas More, which occupies the first floor of the Franklin Street build-

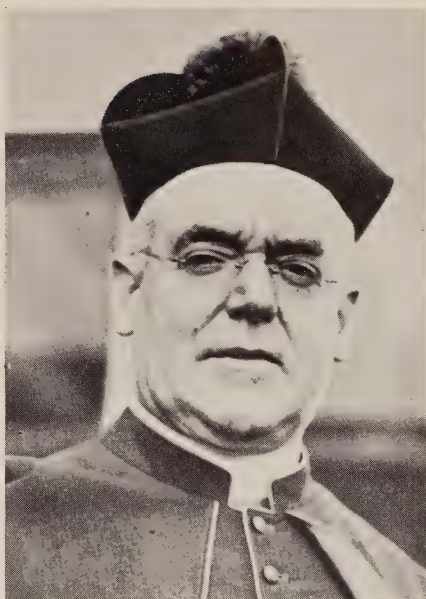
ing. While the Cardinal had planned the whole enterprise of the Diocesan Centre and had supervised its execution with constant visits and the most careful attention, the Oratory was in a special way his personal creation. He was its originator, its designer, its builder. This lovely little chapel is a marvel of artistic construction and decoration, glowing with warmth and beauty. But, still more, it is a haven of peace, refreshment, and inspiration, set down in the heart of Boston's busiest downtown section. The need that it met is shown by the fact that at all times of the day it is constantly thronged with worshippers.

No administrative office of the Diocese was put to a harder test than the Charitable Bureau during the long years of depression and of unemployment without example in our history. The Bureau met that test with splendid success. Its financial means for doing so were rendered more certain and abundant by the fact that, from 1931 on, along with the St. Vincent de Paul Society, it joined with other social and charitable agencies in the annual drives for what has come to be called the Greater Boston Community Fund. The Bureau at this time increased the number of its branch offices in Boston to seven by opening two new ones, in Charlestown and Roxbury respectively. It also established settlement houses in two of the most congested districts of the city, in the North and South Ends.

The North End house grew out of a modest social centre started by the Bureau in October, 1922, in three small rooms at 48A Charter Street. The work conducted there for the Italian residents of the district gave such encouraging results that in 1924 it was removed to a ten-room house at 11 Tileston Street, donated to the Bureau by Mrs. Mary Trask, of Boston. A few years later a fine new building, costing not far from one hundred thousand dollars, was erected on the same spot through the generosity of Mrs. Trask, as a memorial to her mother. Here the Catherine Moore Settlement House was inaugurated in September, 1930. Under the direction of the Charitable Bureau, it has been conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph, with the aid of many volunteer workers. With its innumerable classes, clubs, games, entertainments, and social gatherings, with



MOST REV. JOSEPH G. ANDERSON, D.D.



MOST REV. JOHN B. PETERSON, D.D.



MOST REV. FRANCIS J. SPELLMAN, D.D.



MOST REV. RICHARD J. CUSHING, D.D.

its spacious gymnasium and roof playground, it has been an immense boon to the people of the district, but especially to the children — from whom it receives an average attendance of twenty-five thousand a year.

The second new Catholic settlement house arose in a rather unusual way. Since 1905 Emmanuel Church, Back Bay, an Episcopal parish, had been maintaining a social service centre at 11 Newcomb Street, Roxbury, in a building which was a gift of Mrs. Randolph Frothingham. Recognizing that the population in the area served was predominantly Catholic, in July, 1938, the parish made a very gracious gesture of goodwill by giving this social centre to Cardinal O'Connell, in order that the work might be continued under Catholic auspices. On October 1st of that year "Emmanuel House" was, therefore, reopened under the direction of the Charitable Bureau and the care of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and it has since been serving the people of the South End and lower Roxbury as effectively as the Catherine Moore House serves the residents of the North End.

Catholics had been the beneficiaries of an equally gracious donation a few years before in Lowell. One of the three largest hospitals of that city, the "Corporation Hospital," which belonged to the Association of Cotton Industries and had been founded in 1837, was in November, 1930, given quite gratuitously to the Franco-American Province of the Oblates. This large and important institution has since been conducted as St. Joseph's Hospital under the direction of the Oblates and the care of the Grey Nuns.

Two changes in older charitable institutions of the Diocese may well be mentioned here. At the Holy Ghost Hospital in Cambridge a new building was erected in 1932-1933, which, among other advantages, allowed the Grey Nuns, who conduct this splendid institution, to establish a novitiate here.¹ In 1938 the Sisters of St. Joseph took over the charge of St. Helena's House, Boston.

¹A large new wing was added to the original building in 1941.

IV

One striking feature of this period was the multiplication of new diocesan activities.

Systematic work for the Catholic blind had been started by the organization of periodical spiritual retreats for them. This was begun at the Cenacle Convent, Brighton, in 1929, through the generous initiative of Mother Rose Shannon, for sightless women and girls; at St. Francis' Friary, Brookline, in 1936, through the zeal of Very Rev. Lucian Gallagher, O.F.M., for blind men; and at Boston College in the same year, through the efforts of Rev. Leo J. Gilleran, S.J., for blind boys. In order to organize more perfectly, coördinate, and expand this work, Cardinal O'Connell on September 15, 1936, established the Catholic Guild for the Blind, with the Rev. John J. Connolly as Director.

The Guild at once developed a remarkably comprehensive program of activities for the benefit of the approximately seventeen hundred blind Catholics of the Diocese. The retreat work was continued with ever-growing success by the three groups already formed, which were now enrolled as chapters of the Guild: namely, St. Raphael's Chapter, connected with the Cenacle Convent; St. Francis' Chapter, connected with the Friary in Brookline; and St. Ignatius' Chapter, of Boston College. Two new groups of zealous auxiliaries were organized as Our Lady's Chapter (of women), which undertakes to provide clothing and to attend to other material needs of the blind, and St. Paul's Chapter (of professional and business men), whose task is to procure employment for the sightless. A capital adjunct to the work of the Guild is the guide and motor corps, whose members drive or escort the blind to retreats, to church, to hospitals or doctors' offices, on shopping trips, on visits to friends, and on many other occasions. There is also a staff of friendly visitors and volunteer readers to the blind.

While the Guild considers the retreat movement the central part of its work, it neglects no opportunity to serve its sightless friends in every possible way. It sponsors a recreation program,

including outings to the country or seashore, attendance at theatres or baseball games, Christmas parties and other social gatherings. It provides medical and nursing care, hospitalization, or other material aid when required. It has interested itself particularly in education. With the aid of the Sisters of St. Joseph, it has, since 1939, furnished weekly religious instruction to the Catholic pupils in the Perkins Institution for the Blind, Watertown. Its readers are at the service of blind students in school or college, and the Guild has obtained scholarships for such students in half a dozen institutions of higher learning. It has undertaken to build up a library of Catholic literature for the blind in braille. Several hundred volumes have now been transcribed, and since 1940 *The Catholic Digest*, a monthly magazine, has regularly been brailled and sent free of charge to sightless people in many parts of the world. The Guild has also attacked with ardor and with much success the problem of securing employment for its clients — a difficult problem because, while the blind have the capacity to fill a great variety of positions, sighted employers so seldom realize that fact.

The latest enterprise of this indefatigable organization has been to establish a home for aged blind and deaf-blind women. For this purpose His Eminence at the beginning of 1943 bought and presented as his personal gift to the Guild the Victor M. Cutter estate at 764 Centre Street, Newton. Its handsome stone mansion of thirty rooms, after necessary alterations, was dedicated on August 15, 1943, as St. Raphael's Hall.

In the splendid work of the Catholic Guild for the Blind, the Archdiocese of Boston has been a pioneer for this country and, perhaps, for the Catholic world. It is pleasant to note that this example is now being followed in several other American dioceses.

For those suffering in various degrees from deafness, the Cardinal in 1937 established the Catholic Guild for the Hard of Hearing. The primary aim of this organization was spiritual: to bring the message of Christ and His Church to those who for years had been unable to receive it through the ordinary

means. For this purpose monthly devotional meetings were held at St. Francis de Sales' Church, Roxbury. In addition the Guild offered to the hard of hearing opportunities for social intercourse, and a centre at which advice could be obtained on problems relating to deafness. In order to develop this work more efficiently, on November 18, 1941, His Eminence appointed Father John J. Watson Diocesan Spiritual Director to the Hard of Hearing. Soon afterwards the monthly devotional meetings were transferred to St. Cecilia's Church, Back Bay, as more centrally located, and the name of the organization was changed to St. Francis de Sales' Guild for the Hard of Hearing.

While a great amount of work had already been done, whether by parochial or by diocesan action, to provide for the religious, cultural, and recreational needs of Catholic young people, a new and vigorous impulse was given to this work when His Eminence, in October, 1938, founded the Catholic Youth Organization ("C.Y.O."). This was intended to coördinate all youth activities in the Diocese and to provide a broad and balanced program for their development and expansion. The existing organizations for young people were not to be displaced, but were to be strengthened and assisted, brought into closer relations and into friendly competition with each other, and, when necessary, supplemented. Rev. George M. Dowd was named Diocesan Director for this work, and before long deanery directors and parish directors were also appointed.

The C.Y.O. attempts to serve the needs of all Catholic young people between the ages of ten and twenty-six. It directs a vast range of activities adapted to the interests of boys and girls, young men and young women, and with the necessary discrimination between the junior, intermediate, and senior age groups. Among cultural activities, it sponsors oratorical, debating, and essay contests, study clubs, dramatic societies, and cooking schools. It encourages many kinds of musical organizations. Its annual competition between the bands and the fife, drum, and bugle corps of the various parishes of the Diocese each year draws tens of thousands of spectators. The C.Y.O. supports and supervises the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Colum-

bian Squires (a kind of junior society to the Knights of Columbus), cadet companies, and prize drills. In the field of athletics, it sponsors contests in baseball, football, basketball, track, golf, bowling, boxing, and wrestling. But, above all, the C.Y.O. is essentially religious. It tries to enroll our young people in societies for religious instruction and devotion; it urges them to frequent reception of the Sacraments; it organizes manifestations of religious loyalty such as the annual Catholic Youth Rally on the feast of Christ the King. In general, it aims to keep Catholic youths in a Catholic atmosphere and in constant contact with the Church, and to make religion such a vital part of their lives that they will carry its principles and spirit wherever they go — into their homes, to their work, into their social life and recreation.

Still another new organization established here at this time was the Legion of Mary. This "beautiful and holy work," as Pius XI called it, was started by a few humble, devout souls in Dublin in 1921, and within two decades has overspread the English-speaking Catholic world. First introduced into the United States in 1931, it was approved for this Diocese by His Eminence in November, 1934, and on December 16th of that year the first *praesidium* (parish group) was established at St. Mary's, Charlestown. In 1936, Rev. Leroy V. Cooney was appointed Diocesan Director of this rapidly growing work. Today, with seventy-five *praesidia* and several thousand members, Boston is in this respect one of the best-organized dioceses of the country.

The Legion of Mary is, as is well known, a form of Catholic Action or of the apostolate of the laity. It aims to band together in each locality a carefully chosen group of ardent Catholics, who will strive first for their own sanctification, and then, under the guidance of and in constant union with the clergy, will undertake active work to advance the Kingdom of Christ among men. Its members are bound to recite certain daily prayers and devotions, to attend the weekly meetings of the *praesidium*, to perform a substantial work-obligation each week, and to report upon their work to their fellow members.

The activities of the Legion include nearly all the spiritual works of mercy (the rendering of material aid is left to other organizations). Legionaries visit homes in order to win negligent or lapsed Catholics back to their religious duties; to encourage those married outside the Church to have their marriages validated; to promote attendance at missions or membership in parish societies; to reclaim the erring, befriend the lonely, comfort the afflicted; or to seek out possible converts to the Faith. They also visit hospitals and homes for the aged; they give catechetical instruction in Sunday schools or elsewhere; they conduct study clubs, parish libraries, and pamphlet racks. The Legion of Mary has been an invaluable addition to the spiritual forces of this Archdiocese. It exemplifies an age-long ideal of the Church, but one which has been particularly emphasized in the twentieth century: the ideal of mobilizing the laity to assist the clergy in a great forward movement to extend the Kingdom of God.²

V

Although now advancing up to and beyond his eightieth year, Cardinal O'Connell in this latest period has continued his unceasing round of activities, with physical vigor only slightly reduced, with intellectual vigor not one whit diminished, with amazing buoyancy of spirit and unfailing zest for work.

One new kind of activity which he took up at this time was radio broadcasting. Beginning with a New Year's Eve message for 1930, he has since on many occasions addressed the public by this medium, and it is generally admitted that he is one of the three or four best radio speakers in America.

His unflagging strenuousness was demonstrated when in 1932 he led eight hundred pilgrims from Boston to the International Eucharistic Congress in Dublin. In 1933 he went to Rome for the Jubilee Year, and again in 1934 to present an *Ad limina* report which delighted the Holy Father.

² The history and work of this organization are admirably described in Cecily Hallack, *The Legion of Mary* (New York and Toronto, 1941).

His Eminence's civic spirit was shown by the fact that from 1932 to 1936 he served as one of the five Trustees of the Boston Public Library, and one year as President of that Board. On July 4, 1934, he delivered the Independence Day Oration in Faneuil Hall.

While the Cardinal has seldom intervened in politics, and then only when moral or religious interests were at stake, when he has intervened his action has almost invariably been decisive, so great is the moral authority of his name. This was strikingly illustrated in 1935, when he spoke out against the proposed State Lottery Bill in a way that at once killed that measure in the House of Representatives. Of this episode the *Boston Post* remarked: "Had it not been for Cardinal O'Connell's courageous and common-sense denunciation, the Lottery Bill would have passed with a whoop." ³ And the *Springfield Republican* declared: "The decisive defeat must be credited to Cardinal O'Connell. . . . Cardinal O'Connell has performed a highly significant public service in assuming the moral leadership of the protest against legalized public gambling." ⁴

In view of such — and countless other — facts, as His Eminence's more outstanding anniversaries occurred, the whole community joined in honoring him. The 1930's were marked by a long series of such demonstrations. On almost every one of these occasions, apart from public functions, the Cardinal received a flood of congratulatory letters and telegrams: from the Holy Father; from cardinals and bishops; from presidents, governors, and mayors; from countless other friends, admirers, and well-wishers, here or abroad, Catholic or Protestant, great or humble, known or unknown — in short, such an avalanche of tributes as has probably never descended upon any other citizen of Massachusetts, and rarely, if ever, upon any other prelate of the American Church.

This new series of demonstrations of love and reverence began in 1931. In May of that year came the thirtieth anniversary of His Eminence's consecration as bishop, and in June the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from Boston College. On

³ May 22, 1935.

⁴ May 22, 1935.

this latter occasion the Commencement exercises turned largely into a tribute to him. The College conferred upon him the unique degree of Patron of the Liberal Arts. Governor Ely hailed him as "one who has done more than any man in our midst to build in men the Christian attitude."⁵ The alumni presented him with a gold chalice, and he replied with one of the most beautiful of his addresses, that on "The Two Chalices," describing the joys and sorrows of a bishop's life.⁶

In 1932, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Cardinal's accession to the Archdiocese was appropriately observed.

Early in 1934, the year that marked his completion of half a century in the priesthood, His Eminence published his autobiography, a delightful, instructive, and historically invaluable volume, entitled *Recollections of Seventy Years*. Soon afterwards the Church, the community, and the nation united in a memorable celebration of his Sacerdotal Golden Jubilee. The local commemoration took place on June 8th to 10th. The first day, the anniversary of the Cardinal's ordination, was marked by a magnificently rendered solemn Mass of Thanksgiving at the Cathedral, during which Bishop Spellman, Monsignor Haberman, as Vicar-General, and representatives of all the national groups in the Archdiocese paid glowing tribute to their beloved leader, and His Eminence replied with a deeply moving address, full of gratitude, humility, and fatherly affection. The chief event of the second day was the Children's Mass, celebrated in the Boston College Stadium in the presence of twenty-five thousand youthful Catholics from all over the Diocese. What may be called the civic celebration of the Jubilee took place on Sunday, the 10th, at an open-air Mass in Fenway Park. Thirty thousand persons formed the congregation, including a host of leaders in public or business life, many of them non-Catholics. Here Monsignor Splaine, Governor Ely, Senator Walsh, Mayor Mansfield, of Boston, Congressman McCormack, Judge Robert Grant, Mayor Bruin, of Lowell, and Mayor Irwin, of Medford, successively expressed the gratitude of Church, Nation, State, and City towards one who, by fifty years

⁵ *Boston Post*, June 9, 1931.

⁶ *Sermons and Addresses*, X, 252-258.

of illustrious achievements for God and country, had 'made all creeds and classes his debtors,' and won the esteem and love of all.

The national celebration of the Jubilee was, appropriately, reserved to the national capital in the following November, when His Eminence had gone there to preside as usual over the meetings of the American hierarchy and the Trustees of the Catholic University. On the 14th, his fellow bishops gave a luncheon in his honor, at which they presented him with a golden chalice and a parchment scroll, containing a message of congratulations and affectionate regard from the entire hierarchy of this country. That evening the Catholic University held a special Convocation "for the express purpose," as its Chancellor declared, "of paying honor to the foremost dignitary of the Church in the United States." Before a brilliant assembly of several thousand persons, among whom were eighty bishops, the diplomatic representatives of thirty-one nations, and many high officials of the Federal Government, Cardinal O'Connell received the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*, in testimony to "the glorious things which through him God has wrought." After His Eminence had responded with all his usual felicity, Hon. Homer Cummings, Attorney-General of the United States, appearing as the representative of President Roosevelt, read the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

November 14, 1934

Your Eminence:

I shall not be able to be present when the Catholic University of America will confer upon you, the Chairman of its Board of Trustees, the honorary degree Doctor of Laws. I regret very much that this is so, and I wish Your Eminence to be assured of my warmest congratulations and sincerest well-wishes on this happy occasion.

Honoring, as it does, the Golden Jubilee of your ordination to the priesthood, this academic Convocation must also serve

to recall the long and distinguished service you have rendered your Church, and the affectionate place you have won in the hearts of your fellow citizens.

Priest for fifty years, Bishop for upwards of three decades, Archbishop since 1906, and Cardinal for nearly a quarter of a century, Your Eminence has paralleled this consecrated service with a real and practical interest in good citizenship and inspiring patriotism. Your "Recollections of Seventy Years" of life are indeed full and wholesome.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Franklin D. Roosevelt

To this cordial and gracious message, the Attorney-General added his own eloquent tribute to "the great churchman, eminent citizen, and ardent patriot," the "vigorous leader of a vigorous faith," the "benefactor of national life," whom this assembly had gathered to honor.⁷

While the brilliant ceremony at the University ended the formal celebrations of the Golden Jubilee, countless other tributes continued for months to pour in upon His Eminence. He received letters of congratulation from the governors of almost every State in the Union. Several foreign governments sent their decorations, the French Republic, for instance, bestowing upon him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. In short, save for Cardinal Gibbons' Golden Jubilee in 1919, this was a series of tributes such as had never before been paid to any Catholic prelate in America. In a renewed expression of thanks to all who had honored him, Cardinal O'Connell in his next New Year's Eve broadcast declared that 1934 had been the most memorable year of his life, and that in that year he had known only joys and happiness.⁸

On October 14-15, 1936, His Eminence and Boston were privileged to receive the most distinguished visitor from Rome who had ever come here — Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, who was then traveling in this country.

⁷ The addresses and many of the letters connected with the celebrations of this year are reprinted in the volume, *Golden Jubilee of His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, 1884-1934* (Cambridge, 1935).

⁸ *Pilot*, Jan. 5, 1935.

Mural inscriptions in the Seminary chapel and library now commemorate the occasion when six hundred clergy of the Diocese and all the seminarians were presented to one who was soon to mount the throne of St. Peter.

In November, 1936, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Archbishop O'Connell's elevation to the Cardinalate brought forth a new flood of tributes to him in the press at home and abroad, and of congratulatory messages, including a most cordial autograph letter from Pope Pius XI.

On June 24, 1937, a Commencement throng in Cambridge witnessed the unusual spectacle of a Catholic Archbishop of Boston and a Prince of the Roman Church, attired in cardinalitial robes, appearing on the platform to receive an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Harvard University. The citation, couched in the lapidary style customary on such occasions, ran: "William Henry Cardinal O'Connell, for three decades Archbishop of Boston, a son of this Commonwealth, honored as a faithful shepherd of a multitude of devoted citizens." The *Boston Herald* commented: "Harvard has conferred few honorary degrees which will receive more attention and more hearty commendation. . . . It may be said truly, even if tritely, that in honoring Cardinal O'Connell the great University at Cambridge did honor to herself."⁹ Three days later, His Eminence presided at the first Mass ever celebrated in the Harvard Stadium — a requiem, under the auspices of the American Legion, for the dead of the late war — with the Catholic Governor of the Commonwealth (Charles F. Hurley) among the worshippers.

On February 10, 1939, while the Cardinal was taking a brief rest at Nassau, British West Indies, news arrived of the lamented death of Pius XI. Although for a man nearly eighty years of age the thought of undertaking another dash across the Atlantic — across four thousand miles of water — in the middle of the winter in order to attend the Conclave was momentarily somewhat staggering, with characteristic determination to put duty first His Eminence at once prepared to go. Once more his

* June 25, 1937.

"race with time" was followed with keenest interest by the press and public, and speeded by the prayers of countless well-wishers in many lands. And this time he was successful. Embarking from Nassau on the evening of February 10th for New York, he sailed from the latter port on the 15th on the Italian liner *Saturnia*, transshipped at Algiers to the *Neptunia*, landed at Naples on the morning of March 1st, and arrived in Rome by automobile that afternoon a few hours before the opening of the Conclave. Through the kindness of Cardinel Pacelli, who, as *Camerlengo* of the Roman Church, managed the arrangements, the opening of the assembly had been postponed slightly in order to make possible Cardinal O'Connell's participation. Through that same kindness, the latter, as Dean of the Cardinal Priests and also because of the fatigues of his long journey, received for his lodging during the great gathering, not one of the cells usually assigned to Cardinals, but the Pope's private apartment. As his Conclavist His Eminence had his secretary, Monsignor Jeremiah F. Minihan, the first Boston priest to serve in that capacity.

The Conclave turned out to be wellnigh the shortest in the Church's history. After but three ballots it resulted in the unanimous choice of Cardinal Pacelli, who, in accepting the sublime office, took the name of Pius XII. The election of this able, learned, and saintly Pontiff, whose long and wide experience made him almost uniquely fitted for the tremendous position he was assuming, was, of course, a great joy to the Catholic world, and especially to Cardinal O'Connell. His Eminence had known him for over forty years since the day when he, as Rector of the American College, met the future Pope, then a young cleric, at the latter's grandfather's hundredth birthday party.

The Cardinal remained in Rome nearly two weeks, renewing acquaintance with a host of friends, enjoying a most cordial private audience with the new Pontiff, attending the Coronation. On March 31st he was back in Boston, no whit the worse for his long and exacting journey, happy that the Bark of Peter had been placed in the hands of the most competent helmsman

that could be found, but fully aware of the nightmare that hung over Europe at that time — the imminent peril of the outbreak of a new World War.¹⁰

VI

Cardinal O'Connell had long realized the danger. As early as January 3, 1937, he had delivered a prophetic address on "The Advancing Storm," warning of "a world-wide conflagration, perhaps worse than ever before in the history of the world."¹¹ Since then he had again and again denounced the dictators and tyrants of Europe and "the poisoned ambition that is in the heads and hearts of rulers today." He had excoriated the Nazi theories of racism, anti-Semitism, and neo-paganism as "intellectualism gone mad"; had expressed the indignation of all civilized people over the crimes committed against the Jews; and had taken up collections for the Catholic victims of Nazi persecution. One of his first acts after his return from Rome was to issue a circular warning of "the menacing threat of a war which may engulf Europe and, perhaps, the whole world," and directing that during the month of May prayers for peace should be said throughout the Archdiocese.

When the war in Europe had actually broken out, His Eminence was so pained and horrified that, apparently, he could not bring himself to speak frequently of the subject in public. When he did speak, it was to denounce "the complete falsity and hideous deception" of the ideologies current in Germany, the "beast of the jungle" ideals that had taken possession of that nation, and the cruel despotism and tyranny under which Christianity was being crushed; or it was to urge prayers for peace for "a mad world" and to commend the Pope's Peace Program as an inspired utterance. In April, 1940, he ordered that a prayer for peace should be said at every Mass celebrated in the Diocese. As the question of American participation in

¹⁰ Soon after his return His Eminence published a delightful account of this journey in the handsomely illustrated little volume entitled *A Memorable Voyage* (n.p., 1939).

¹¹ *Sermons and Addresses*, XI, 221-222.

the war began to loom up, he adopted the same attitude as in the early years of the last war: he believed that we should keep out of this holocaust of bloodshed and suffering if ever honorably possible.

This time the question was settled for us — by the perfidy of Pearl Harbor and the declaration of war sent to us by Germany and Italy. Again the Catholics of this country rallied unanimously to the defense of the nation. Soon after Pearl Harbor, Archbishop Mooney, of Detroit, as Chairman of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, wrote to President Roosevelt in the name of all the bishops to pledge whole-hearted coöperation and the marshaling of all the forces of the Church to safeguard “our God-given blessings and freedom.” The machinery for mobilizing and coördinating those forces was this time already at hand in the long-established National Catholic Welfare Conference. Already in 1940, in connection with the great expansion of our armed forces then being undertaken, the Conference had created the National Catholic Community Service — one of the six officially recognized United Service Organizations — in order to minister to the religious and recreational needs of soldiers, sailors, and marines much as the Knights of Columbus did in the last war. By this organization, by immense sums given for relief to war sufferers, by ringing addresses to the nation such as “The Bishops’ Statement on Victory and Peace,” by turning over almost all the Catholic colleges of the country to military or naval training, and in countless other ways, the American hierarchy as a whole has rendered constant and invaluable service to our war effort.

In this Catholic contribution the Archdiocese of Boston has taken its full share. From the moment when we became involved in the war, Cardinal O’Connell has issued a series of inspiring appeals to his people to fight, work, and pray for a speedy victory over our enemies, who are also “the enemies of humanity and all that we hold sacred,” and for the winning of a lasting peace, “the peace of Christ, the peace of justice, the peace of universal brotherhood.”¹² Under his direction Cath-

¹² Cf. *Pilot*, Jan. 10, April 11, May 16, 1942, Jan. 9, 1943.

olic churches, schools, and societies have worked with vigor in the campaigns for Defense Bonds, or to help the Red Cross, or to support the United Service Organizations, or in many other ways. Thanks to him and to the zeal of the clergy, Boston has furnished chaplains for the armed forces in numbers equaled by few other dioceses in the country. An archdiocesan unit of the National Catholic Community Service was established here as early as the spring of 1941. The Knights of Columbus, eager to renew their splendid record of the last war, have recently opened a fine Servicemen's Clubhouse at 36 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, where again the slogan is, "Everybody welcome, everything free."

While no adequate statistics are yet available, numerous indications seem to show that in this war, as in the last one, the percentage of Catholics in the armed forces is much larger than their percentage in the total population of the country. From this Diocese alone over ninety thousand Catholic young men have already entered the services. Boston College is proud that more than a quarter of its students and alumni (twenty-seven hundred out of ten thousand) are in the armed forces,¹³ and that many of them have already made a glorious record.

It is still far too early to attempt a detailed survey of the Catholic effort during the Second World War. When such a study can be made for this vicinity, it will undoubtedly form one of the finest chapters in the history of the Archdiocese of Boston.

¹³ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1943.

CHAPTER X

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF SUFFOLK COUNTY (1907-1943)

I

DESPITE THE FALLING-OFF in immigration and the often untoward economic conditions, the age of Cardinal O'Connell, like that of Archbishop Williams, has seen a phenomenal multiplication of parishes and churches. This increase has been due in part to the growth and shifting of population, in part to the vastly greater number of diocesan priests available, and especially to His Eminence's policy of breaking up overlarge parishes, creating smaller ones wherever they were needed and could be supported, and thus "bringing the Church to the people." Fewer very large and costly churches have been built than during the preceding period, but those that have been built have in general shown a higher level of architectural taste and a greater variety of style than prevailed in the late nineteenth century.

The parishes of the Archdiocese have now become so numerous that limits of space preclude any attempt to sketch the history of all of them. All that can be essayed here is to survey briefly the creation of new parishes, the building of new churches, and some changes or salient events in important older parishes.

The population of Boston, as of most large cities of Massachusetts, continued to grow slowly until about 1930, and thereafter, under the influence of the depression and other factors, tended to remain stationary or even to show a slight decline. At all events, it advanced from 595,380 in 1905 to 770,816 in 1940. Ever more accentuated was the movement of population from the older sections of the city to the outlying districts or to the suburban communities. The North, South, and West

Ends, Charlestown, South Boston, East Boston, and the northern parts of Roxbury and Dorchester have seen a steady exodus of Catholics towards southern Dorchester, Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury, Brighton, and the cities and towns beyond the Boston line.

The Cathedral parish, though suffering from the declining fortunes of the South End, has maintained itself well through the constant care of His Eminence and the hard work of its priests. It has been enriched with a school, high school, and convent, and in 1937 with a three-story Gothic rectory, which replaced the now inadequate and outmoded building in which Archbishop Williams so long dwelt.

The neighboring parish of St. Cecilia's has found itself in much more favorable conditions, thanks to the immense growth of the Back Bay and Fenway districts. After the death of Monsignor Byrne in 1912, Cardinal O'Connell assumed direct charge of this parish, conducting it, like the Cathedral, through a succession of administrators until 1943, when Monsignor Francis L. Phelan was made pastor. To meet the needs of teeming congregations, two subsidiary churches have had to be provided, both of which have been served as missions of St. Cecilia's. The first of these, St. Ann's, on the corner of St. Stephen's and Gainsborough Streets, was formerly the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Messiah, erected in 1892. This large and handsome Gothic edifice was purchased by His Eminence in 1928, and dedicated by him for Catholic worship on October 28th of that year. The second acquisition was the Universalist Church of the Redemption at Boylston and Ipswich Streets. This magnificent Gothic stone church, one of the most artistic in the city, had been erected in 1926, at a cost of \$750,000.¹ As its congregation proved unable to maintain it, the Cardinal was able to buy it on very reasonable terms, and it was dedicated by him on December 8, 1935, as St. Clement's Church.

Among the churches in the older districts of Boston, St. James' in the South End and St. Mary's and St. Stephen's in the

¹*Boston Post*, Oct. 12, 1935.

North End have suffered the worst loss of parishioners through the exodus referred to above, yet all three churches have maintained themselves successfully. By virtue of their locations near the centres of downtown Boston they have served throngs of transients and business or working people; their old parishioners visit them frequently; and special services and popular devotions attract worshipers from far and near. At St. James', for instance, under the active, eloquent, and beloved Father Philip J. O'Donnell (pastor from 1913 to 1934), it was said that while there remained only seven hundred parishioners, about four thousand people attended the Sunday Masses and ten thousand on holy days of obligation.²

In South Boston the towering and stately new Gate of Heaven Church, which Father Robert J. Johnson had been laboring to build, was completed after seventeen years, and dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on May 12, 1912. Meanwhile, two new parishes had been created in the peninsula. At the western end, St. Monica's, hitherto a mission of St. Augustine's, was made a separate parish in December, 1907, its first pastor being Rev. Timothy J. Mahoney. At the eastern end, St. Eulalia's, a mission of the Gate of Heaven, became a parish in May, 1908, under Father Mortimer E. Twomey. Under its second pastor, Father Patrick J. Waters, early in 1933 the church was destroyed by fire. It was at once replaced by the present tasteful Gothic church, of Harvard brick with limestone trimmings, which was blessed on November 5, 1933, under the name of St. Brigid's. In 1941, the parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, always the smallest of the Diocese in area, was abolished as no longer needed, after a Federal housing project had transformed the neighborhood and forced the razing of the church.

What may be called the Italian conquest of East Boston has, of course, prospered the Italian-speaking parishes of the island, but has in varying degrees reduced the congregations of the English-speaking ones. At any rate, in the Star of the Sea parish, Father William F. MacDonough (pastor from 1907 to 1930) was able to replace the plain wooden church of Father Fitton's

² *Boston Post*, Nov. 5, 1924, June 20, 1927.

time with the present handsome gray-brick Romanesque edifice. The new lower church was built in 1909-1910, but the upper church was dedicated only on May 30, 1925, by Bishop Anderson. At the eastern end of the island a new parish, St. Joseph's, was created by His Eminence on March 27, 1914, for the Orient Heights section. The first pastor, Father Charles A. Ullrich, soon purchased from Protestants a wooden church on Breed Street, which was dedicated for Catholic worship on June 6, 1915, and which has since sufficed for the needs of this parish.

II

In no part of Boston has Catholic progress in Cardinal O'Connell's time been more marked than in Dorchester. Five of the twelve parishes in this section and eight of the present churches date from this period.

In northern Dorchester, St. Paul's, previously a mission of St. Peter's, was one of the first group of parishes created by His Eminence in December, 1907. Its first pastor, Bishop Anderson, bought the Hooper estate on Magnolia Street as the site for a new church, but had not been able to begin construction when he was transferred to St. Peter's in 1917. His second successor at St. Paul's, Father John J. Farrell (1918-1930), took up the building problem in earnest, and, with the aid of Maginnis and Walsh, architects, planned a majestic stone edifice of purest Gothic style. Begun in 1921, the exterior structure had been completed and the lower church was ready for use when the Cardinal on October 7, 1923, laid the cornerstone and blessed the new St. Paul's. The work on the interior of the upper church has since been carried to completion by Father Farrell's successor, Rev. Charles N. Cunningham. Within and without, St. Paul's is a thing of beauty, one of the most perfect examples of church architecture to be found in the United States.

At St. Peter's the splendidly organized and equipped parish bequeathed by Monsignor Ronan has been well maintained by his successors, Bishop Anderson and (since 1927) Monsignor

Richard J. Haberlin. The latter has, in particular, renovated the entire property of the parish — church, rectory, convent, and schools — thoroughly rebuilding the lower church, enlarging the vestry, and beautifully adorning the upper church.

The northeastern part of St. Peter's parish was detached in October, 1909, to form the new parish of St. William's. Its first pastor, Rev. James J. Baxter, inaugurated services on October 24th in Columbus Hall, Pleasant Street. As a site for a church he succeeded in purchasing, on November 5th, the former Worthington estate at the corner of Dorchester Avenue and Belfort Street, with an old mansion that was later adapted for a rectory. The labors attendant upon starting a new parish proved too great a strain, however, upon Dr. Baxter's health: after four weeks he felt himself obliged to resign. His successor, Father James J. McCarthy, took up the task of church building with great vigor. Within little more than six months he erected an attractive stucco church, with red-tile roof, of Spanish Mission style, which was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on July 17, 1910.

For the southeastern part of St. Peter's territory, the section around Field's Corner, St. Ambrose's parish was created on December 7, 1914, with Father John H. Harrigan as pastor. Through Monsignor Ronan's efforts, a church lot had already been secured at the junction of Adams and Dickens Streets. Here Father Harrigan constructed a large and imposing edifice, of Barrington red brick trimmed with granite, in the English Gothic style. Its lower portion was blessed by His Eminence on May 28, 1916, and the upper church on November 2, 1924.

At St. Gregory's, the mother-parish of all Dorchester, the third pastor, Monsignor Francis X. Dolan (1914-), has distinguished himself particularly by his zeal for education. To him the parish owes its unusually fine school, convent, and girls' high school.

The three southern Dorchester parishes that had been detached from St. Gregory's in Archbishop Williams' later years, were all strong enough by this time to provide themselves with large and stately new churches, as well as with schools and con-

vents. St. Mark's, Ashmont, was the first church of this group to be completed—a red-brick edifice, in the perpendicular Gothic style, which was erected by Father John A. Daly and dedicated by His Eminence on May 30, 1915. In that same year Father John S. McKone, of St. Ann's, Neponset, began the construction of a new church on a new site, on Neponset Avenue. Built somewhat in the style of a Roman basilica, of Harvard brick trimmed with limestone, and with a campanile in the rear, the new St. Ann's was blessed by Cardinal O'Connell on October 31, 1920. The third church of the group, the new St. Matthew's, was the creation of Father John A. Donnelly (1907-1923), the second pastor of this parish. He bought the new site on Stanton Street, and framed plans for a majestic church of Roman Renaissance design. He built the lower church, the cornerstone of which was blessed by the Archbishop on October 23, 1910; and he pressed the construction of the upper church so that it was opened for the first time for his funeral. The completion and the sumptuous adornment of the interior have been carried through by his successors, especially by the present pastor, Father Thomas R. Reynolds (1936-). Today St. Matthew's is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful churches in the Archdiocese.

Two new parishes have been founded in the southern part of Dorchester under Cardinal O'Connell. The first was St. Angela's, Mattapan, created on December 28, 1907, with territory taken in part from St. Gregory's and in part from the Church of the Most Precious Blood, Hyde Park. The new pastor, Father Francis J. Ryan (who today is still guiding this parish), inherited an excellent church lot on the corner of Blue Hill Avenue and Fremont Street, which Father Fitzpatrick, of St. Gregory's, had bought in 1901. Here he began in 1909 the erection of a neat, red-brick church, of the Roman style, which was dedicated by His Eminence on June 1, 1919.

The second new parish, St. Brendan's, was erected on September 25, 1929, for the Cedar Grove section, with territory derived partly from St. Gregory's and partly from St. Ann's, Neponset. Father William F. Toohig, appointed the first pastor,

found himself obliged for a while to conduct services in the Granite Avenue Garage; but he was not long in constructing a brick Romanesque church on Gallivan Boulevard, which was blessed on November 5, 1933.

III

In the borderland between Dorchester and Roxbury great changes have been taking place in recent decades. To put the matter simply: the Jews have been moving in in vast numbers, and the Catholics have been moving out. This has redounded disastrously upon the fortunes of such parishes as St. Leo's, Dorchester, and St. John's and St. Mary of the Angels, Roxbury. At St. John's, at all events, Monsignor Patrick J. Supple, pastor from 1908 to 1932, completed the work of Father Hugh P. Smyth. He finished off and put into use by 1917 the upper church, which had hitherto been left bare and usually unoccupied; and he reconstructed the mission church, St. Hugh's, so extensively that it was rededicated by the Cardinal on November 16, 1913. At St. Mary of the Angels, the second pastor, Father Denis J. Sullivan, in 1907-1908 built the lower part of what was expected to be a very handsome brick church. But, for the reason mentioned above, this church has never since advanced beyond the basement.

The other parishes of Old Roxbury have not been similarly imperiled, but all have suffered in varying degrees from the exodus of Catholics to the outlying districts. That exodus, on the other hand, has produced a remarkable efflorescence of the parishes in Jamaica Plain and West Roxbury.

At the Blessed Sacrament, Jamaica Plain, Monsignor Arthur T. Connolly (1892-1933) was at last able to begin in 1910 the new church for which he had long saved and planned. It was dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on June 10, 1917. A red-brick structure in the Roman style, with dignified façade, narrow nave, transepts, and dome, and splendidly adorned within, this, too, must be ranked among the most impressive churches of the Diocese.

St. Thomas', the mother-church of Jamaica Plain and West Roxbury, remained one of the best-equipped and best-organized of parishes under a succession of pastors each of whom has been honored with the title of Monsignor. The second among them, Rt. Rev. Edward J. Moriarty (1912-1928), transformed and beautified Monsignor Magennis' old church so as to give it, within and without, quite a new appearance.

Two new parishes were detached from St. Thomas' territory during this period. The first, Our Lady of Lourdes, which had hitherto been conducted as a mission of St. Thomas', received its first resident pastor, Rev. George A. Lyons, on July 8, 1908. While he contented himself with completing and enlarging the existing wooden church on Brookside Avenue, his fourth successor, the present pastor, Father James F. Kelly (1923-), resolved to provide his growing parish with a worthier edifice. The new structure, of light red brick and limestone, in the Romanesque style, was begun in 1931 and dedicated on Thanksgiving Day (November 24th) of the following year. It is a superbly beautiful church, both inside and out, and with the adjacent rectory, convent, and school, it completes a most harmonious and attractive group of parish buildings.

The second new parish, St. Andrew's, at Forest Hills, was established in August, 1918, with territory taken from St. Thomas' and from the Roslindale parish. Its first pastor, Rev. (now Rt. Rev.) William J. Casey, erected a handsome church, of English Gothic style, which was dedicated by His Eminence on May 11, 1924.

In Roslindale the first pastor, Father John F. Cummins (1893-1933), after seventeen years' effort, completed the stately gold-and-brown Church of the Sacred Heart, which was blessed by Archbishop O'Connell on June 5, 1910. At his death this strenuous, masterful, and colorful priest left a thoroughly equipped and very thriving parish.

The rapid growth of West Roxbury was reflected in the building, almost simultaneously, of two magnificent new Catholic churches. In the older parish, St. Theresa's, Father

William F. Lyons (1926-) erected at the corner of Centre Street and Cottage Avenue an imposing stone edifice in English Gothic style, which His Eminence, in dedicating it on September 28, 1930, pronounced to be "one of the finest and most attractive churches in any part of the world."³ While its interior is not altogether completed, St. Theresa's is undoubtedly one of our most perfect examples of a Gothic parish church.

For the northern part of West Roxbury a new parish, that of the Holy Name, was created on June 27, 1927, with Father William P. McNamara as pastor. This zealous and energetic priest, with the hearty coöperation of his people, undertook to build for the future on a grand scale. In 1928 he was able to purchase an ideal site for a church, the Rooney estate at the intersection of Centre Street and the West Roxbury Parkway. In the following year he built the lower church, which was first used for services on Christmas Eve. Before he had accumulated funds enough to proceed further, he died suddenly on June 22, 1932. His successor, the present pastor, Father Edward F. Ryan, began by building a rectory in the rear of the church and buying the Brown estate, just across the Parkway, for the future convent and school. By 1937 he was ready to commence the erection of the upper church, following, with some alterations, the plans originally drafted for his predecessor by the architect, Mr. E. T. P. Graham. On March 12, 1939, the completed structure was dedicated. Italian Romanesque in style but with many traces of Byzantine influence, built of light red brick trimmed with stone, and presenting an unusually spacious, majestic, and beautifully adorned interior, the Church of the Holy Name must be ranked among the most impressive and interesting churches of the Diocese, and as one wellnigh unique in its style of architecture and decoration.

In more sparsely settled districts in the southwesternmost part of Boston two other new parishes were founded during this period. St. Anne's, Readville, was created in December,

³ *Pilot*, Oct. 4, 1930.

1919, under Father David F. Regan, who is still its pastor. The basement church which he erected, was blessed on October 23, 1921, by His Eminence. The upper church has not yet been added. For the Rugby (northeastern) section of Hyde Park, St. Joseph's parish was formed in April, 1938, with Rev. James H. O'Connell as pastor. Masses had at first to be said in an abandoned mill, for lack of a more suitable place in that vicinity; but the pastor has now built a small church, which was blessed on October 30, 1938, and a rectory.

Turning to the northwestern corner of the city — the Oak Square district of Brighton and the adjacent section of Newton were, in November, 1909, formed into a parish dedicated to Our Lady of the Presentation. On an excellent site on Washington Street church-building was begun in 1913 under the first pastor, Rev. Daniel W. Lenehan. His successor, Father James J. Murphy (1914-), completed the edifice, which was dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on November 20, 1921. It is a picturesque Gothic stone church, with a massive belfry towering twice the height of the façade.

In November, 1934, the Passionist Fathers were placed in charge of a new Brighton parish, called St. Gabriel's, consisting of the district surrounding their monastery. The handsome church which they had erected for the use of their retreatants now serves also as a parish church.

IV

The terrible conflagration of April 12, 1908, which laid waste more than half the city of Chelsea, left St. Rose's Church, school, and convent in ruins. Father Thomas F. Cusack, the pastor, heart-broken over the disaster to his parish and his people, died ten months later, before much had been done towards reconstruction. His successor, Father William F. Powers (1909-1922), attacked the problem with skill and energy, and with a courage that proved infectious among his parishioners. By the end of his short but strenuous pastorate, the church had been rebuilt, a fine parish school erected, the Sis-

ters provided with a spacious convent, and St. Rose's parish was itself again.

For the northern (Prattville) section of Chelsea and the eastern part of Everett, His Eminence in September, 1913, established the parish of Our Lady of Grace. Two successive pastors, Fathers Peter C. Quinn and Thomas A. Walsh (1916-1942), labored upon the construction of the church, which was dedicated by the Cardinal on May 20, 1917. It is an attractive stone-and-brick edifice, of somewhat unconventional Gothic style; and it already has a large parish school adjoining it.

Revere received its third English-speaking parish in October, 1937, when Father Michael J. Houlihan was appointed pastor of a district in the northern part of the city. A church was already on hand, the neat, brown stucco Chapel of St. Theresa on Revere Street, which had been conducted for some years as a mission of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The new parish retains the name of St. Theresa (of Lisieux).

At St. John the Evangelist's, Winthrop, a parish created at the very end of Archbishop Williams' reign, the first pastor, Father John H. Griffin (1907-1925), set out to replace the small wooden church of mission days with an edifice adequate to the new situation. The work was started in 1911, but the dedication took place only on May 6, 1923. The new St. John's is an imposing red-brick structure, Romanesque in style, and betraying signs of Spanish influence both in its fine campanile and in the unusual decoration of its interior. It is regarded as one of the handsomest of our newer churches.

The old mission of Point Shirley, whose history goes back to Civil War days, was revived from St. John's about 1930. A pretty little chapel has been provided for it, called St. Mary's by the Sea.

CHAPTER XI

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF MIDDLESEX AND ESSEX COUNTIES (1907-1943)

I

OVER A MILLION PEOPLE now reside in that belt of cities and towns which surround Boston and form with it a continuously built-up metropolitan area. In these communities Catholic growth under Cardinal O'Connell has been no less impressive than in Boston itself.

In Cambridge four fine churches for English-speaking congregations were completed during this period. For the Blessed Sacrament parish in Cambridgeport, Father John A. Crowe began in 1907 the erection of a stately, Renaissance, brick-and-limestone church, which was finished nine years later and whose upper structure was first used on April 23, 1916 — Easter Day. In East Cambridge the western half of the Sacred Heart parish was, in May, 1908, detached to form the new parish of St. Patrick's. Its first pastor, Father Lawrence W. Slattery, in rather record-breaking time provided his people with a large concrete edifice, of Spanish Mission style, which was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on October 24, 1909.

At St. Paul's, Father John J. Ryan (pastor from 1907 to 1925) resolved to build a new church, as his predecessor had intended, but to locate it, not at the remote and expensive site which Father Orr had bought, but on the McKay estate, adjacent to the parish school and at the gates of Harvard University. After years of saving, planning, toiling, this good and zealous priest was able to begin the enterprise which was the dream of his life, in 1915, and to finish it — the church was dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on October 13, 1924 — just before the stroke of apoplexy from which he died within a few months. He has left a glorious monument. Built of red brick trimmed

with sandstone, and of Roman style, this lofty and spacious church, with its graceful tower rising 175 feet high and its unusual interior decoration, is one of the most majestic religious edifices to be found in this vicinity.

No less outstanding, however, was the new St. John's Church, North Cambridge, which Father James P. F. Kelly brought to completion in seven years and which was dedicated by His Eminence on November 3, 1912. Designed by Messrs. Maginnis and Walsh, it is of Italian Romanesque architecture. The exterior, of gray tapestry brick, trimmed with terra cotta, is crowned by a marvelous campanile, and the interior is very richly adorned, especially with unique Byzantine decorations. This noble church and the harmonious group of buildings around it — the rectory, the convent, and the primary, grammar, and high schools, which have been erected by Father Kelly and the present pastor, Father Hugh F. Blunt (since 1929) — represent an immense achievement and reflect the strength and prosperity of an admirably organized parish.

While the population of Cambridge between 1905 and 1940 increased only from 97,434 to 110,879, that of Somerville rose from 69,272 to 102,177. Naturally, the more northerly city has witnessed a great expansion of Catholic activities.

In order to provide a much-needed church for the people of East Somerville, Archbishop O'Connell early in 1911 purchased the Clarke estate between Arlington, Franklin, and Hathorne Streets. In May following, Rev. Garrett J. Barry was appointed pastor of a new parish which, since it contained the site of the onetime Ursuline Convent whose tragic end had caused such anguish to the second Bishop of Boston, was appropriately called St. Benedict's. Father Barry quickly erected a concrete church of Mission style, which was blessed by the Cardinal on October 20, 1912.

St. Ann's Church, Winter Hill, had become so crowded that in 1921 its pastor, Father Francis J. Butler, put up a small chapel, dedicated to St. Polycarp, at Temple and Jaques Streets, for the northeasterly section of his parish. Some years later he acquired a better site some blocks away, at the intersection of

Temple Street and Butler Drive, where in 1927 he began the construction of a stone church. After his death on November 27th, the new parish long contemplated for this district was created in December, 1927, under Father John E. O'Connell. The latter and his successor, the late Rev. J. Walter Lambert (1932-1938), completed the tasteful St. Polycarp's Church, of Romanesque design, the superstructure of which was first used for worship on Christmas Day, 1933.

At St. Catherine's, Spring Hill, Father James J. O'Brien was at last able to carry through the construction of the new church for which he had long and carefully planned. The cornerstone was blessed by Archbishop O'Connell on June 6, 1908; the lower church was dedicated by Vicar-General Patterson on June 20, 1909; the upper church was first used on Easter, 1920, and was blessed by Bishop Anderson on November 21, 1920. The church is a magnificent creation, a monument to the care, taste, and pains which have gone to its completion, and are now realized in a beautiful and harmonious whole. In architecture it is an adaptation of the Italian Romanesque, with a decided leaning towards the Byzantine, which is strongly felt in the interior. The exterior is of yellowish-gray brick, with trimmings of white, glazed terra cotta and a roof of red slate. The interior is a marvel of harmony and beauty, with its blended marbles of many kinds, its mural paintings and stained-glass windows, its oak-carved choir stalls and pulpit, its gold-inlaid altar and superb Lady Chapel. Perfect in its every detail, St. Catherine's is considered by many critics the finest church of the Archdiocese.

For the rapidly growing districts of West Somerville and South Medford, Rev. Thomas F. McCarthy was, in April, 1912, appointed pastor of a new parish called St. Clement's. He quickly erected a small stucco church, in the Mission style, which was blessed by His Eminence on November 24, 1912. As the parish grew to become one of the most populous in the vicinity, the need of a much larger church was apparent, and for that purpose Father McCarthy accumulated an ample building fund. The work of building, however, fell to his successor,

Monsignor Robert P. Barry, who came to the parish in 1940 after many years of effective service in the Diocesan Charitable Bureau. He erected around the old church, and ultimately replaced it with, a new stone edifice twice the size of the original structure. This was dedicated on November 22, 1942. The new St. Clement's has in many ways deviated from conventional models and exemplified ideas characteristic of what is called "contemporary Christian art." With its free use of new materials, new decorative patterns, and new methods of lighting, and the ingenious planning of its every detail, it is one of our most interesting and unusual churches, and one of the most beautiful.¹

For the westernmost part of Somerville and the adjacent sections of Cambridge and Arlington, the Immaculate Conception parish was established in November, 1926. Its pastor, Father Michael J. Manning, has erected on Alewife Brook Parkway a handsome granite church, in the early English Gothic style. The cornerstone of this structure was blessed by Cardinal O'Connell on September 9, 1928, and the upper church was first used for services on March 22, 1936.

The rush from the city to the suburbs is well illustrated by the town of Arlington, which grew during this period from a community of ten thousand to one of forty thousand. Two new parishes have been created here. The first, St. James', for the western or Arlington Heights section, was established in 1914. Its first pastor, Rev. David R. Heffernan, acquired an elevated site on Appleton Street, looking down on Massachusetts Avenue, and there put up a temporary wooden church. His successor, Father Maurice J. O'Connor, in 1924 undertook the erection of a stately Gothic edifice of granite. The lower church was quickly built, and the exterior of the upper church was completed in the early 1930's. When the interior has been finished, St. James' will undoubtedly rank among our finest examples of ecclesiastical architecture.

¹ While all the parish buildings are on the Medford side of the inter-city line, St. Clement's is officially described as being of Somerville — probably because its postal connections are through the latter city.

The second new parish, St. Jerome's, founded in September, 1934, includes the southeastern part of Arlington and a section of Belmont. Its pastor, Father Joseph M. Fitzgibbons, after acquiring a fine property on Lake Street, erected a tasteful brick church, of Romanesque design, which was dedicated on May 26, 1935, and which may well serve until at some future date a grander edifice arises to look out upon the Concord Boulevard and the waters of Spy Pond.

The old town of Lexington tripled its population during this period, rising to a total of 13,187 in 1940. Priests from its historic parish of St. Bridget's began to say Mass in East Lexington — in an engine house — in 1918. In 1929 the pastor, Father William J. McCarthy, built for this mission the handsome Gothic brick Church of the Sacred Heart, on Follen Street, just off Massachusetts Avenue. In November, 1931, East Lexington was made a separate parish under Rev. William A. Connor, while at the same time an older mission of St. Bridget's, St. Michael's in Bedford, received Father William H. Ullrich as its first resident pastor.

The charms of Belmont as a residential suburb are attested by the growth of its population from 4,360 in 1905 to 26,867 in 1940. In St. Joseph's, its original parish, the second pastor, Father James J. Baxter (1910-1919), replaced the small wooden church of Father Shahan's time by a large, dignified, but somewhat unconventional edifice of brick, stone, and stucco, in a modernized Gothic style. The cornerstone was blessed by the Cardinal on October 6, 1912, and on April 13, 1913, the completed structure was dedicated by Bishop Anderson.

In 1915 Dr. Baxter also built St. Luke's Chapel for the Waverley district of his parish (the southwestern part of Belmont and adjacent parts of Watertown and Waltham). When this district was made a separate parish in April, 1919, the need of a much larger church was felt. Plans were drawn and a building fund formed under the first pastor, Rev. Peter J. Foley. The second, Father Richard H. Splaine (1926-1929), at once began the erection on Lexington Street of the present tasteful gray-brick Gothic church. The cornerstone was blessed by His

Eminence on August 1, 1926; the basement was put in use for services on the Christmas following; but Father Splaine had only time to finish the exterior of the upper church before his untimely and much lamented death. His successor, Father Denis F. Sullivan, completed the beautiful interior of St. Luke's Church by 1934, and later added an unusually fine school building.

A third Belmont parish, that of Our Lady of Mercy, was created in November, 1926, for the southeastern or Payson Park section of the town. Its pastor, Father Charles J. Maguire, in 1927 erected on Belmont Street a neat frame church, which was first used on Christmas Day.

Watertown advanced from a population of 11,258 in 1905 to one of 35,427 by 1940. One of its two older churches, that of the Sacred Heart, Mount Auburn, was destroyed by fire on February 10, 1912, but was quickly rebuilt—in brick and stone, in the English Gothic style—and was reopened for worship at Christmas, 1913. For the east central section of the town the new parish of St. Theresa of the Child Jesus was formed in July, 1927. Its first pastor, Father Francis E. Rogers, began with the construction of a basement church at Mount Auburn and School Streets, the cornerstone being blessed by Cardinal O'Connell on October 6, 1929. Ten years later Father Rogers started the erection of the superstructure, but he was able to complete only the exterior before his death on August 7, 1941. Wartime difficulties have precluded his successor, Father Ambrose Hennessey, from finishing this already beautiful stone church of purest Gothic design.

Larger, but advancing less rapidly than Watertown, Waltham saw its population increase from 26,282 in 1905 to 40,020 in 1940. In St. Mary's parish, which in 1907 still included all the English-speaking Catholics of the city, there have been continual improvements. Father James J. Baxter, pastor from 1919 to 1935, erected a magnificent high school, a brick convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame, a home for the Christian Brothers. His successor, Father John E. O'Connell, has thoroughly renovated and greatly improved the venerable old church. Mean-

while two new parishes have been detached from St. Mary's.

In November, 1909, that part of the city south of Charles River was erected into the parish of St. Charles Borromeo, under Father Peter J. Walsh. Somewhat to the dismay of his people, the new pastor began by building not a church but a school, convinced that nothing else would do so much to consolidate a new parish. This completed, with a chapel where services could be held instead of in Endicott Hall, Father Walsh began the building of a church, the cornerstone of which was laid by His Eminence on October 16, 1915. St. Charles' was first used for services on December 24, 1916. On the night of May 29, 1927, the interior of the still not altogether finished edifice was completely gutted by fire. Undisturbed, Father Walsh rebuilt it, so that by October 23, 1927, it was again in use. The church, as it has finally arisen, is undoubtedly one of the finest erected under Cardinal O'Connell. It is a spacious brick structure, of Renaissance style, superbly decorated without and within, an index of the strength of what is now a very populous and well-equipped parish.²

The growth of population in the hitherto sparsely settled section of North Waltham and the knowledge that the State of Massachusetts and Middlesex County were about to open a hospital for the insane and a tuberculosis sanitarium respectively in that region led Father Baxter in 1928 to begin the building on Trapelo Road of the handsome, brick Church of Our Lady Comforter of the Afflicted. This was dedicated by Bishop Peterson on June 7, 1931. Meanwhile, in April, 1930, a new parish had been created here under Father Alfred J. MacDonald.

In Weston, where St. Mary's, Waltham, had maintained a mission since 1914, a parish was established in August, 1919, under Father William J. Foley. Although there were at the outset but three hundred Catholics in the town, within three years the attractive stone church of St. Julia was erected and dedicated by His Eminence on May 8, 1922.

²The story of this parish has been admirably told by Father Walsh in the booklet *Church of St. Charles Borromeo, Waltham, 1909-1934* (n.p., n.d.).

The city of Newton wellnigh doubled its population during this period, having by 1940 about seventy thousand inhabitants. In its oldest parish, St. Mary's, Newton Upper Falls, Father Timothy J. Danahy replaced the old wooden church on Chestnut Street with the present splendid Romanesque edifice on Elliot Street, which was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on November 24, 1910. The new Church of Mary Immaculate of Lourdes, as it was called, with its impressive exterior, its graceful campanile, and its unusually fine interior decorations, represented an immense achievement for a congregation of only fifteen hundred people.

The Sacred Heart parish, of Newton Centre, has in recent years been honored by having as its pastors two successive Auxiliary Bishops of Boston: the Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman from 1933 to 1939, and since then the Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing.

Three new English-language parishes have been added to Newton's four older ones. The first, Corpus Christi in Auburndale, was founded in June, 1922, under Father Thomas P. McManmon, who by the following year had constructed a basement church. His successor, Father John B. Condon, in 1941 completed the exterior of the superstructure of what is to be a very handsome stone church of modernized Gothic design.

In the Waban district Father Dennis H. Donovan, of Newton Upper Falls, in 1927 started a mission for which he soon built a neat church of English village Gothic style. This was dedicated by Bishop Peterson on May 6, 1928, under the invocation of St. Philip Neri. In September, 1934, the mission was turned into a parish, with Father Eugene A. Twomey as its first resident pastor.

The Chestnut Hill section of Newton and adjoining parts of Brighton and Brookline were, in November, 1926, formed into St. Ignatius' parish, under the care of Jesuit Fathers residing at Boston College. Down to the present services have been held in the large auditorium on the ground floor of the College Library, but plans have been drawn for a fine Gothic church to be erected after the war near the intersection of Commonwealth Avenue and Lake Street.

II

Among all the communities immediately to the north of Boston, none grew so fast at this time as Medford, whose population mounted from 19,686 in 1905 to 63,083 in 1940. Probably the most imposing building in the city is the new St. Joseph's Church, which Father Thomas L. Flanagan brought to completion and which was dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on June 2, 1912. Three new parishes are also to be reported here.

For the Wellington district in the southeastern end of the city, Rev. John J. O'Donnell was appointed pastor, in December, 1919, of what was to be called St. James' parish. Having acquired an excellent site upon the Fellsway, Father O'Donnell bought the old Knights of Columbus hospital hut at Parker Hill, Roxbury, transported it to Wellington, and remodeled it as a temporary church. His successor, Father Denis F. Murphy, built the present handsome Gothic brick church in 1926-1927, and opened it for worship on Christmas morning of the latter year.

In the Fulton Heights section of northeastern Medford, recently transformed from a sylvan solitude into a picturesque suburban community, the parish of St. Francis of Assisi was established in June, 1921. The first pastor, Father Joseph P. Mahar, purchased a commanding site on Fellsway West, and put up a temporary church. Father Thomas J. Golding (1922-) erected the permanent church, an unusually attractive stone edifice in the French Gothic style, which was dedicated by His Eminence on October 19, 1930.³

The Medford Hillside district in the south part of the city was made a parish in October, 1937. Father Francis L. Thomas, the pastor, has constructed on Winthrop Street a tasteful Gothic brick church, which was blessed on November 26, 1939.

³ Short accounts of the early history of St. James' and of St. Francis of Assisi's parish are to be found in the *Medford Historical Register*, XXX (1927), 86-87, and XXXI (1928), 40-42.

Passing over Malden and Melrose, where no new departures of great moment took place, we come to Everett, another fast-growing community, whose population swelled from 29,111 in 1905 to 46,784 in 1940. The stately brick Gothic Church of the Immaculate Conception, which Father Joseph F. Mohan had been twelve years in building, was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on December 13, 1908. The northern part of the city was set off in December, 1927, to form the parish of St. Therese. Its first pastor, Father Frederic J. Allchin, erected on Broadway a very pleasing brick and limestone church, which was opened for services on Palm Sunday (March 24th), 1929.

Turning to the tier of suburban communities farther to the north — the new parish of the Immaculate Conception was founded in September, 1931, for the northern part of Winchester and the southern part of Woburn. Its pastor, Father James F. Fitzsimmons, quickly erected on Sheridan Circle a white, frame church, which was first used for Mass on January 21, 1932.

St. Thomas of Villanova, Wilmington, which had for many years been attended by the Augustinian Fathers from Andover, was made the centre of a parish in July, 1919, with Father Richard Boland as its first resident pastor. Transferred to the new parish was the mission of St. Anthony's, North Woburn, which St. Charles' parish, Woburn, had been conducting since 1908. For the (in large part Italian) people of this mission Father Boland in 1927-1928 built a fairly large brick-and-limestone church of Italian Romanesque style.

At St. Agnes', Reading, the handsome brick church which Father Denis F. Lee began in 1909, was completed by his successor, Rev. Francis J. Walsh, and was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on October 1, 1910. The fourth pastor of this parish, Father Dennis W. Brown, in 1927-1930 constructed the mission chapel of St. Theresa's, North Reading.

St. Joseph's, Wakefield, has continued as in older times to be a mother of new churches. One of its pastors, Father John D. Colbert, began a mission in Greenwood, the southern pre-

cinct of Wakefield, saying the first Mass in a hose-house hall on May 16, 1909. His successor, Father Florence J. Halloran (1912-), continued to hold services in this place until in 1926 he built the small wooden Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament on Main Street. This was blessed and opened for services on New Year's Day, 1927. In September, 1931, Greenwood, with adjacent sections of Saugus and Melrose, was raised to the rank of a parish, under Rev. Patrick J. McCarthy. The second pastor, Father Conrad J. Quirbach, greatly enlarged the church in 1942.

A second mission of St. Joseph's was started by Father Halloran in the neighboring town of Lynnfield on August 15, 1920 — likewise in an engine-house. Although the number of Catholics was very small, counting only fifty adults, they were big in faith, energy, and zeal. Within a short time they collected funds sufficient to permit Father Halloran to erect on the Newburyport turnpike a chapel of Spanish Mission type, which was dedicated on August 20, 1922, under the name of Our Lady of the Assumption. Lynnfield remained a mission of Wakefield until October, 1937, when Father James J. Mooney was appointed resident pastor.

The town of Saugus more than doubled its population during this period, having by 1940 nearly fifteen thousand inhabitants. Its first Catholic church (that of the Blessed Sacrament on Adams Avenue) burnt down on January 25, 1909. Father Holland, of the Maplewood parish, to which Saugus was then attached, replaced it with a plain brick church in a new location on Central Avenue. This was dedicated on January 25, 1910. In November, 1917, the town was at last set off as a parish. Its first pastor, Father Michael J. Coffey, took up his residence in the Cliftdale section, where he built St. Margaret's Church on Lincoln Avenue for the people of that district. This attractive little edifice in the California Mission style was dedicated on October 19, 1924. Although successive pastors have continued to reside in Cliftdale, St. Margaret's has remained in theory a "mission": the parish still takes its name from the older Church of the Blessed Sacrament, which is much nearer to the centre of the town.

III

The city of Lynn saw its population increase from 77,042 in 1905 to 98,123 in 1940. Its senior parish, St. Mary's, was visited with a dire disaster on the morning of December 29, 1941, when fire destroyed its beautiful and venerable church. For nearly a year Monsignor Joseph F. McGlinchey and his assistants were obliged to hold services in the State Armory. Meanwhile, St. Joseph's Chapel, a building on the parish grounds which had originally been used as a school and then as a succursal to the main church, was enlarged so that since December 6, 1942, it has served the parish as a temporary place of worship, pending the day when, with peace restored to this land, St. Mary's can be rebuilt in worthy fashion.

In West Lynn, Father James F. Gilfether completed the splendid Church of the Sacred Heart, which Cardinal O'Connell dedicated on September 29, 1912.

In May of that same year a new parish, called St. Pius', was formed in the northeastern (Wyoma and Glenmore) section of the city, with territory taken from St. Joseph's parish. Father John P. Gorham, the first pastor, soon built on Maple Street a large brick basement church, but the upper structure has not yet been erected.

In the Star of the Sea parish, Marblehead, Father Daniel C. Riordan began and his successor, Rev. (now Rt. Rev.) Walter H. Gill, completed a new church, which was dedicated by His Eminence on July 28, 1929. It is a magnificent granite structure, of English Gothic style, which, although not as large as some others, must rank among the most exquisite churches of the Archdiocese.

At Salem, whose population from 1905 to 1940 grew only from 37,627 to 41,213, the one change that need be noted here was the creation in December, 1927, of the new parish of St. Thomas the Apostle. It included the northwestern section of Salem and a part of eastern Peabody. Its first pastor, Father Edward J. Fraher, built an extremely beautiful Gothic church, which was dedicated by Bishop Peterson on June 14, 1931.

The parish of St. Anne's, South Peabody, grew out of a mission started by Father W. George Mullin, of St. John's, Peabody, who built in 1928 the small, wooden, shingled church on Lynn Street. The first resident pastor here, Father Thomas L. Griffin, was appointed in October, 1937.

In Danvers the desire of the Commonwealth to acquire the site of the old wooden Church of the Annunciation in order to build a highway gave the pastor, Father James D. Canarie, the opportunity to fulfill a long-cherished wish and to meet a grave need by building a new church. Completed within seven months, the new edifice on Central Avenue was dedicated on November 7, 1937. It is a white granite structure, of Romanesque style, whose interior is even more beautiful than the exterior. This very extensive parish has missions in the towns of Topsfield and Middleton. Father Francis W. Maley (1913-1915) appears to have begun holding regular services in Topsfield, using for that purpose a garage or dance hall. His successor, Father Daniel F. Horgan, built the pretty little wooden Church of St. Rose in 1923. At Middleton, Mass has been said in the Town Hall since 1936.

At Beverly the new Star of the Sea Church, an imposing brick edifice of Romanesque style, was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on October 12, 1908.

St. Ann's parish, Gloucester, so splendidly organized and equipped by its second pastor, Father Jeremiah J. Healy (1871-1910), has since been distinguished by the number of churches and parishes that have sprung from it. At Magnolia, where Father Healy was long accustomed to say Mass in the Town Library for the summer residents, his successor, Father William J. Dwyer (1910-1922), in 1911 erected the pretty, fieldstone Church of St. Joseph, which is now attended as a mission throughout the year. In East Gloucester the fourth pastor, Father Myles D. Kiley (1922-1937), built the neat brick Romanesque Church of St. Peter, which was dedicated on August 10, 1924. In the following year he erected for the summer residents at Eastern Point the beautiful fieldstone Church of St. Anthony's-by-the-Sea, in the English village Gothic style.

The entire expense of this enterprise was defrayed by Mrs. James C. Farrell. In July, 1928, St. Peter's was made a separate parish under Father John F. Madden, with St. Anthony's attached to it as a mission.

Still another mission of St. Ann's, Gloucester, was that in the town of Essex. In order to provide for the needs of the small Catholic colony here, Father Dwyer in 1916 purchased a wooden building recently erected for a bowling alley and transformed it into the Church of St. John the Baptist. Essex became a parish in September, 1931, with the appointment as pastor of Father William H. Flynn.⁴

The next centre of expansion was St. Joseph's, Ipswich. For its mission of Hamilton, Father John M. Donovan built the attractive brick Church of St. Paul, which was first used for services on February 2, 1908. Hamilton was made a parish in June, 1922, its first resident pastor being Father John J. O'Hearn.

Another mission was started from Ipswich in 1920 to serve the few Catholics in the ancient town of Rowley. Here Father Patrick J. Durcan erected the small St. Mary's Church, which was dedicated on August 26, 1923.⁵

IV

At Newburyport, Father William H. Ryan, of the Immaculate Conception parish, in 1922 built the stucco (now shingle-covered) Church of St. James for the summer residents of Plum Island.

At Haverhill, whose population increased from 37,830 in 1905 to 46,752 in 1940, the historic parish of St. James was now joined by two new English-speaking parishes.

The first was founded in June, 1908, for Bradford, the once

⁴The development of the Gloucester churches and missions has been traced in the little pamphlet, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in Gloucester, Massachusetts, Commemorating the Golden Jubilee of St. Ann's School, 1885-1935* (n.p., n.d.).

⁵The history of St. Joseph's Church, Ipswich, has been briefly narrated in pamphlets printed for its Golden Jubilee in 1923 and for the parish reunion of March 17, 1939.

independent town on the south bank of the Merrimac which had been annexed to Haverhill in 1897. Rev. John J. Graham, the first pastor here, at once constructed, in a fine location on Main Street, a basement church, which was opened and dedicated to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary on November 15, 1908. The cornerstone of this church was blessed by Bishop Anderson on October 3, 1910. After Father Graham's transfer to the pastorate of St. James' across the river, his successor, Father John F. Kelleher, completed the superstructure, which was first used for worship on June 14, 1914. This is an imposing Gothic brick church, with a lofty and graceful tower, and an interior of great harmony and beauty.

The second new parish, St. Rita's, in the western or Mount Washington section of Haverhill, traces its origin to two foreign-language parishes. The Lithuanians of the city, who had since 1909 been attended by priests of their own nationality from Lowell, were able in 1913 to buy a Universalist brick church on Washington Street, which they remodeled for Catholic worship as St. George's. For the next five years they enjoyed the services of a resident administrator, Father Stanislaus Kuczas. Finding it difficult, however, to support himself with so small a congregation, Father Kuczas in 1918 was at his own request transferred to another post, and St. George's became a mission served from St. James'.

Meanwhile the Italians of the city were also eager to have a church. To meet this need, Father Graham erected on Jackson Street the present wooden Church of St. Rita, which was dedicated on October 10, 1915. This, too, was at first a mission of St. James', with an Italian-speaking priest in charge. Presently, however, it appeared that the Italians were scarcely numerous enough to require the exclusive use of the church, and there were very many English-speaking people in the vicinity who needed a place of worship nearer than St. James'. Hence in October, 1932, Rev. Irving L. Gifford was appointed pastor of a new St. Rita's parish, which embraced all the Mount Washington section of the city and which was to serve English-speaking, Italian, and Lithuanian Catholics alike. At St. Rita's

Church the English language has since been commonly used, but special Masses and devotions have been provided for the Italians. St. George's has remained a church for Lithuanians, but it has been administered as a mission of St. Rita's.

Lawrence, with its mammoth factories, its forty-seven nationalities, and its occasional outbreaks of severe labor trouble, saw its population rise from 70,000 to 100,000 in 1930, and then sink to 84,000 by 1940. The death of the venerable Father James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A., on November 12, 1925, threw the whole city into mourning. As one Boston newspaper declared: "He was almost a national figure. He was a power in the community and beloved by everybody. Probably his most notable achievement was the settlement of the great strike in 1912, but in many other instances he performed notable service." ⁶

Three changes are to be noted in the numerous parishes and missions conducted by the Augustinian Fathers in Lawrence and vicinity.

The handsome new Church of St. Lawrence O'Toole in the eastern part of the city was dedicated by Archbishop O'Connell on June 21, 1908. In the western part the mission of St. Augustine's, Tower Hill, was transferred in 1922 from the old chapel on Water Street to a combined church-school erected in a more central location in Lowell Street. A few years later the Augustinians constructed here a white, frame church, which was first opened for services on March 6, 1927. In 1935, St. Augustine's was made a parish, with Father John J. McCabe, O.S.A., as pastor. Finally, St. Monica's mission, Methuen, which had hitherto been attended by the Augustinians, was, with the full consent of the Order, turned over to secular priests in July, 1917. It was at that time made a parish, under Father James J. Farrelly as administrator and in 1919 pastor.

St. Michael's, North Andover, was so thoroughly reconstructed and improved in 1927 and the following years as to become virtually a new church.

In Tewksbury, where Catholic residents had since 1910

⁶ *Boston Post*, Nov. 13, 1925.

been allowed to worship in the chapel of the Oblate Novitiate, the number of the faithful slowly increased until in 1935 it became necessary to establish for them St. William's parish. The Oblate Fathers, who were placed in charge, erected a small church, which was dedicated on August 20, 1939. Attached to it is the mission of St. Mary's, South Tewksbury. Services have been conducted here by the Oblates since 1916, in a hall which formerly belonged to the Silver Lake Library Association, but is now the property of the Archdiocese.

Lowell, which has suffered from adverse business conditions through most of this period, had 94,899 inhabitants in 1905, and 101,389 in 1940. The two new English-language parishes that have arisen here, were created simultaneously in December, 1910. These were St. Margaret's, in the southwestern or Highlands section of the city, and St. Columba's (now St. Rita's), in the northwestern or Pawtucketville section beyond the river.

At St. Margaret's the first pastor, Father John J. Harkins, while at first holding services in a tent — even in midwinter — and then in a temporary wooden church, began the construction of a permanent edifice on Stevens Street. After his premature death in January, 1912, the present pastor, Father Charles J. Galligan, took charge and quickly completed the stucco, red-tiled church, of Spanish Mission style, which was blessed by Cardinal O'Connell on October 26, 1912.

At St. Columba's, Father John A. Degan (1910-1916) provided a temporary church and bought the estate on Mammoth Road where a lasting structure was to arise. For various reasons, however, the building of that structure was delayed until the time of the third pastor, Father John J. Powers (1924-1930). Cardinal O'Connell blessed the cornerstone of what it was now decided to call St. Rita's Church on October 26, 1924, and dedicated the completed edifice on November 29, 1925. It is an English Gothic church, of tapestried red brick, with a square battlemented tower and accentuated limestone trimmings.

This period saw a notable Catholic growth in the communities that surround Lowell.

In the town of Dracut, St. Mary's, Collinsville, previously a mission of St. Michael's, Lowell, was made a parish in October, 1909. Its first administrator, Father Thomas A. Walsh, doubled the size of the church. Its first pastor, Father Michael C. Gilbride (1919-1924), deserves to be remembered as a devoted priest who, going to give the Last Sacraments to an aged sick man, was murdered by that man's atheist son. It was Father Gilbride who in 1918 began the summer mission in the Lakeview Park district for which the stucco Church of St. Mary of the Lake was opened in 1931.

In Chelmsford Centre, where the priests of St. John's, North Chelmsford, had since 1893 maintained a mission, Father John J. Crane in 1925 built the neat, yellow, stucco Church of St. Mary. In November, 1931, His Eminence appointed Father Daniel F. Gorman pastor of a separate parish here.

St. Catherine's, Graniteville, another mission of North Chelmsford, was also made a parish in June, 1922, its first pastor being Father Aloysius S. Malone.

In the town of Billerica, whose population has grown from 2,843 in 1905 to 7,933, there has been important, though somewhat complicated, Catholic development. The mission of St. Andrew's, North Billerica, which had long been attended by Oblates from Lowell or Tewksbury, was in 1907 set off as a parish, while remaining under priests of that order. In October, 1913, however, it was transferred to the secular clergy in accordance with what had been the agreement with Archbishop Williams from the beginning. The new pastor, Father David J. Murphy, built a handsome new brick church, which was dedicated by the Cardinal on October 16, 1921. From this parish three missions developed. The first was at Pinehurst Park, in the southern part of the town, where Father Murphy began to say Mass on July 12, 1914, and his successor, Rev. Daniel J. Heffernan, built a basement church in 1928. Father Frederick F. Muldoon completed the upper structure, in which Mass was first said on April 12, 1936. The second mission was at Nutting's Lake, where summer services were started in 1916 in Association Hall, which has now become the property of the

Archdiocese and is known as St. Mary's of the Lake. The third mission was at Billerica Centre, where a Baptist church, remodeled as the Church of St. Theresa, was first used for Catholic services on October 29, 1939.

While St. Theresa's and the Nutting's Lake chapel (as a summer mission) have remained attached to North Billerica, St. Mary's, Pinehurst, was, in October, 1937, elevated to the rank of a separate parish, under Father Charles A. Johnson. In it was included the town of Burlington, which had hitherto been attached to St. Charles', Woburn. Father Johnson celebrated the first Mass ever said in Burlington on October 31, 1937, in a dilapidated building known as "The Barn" — at one time an inn and night club. In the following year he began the erection of a church of simple Colonial style, with the enthusiastic support of the Burlington Catholics, the men doing a great part of the work of construction while the women were tireless in raising funds. Though not entirely finished, this church has been in use since May 12, 1940.

V

In the tier of communities along the western border of the Diocese gratifying progress is also to be recorded.

From the parish of the Sacred Heart, Groton, established only in Archbishop Williams' last year, a mission was started in 1909 at West Groton, where Mass was said in the old Town Hall. During the pastorate of Father Edward C. Mitchell (1922-1929), the West Groton people became eager to have a church. One parishioner, Mrs. James Fallon, gave a lot on Main Street: another donated a large stone wall that would furnish building material. Construction was started in 1925, with the active participation of the pastor and various men of the parish, who turned out daily to haul the stone or labor on the walls. On June 2, 1929, the attractive little Church of St. James was dedicated.

At Littleton, a mission of Ayer, St. Anne's Church was built by Father Thomas P. McGinn, administrator of the parish, and was blessed on April 30, 1916.

St. Bridget's, Maynard, provided similarly for its mission at West Acton, where the Church of St. Elizabeth, erected by Father Walter J. Browne, was dedicated on September 21, 1913. Since 1931 St. Bridget's has also maintained a summer mission at Lake Boone.

Our Lady Help of Christians, West Concord, formerly a mission of St. Bernard's, Concord, was made a separate parish in December, 1907, under Father Michael J. Welch.

St. Bridget's, Framingham Centre, which had long been attended from South Framingham, again received a resident pastor in May, 1911, with the appointment of Rev. Augustine D. Malley. As the former Protestant meeting-house in which this congregation worshiped was about one hundred years old and showing signs of decay, Father Michael J. O'Connor (1924-) replaced it with the stately new church which now towers above the Worcester turnpike, and which was dedicated on June 10, 1934.

In 1925, Father Michael F. Delaney of Natick completed the building of a chapel in the town of Sherborn, and placed it under the invocation of St. Theresa, the Little Flower. In 1937 the care of this mission was transferred to the newly created parish of Millis.

CHAPTER XII

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE CHURCHES OF NORFOLK AND PLYMOUTH COUNTIES (1907-1943)

I

UNDER CARDINAL O'CONNELL the communities along the southern side of the Boston metropolitan area at last came to witness a Catholic progress as marked as that seen on the northern or western sides.

An outstanding example is the city of Quincy, which at this time enjoyed a spectacular growth — from 28,076 inhabitants in 1905 to 75,810 in 1940. Here four new parishes have been added to the older three, and seven new churches have been erected.

In the senior parish, St. Mary's, West Quincy, the majestic new granite church, in the perpendicular Gothic style, which Father Ambrose F. Roche had begun and which his second successor, Father Thomas R. McCoy, completed, was dedicated by the Cardinal on September 30, 1917.

St. John's, Quincy Centre, retained its now historic old church, but distinguished itself, as in the past, as a mother of new parishes. The growth of the Fore River Works had led to such a development of the Quincy Point section that, at His Eminence's request, Father John J. Coan bought a site on Washington Street, near the shipyards, and in 1914 started the construction of St. Joseph's Church. His successor, Father (now Monsignor) Michael J. Owens (1914-), finished this pleasing, stucco edifice, which was first used for services on May 20, 1915. In June, 1917, this mission became a parish under Father Michael J. Cuddihy.

An older mission of St. John's, that of St. Francis, Hough's Neck, was detached in June, 1915. Its first resident pastor, Father Mark E. Madden, at once planned a new church, for

which he purchased an excellent site in the eastern part of the peninsula, at the intersection of Sea and Darrow Streets. The present ivy-covered granite church, in the English village Gothic style, was then erected, and was dedicated under the name of the Most Blessed Sacrament by Cardinal O'Connell on July 14, 1918.

For the Merrymount section and the western end of the Hough's Neck peninsula, the parish of Our Lady of Good Counsel was created in April, 1938. Its territory was taken in part from the Blessed Sacrament parish and in part from St. John's. Its pastor, Father Aloysius R. Finn, has built a very neat brick church, of Romanesque design, which was dedicated on December 1, 1940.

The third older parish, the Sacred Heart, Atlantic (in the northernmost part of Quincy), has also provided itself with a new place of worship — a handsome Gothic structure of granite and stucco. This was built by the third pastor, Father John J. Casey, who began it in 1924 and first opened the completed edifice for the Christmas midnight Mass in 1931.

Through the efforts of local people, organized as the "Catholic Club" of Squantum, priests from the Sacred Heart Church began to conduct services for the summer residents of that peninsula from July 2, 1916, onward. Later the club put up a building which, transferred to the Archdiocese in 1925 and fitted up as the Star of the Sea chapel, has since been served throughout the year as a mission of Atlantic.

The growth of the Wollaston section, in the north-central part of Quincy, prompted the creation there in June, 1922, of St. Ann's parish, with territory taken partly from Atlantic and partly from St. John's. Its first pastor, Rev. John J. Fitzgerald, while holding services at first in a masonic temple, purchased a site on Hancock Street near Elm Avenue. Ground was broken on November 15, 1924, and on November 1, 1925, the lower church was opened for worship. The erection of the superstructure was reserved for the second pastor, Father James A. Donnelly (1936-), who began it in 1940 and dedicated it on December 20, 1942. Built of Hingham granite, in pure Gothic

style, with a most pleasing though simple exterior and a magnificent interior, St. Ann's must be pronounced one of our finest recent churches.

In North Weymouth, which has also shared in the growth occasioned by the industrial developments at Fore River, the first St. Jerome's Church was destroyed by fire on January 11, 1914. It was replaced by the present Gothic granite edifice, which was blessed on August 29, 1915. In March, 1928, this former mission of the Immaculate Conception, East Weymouth, was made a separate parish under Father Charles A. O'Brien.

The old town of Braintree has grown from a population of 6,879 in 1905 to 16,378 in 1940. For the parish of St. Francis, South Braintree, an old mission of St. John's, Quincy, its first pastor, Rev. Matthew F. Donnell, built a Gothic church, which was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on June 11, 1911. This edifice seems to have been hastily and poorly constructed. Hence only sixteen years later Father William H. Walsh found it necessary to rebuild it completely, doubling its size and converting it into the present handsome stucco church, of Spanish architecture.

For the central and northern part of Braintree, a new parish was established in April, 1938, which it was soon decided to call St. Thomas More's. Its pastor, Father Thomas A. Flynn, has built an attractive, brick, Gothic church, which was dedicated on November 3, 1940.

The station at East Braintree, long served from St. Francis Xavier's, South Weymouth, seems to have been abandoned about 1912, presumably because it was no longer needed in view of the development of the South Braintree parish.

For the old parish of St. Mary's, Randolph, Father Michael F. Madden, who was appointed pastor in April, 1929, planned a fine new church. After moving the old edifice back, he constructed a large basement church, which was blessed by His Eminence on October 29, 1929. Because of financial reasons and adverse economic conditions, the erection of the upper church has not yet been undertaken.

In North Randolph a mission from St. Mary's was started

in 1922, at the request of the local Improvement Association. In 1937 the pleasing little frame Church of St. Bernadette was erected and dedicated on June 27th. In September following, Father Dominic Rock was appointed pastor of a new parish here.

At Holbrook (once South Randolph), Father John A. Sheridan completed the long unfinished upper church, which was first used for the Christmas Masses of 1916. St. Michael's, Avon, formerly a mission of Holbrook, was made a parish in February, 1908. It received, however, only administrators until in 1919 Father Leo F. O'Neil was raised to the rank of pastor. The exterior of the old wooden church was quite transformed in 1937, when it was covered with asphalt shingles made to resemble brick.

The pleasant residential town of Milton increased in population from 7,054 in 1905 to 18,708 in 1940. Now at last, after the founding of a Catholic church here had been talked of to no avail for nearly a century, not one church but two were established. Father (now Monsignor) Francis X. Dolan, of St. Gregory's, Dorchester — the parish to which Milton was attached — began this development by building a basement church on Adams Street, East Milton, in 1917-1919. In June, 1922, a parish was created here under Father Eugene A. Carney. He completed St. Agatha's Church, an unusually handsome granite edifice of English Gothic style, and saw it dedicated by Monsignor Haberlin on April 12, 1936.

For the more westerly part of the town the parish of St. Mary of the Hills was founded in November, 1931. The first pastor, Rev. Richard S. Millard, planned a fine church, of Norman Gothic, and erected the lower part of this structure, which has been in use since 1934. The building of the upper church has not yet been undertaken.

In Brookline, whose population swelled from 23,436 in 1905 to 49,786 in 1940, two new parishes have been added to the two older ones. The first of these, St. Aidan's, dates from December, 1910, when Rev. Joseph F. Coppinger was made pastor of the northernmost section of the town. Having bought the

Chadbourne estate at the corner of Pleasant and Fremont Streets, Father Coppinger erected a very tasteful church, whose low walls, high-pitched roof, and combination of rustic stone, cement, and half-timber reflect the characteristics of the English Gothic village style. Cardinal O'Connell blessed the cornerstone on May 21, 1911, and dedicated the church on November 17, 1912.

The second parish, that of the Infant Jesus, was established in April, 1938, for the southwestern part of Brookline. Its pastor, Father Daniel F. Burke, quickly put up, on the West Roxbury Parkway, a neat little church of stone and wood, so built that it could easily be enlarged at any time; and here since September 18, 1938, the two hundred Catholic families of this district have worshiped.

The thriving parish of St. Mary's, Dedham, saw its extensive territory reduced through the detachment, in September, 1931, of the town of Westwood. The first pastor of this new parish, Father William E. Tierney, who conducted his services in the Town Hall, died within a year. His successors, Father Timothy C. Sullivan and (since April, 1936) Father Gerald L. Dolan, built the attractive little white frame Church of St. Margaret Mary, which was blessed on October 25, 1936.

The industrial town of Norwood, with a population that has grown from 6,731 in 1905 to 15,383 in 1940, has become virtually as large as its parent-town of Dedham. In consonance with this growth, the second pastor of St. Catherine's, Norwood, Father (now Monsignor) Thomas J. MacCormack (1907-1918), determined to replace the sometime Protestant meeting-house hitherto used by the parish with a more worthy edifice. The cornerstone was blessed by Bishop Brady on April 4, 1909, and the completed structure was formally opened at Christmas, 1910. Built of gray brick with limestone trimmings, in the English perpendicular Gothic style, the new St. Catherine's is one of the most distinguished and distinctive of our recent churches.

Needham, whose population mounted from four thousand to twelve thousand during this period, and Wellesley, which

rose from six thousand to fifteen thousand inhabitants, were towns which Catholicity had been slow in penetrating. At all events, in April, 1917, Needham, which had so long been a mission of Newton Upper Falls, was raised to the rank of a parish. Its second church, built little more than twenty years before, had been so poorly constructed that its roof caved in; and hence the first resident pastor, Father Henry A. Walsh, had at once to undertake a new building. He erected the present handsome, Gothic, brick Church of St. Joseph, which His Eminence dedicated on November 24, 1918.

Wellesley, which had in earlier times been occasionally attended by priests from Natick, had since 1890 been included in the new parish of St. John's, whose church was in Wellesley Farms at the easternmost end of the town. For the convenience of the people in the more westerly sections, Father Patrick H. Callanan, of St. John's, on October 21, 1906, opened what was from the outset called St. Paul's mission at Wellesley Hills. Services were at first held in a boys' club and later in a hall in the rear of the post office. As the at first tiny congregation grew, Father Leo J. Knapp resolved to build a church. A fine site having been secured opposite the Town Hall park, ground was broken in August, 1915, and on November 12, 1916, Cardinal O'Connell both laid the cornerstone and blessed the church. The new edifice was, so a newspaper of the time declared, "a typical country church of English Gothic design, such as those found about Wells in Southern England." In June, 1922, Father Edward J. Welch was appointed first pastor of a new St. Paul's parish, including the central and western parts of Wellesley.

II

Turning now to the parts of Norfolk County outside the Boston metropolitan area — in the small manufacturing town of Millis Father William J. Dwyer, of Medway, in 1909 bought land for a church and began to hold regular services in Grange Hall. It was not until long afterwards, however, that, through

the leadership of Father Henry M. Tattan and the efforts of a zealous though diminutive flock, a small, wooden church was built and dedicated on February 14, 1937, in honor of St. Thomas the Apostle. In October, 1937, Millis was separated from Medway and made into a parish under Father Frederick J. Mulrey.

At Franklin, Father Daniel P. Scannell was at last able to begin the construction of the long-desired new church in the summer of 1923. The cornerstone was blessed by Cardinal O'Connell on September 2nd. Father Scannell had time to finish the basement and the exterior of the upper church before his death on December 5, 1924. His successor, the present pastor, Father Edward Kenney, completed the enterprise, and dedicated the church on September 18, 1927. The new St. Mary's is a lofty and spacious Gothic structure, of red brick trimmed with limestone, with a fine façade, a belfry rising above the sanctuary, beautiful stained-glass windows, and a superb interior. Erected in a town of seven thousand people, this church would be an ornament to even the largest cities.

At Wrentham, a mission of Foxboro, although the Catholic congregation was not large, there was painful need of replacing the tiny church — a former shoe factory — which had done service since the days of Bishop Fitzpatrick. At last, when a substantial building fund had been accumulated and a parishioner (Mrs. Anna J. Mahoney) had donated an excellent site near the centre of the town, Father Michael A. Butler began construction in 1927. Early in the next year the neat new stucco Church of St. Mary's was completed. In December, 1928, the towns of Wrentham and Plainville were made a parish, under Father Dennis J. Maguire.

At Walpole the second pastor, Father Daniel H. Riley, replaced the first church (St. Francis') with a new one named in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. Ground was broken on July 5, 1911, and on Easter Sunday (March 23rd), 1913, the new edifice was dedicated. Like St. Mary's, Franklin, this was an extraordinary creation for a small community: a majestic brick church, of purest Gothic design, with an impressive façade, a lofty bell-

tower in the rear, and an interior in which every detail had been wrought out with loving care and perfect taste. An eminent foreign critic ¹ has pronounced the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, Walpole, "one of the two most distinctive churches in America," and "a jewel" of architecture.

In East Walpole, where the important Bird Mills are located, Father Timothy J. Fahey, of Walpole, began to hold regular services in Bird Hall in 1919. In 1926 he built an attractive brick church here, which was dedicated on May 22, 1927, as St. Mary's. In September, 1931, Father John F. Meheran was named pastor of a new parish which included East Walpole and South Norwood.

III

In the more inland parts of Plymouth County the outstanding centre of Catholic growth has been Brockton, whose population mounted from 47,794 in 1905 to 62,343 in 1940. Here all three of the older English-language parishes have erected new churches of a very superior degree of architectural merit.

The finest, probably, is the new St. Patrick's, in the mother-parish of the city. This was the creation of Father Bartholomew F. Killilea, pastor from 1909 to 1931. Ground was broken for it on March 17, 1910, and on Pentecost Sunday (May 26th), 1912, the new edifice was opened for services. It is a magnificent brick structure in the Roman Renaissance style, which within and without has the grandeur of a basilica. With its unusually fine rectory, convent, and school, St. Patrick's presents the appearance of a perfectly equipped parish.

At St. Edward's, Montello (in the northern part of Brockton), the original temporary wooden church was replaced by a new one erected by Fathers Edwin J. Dolan (1909-1913) and Thomas F. Brannan (1913-1933). His Eminence blessed the cornerstone on October 11, 1914, and dedicated the church on June 4, 1916. The present St. Edward's is a massive Gothic

¹ Mr. Shane Leslie.

structure, built of light-colored brick with stone trimmings, with a design adapted from Hereford Cathedral in England.

At St. Margaret's, Campello (in the southern part of Brockton), the basement church existing since 1903 was crowned with a superstructure, which had its cornerstone blessed on August 17, 1924, and which was dedicated by Cardinal O'Connell on October 7, 1928. This was the achievement of the second pastor, Father Alexander J. Hamilton (1911-). St. Margaret's is a yellow-brick church of the Italian Renaissance style, with an impressive façade and a lofty and graceful campanile.

Two new English-language parishes have been created in Brockton. St. Colman's, in the eastern part of the city, was founded in December, 1910. Father Joseph J. Dermody, the first pastor, soon constructed a basement church, and his successor, Rev. William J. Fennessy (1915-1933), finished the upper structure, which was dedicated by His Eminence on October 7, 1928. St. Colman's is a stone church of Romanesque design, with a square, castellated tower over the front and a very pleasing interior.

The parish of Our Lady of Lourdes was established for the western part of Brockton in November, 1931. Its first pastor, Rev. William J. Clarke, built an unpretentious, shingled, temporary church, which was first used for Mass on October 2, 1932. A permanent church has not yet been undertaken.

At Whitman, Father James F. Hamilton in the years from 1920 to 1923 entirely made over the Church of the Holy Ghost. With its capacity doubled, a new outside wall which has the appearance of yellow-gray brick, and a striking façade culminating in a square, battlemented tower, it is now a very dignified and impressive church.

On June 17, 1928, Father Francis H. Hart, of St. Thomas', Bridgewater, began to say Mass in the Town Hall of West Bridgewater for the one hundred and fifty Catholic families of that community. His successor, Father James A. Brewin, erected the small brick-veneered Church of St. Ann, which was blessed on January 29, 1933. West Bridgewater was made

a parish in April, 1938, receiving Father Cornelius L. Reardon as its first pastor.

In Middleboro, which by 1940 had over nine thousand inhabitants, the long-projected new Church of the Sacred Heart was begun in 1917 by Father Timothy A. Curtin and completed under his successor, Rev. Albert M. Readdy. On June 9, 1918, Cardinal O'Connell both blessed the cornerstone and dedicated this very handsome red-brick Gothic edifice.

IV

•The prosperity of the parishes along the South Shore has in great part rested on the fact that an ever-increasing number of Catholics now go to reside through the summer months "at the beach" or near the lakes of the coastal region.

Of the somewhat perplexing rhythm thus introduced into parish life, the town of Hull offered a striking example. The two small churches existing there in 1907, St. Mary of the Assumption, Nantasket, and St. Catherine's at Stony Beach in Hull Village, had in winter but sparse congregations, which could easily be attended by priests from Hingham. In the summer, however, with perhaps ten thousand Catholics gathered in the peninsula, it was difficult to provide priests and services enough for them. For this problem His Eminence found an effective solution when, in June, 1912, he announced that henceforth the churches of Hull would be served, under his direction, by the priests of St. John's Seminary, Brighton. The latter were numerous enough to meet the augmented demands of the summer season, during which time they would reside in Hull, and during the rest of the year some of them could come down each Sunday to conduct services. One of the first fruits of this arrangement was that in 1914 Monsignor Peterson, Rector of the Seminary, began the construction of a much-needed place of worship in the central part of the town, and on July 25, 1915, the attractive stucco Church of St. Ann, Waveland, was dedicated. His successor, Father (now Monsignor) Charles A. Finn, replaced the dilapidated edifice at Stony Beach with the beau-

tiful little church of St. Mary of the Bay (dedicated on June 24, 1928), on a new site which commands a glorious view of Boston Harbor. Early in 1938 a further change was made. In order to assure to the Catholics of the peninsula the advantage of having resident priests throughout the year and in order to spare the faculty of the Seminary the discomforts of so long a journey during the winter, the Cardinal divided the town into two parishes: St. Ann's and St. Mary's of the Assumption. The latter received as its first pastor Father E. Joseph Burke. St. Ann's parish, in the northern half of the peninsula, was to remain under His Eminence's immediate direction, and during the summer would still be served by the Seminary priests. Father Burke and his assistants, residing in the Green Hill district, would, of course, serve their own parish throughout the year, and during eight months of it would also attend the two churches at Waveland and Hull Village.

St. Anthony's, Cohasset, has, since 1913, maintained a mission at North Scituate, for which Rev. Farragh A. Brogan built the Chapel of St. Mary of the Annunciation. In 1916 he also erected the Chapel of St. Mary of the Visitation for the summer residents in the Sand Hills district of Scituate.

The older Church of the Nativity, near Scituate Harbor, which had since 1886 been a mission of Cohasset, was, on July 5, 1921, made the centre of a new parish which embraced the central and southern parts of Scituate and the northernmost section of Marshfield. Its first pastor, Father Patrick J. Buckley, added to the summer mission at Sand Hills another at Huma-rock Beach, Marshfield, where in 1926-1927 he built the Chapel of the Little Flower. He also patiently accumulated a building fund for a worthy new church at Scituate Harbor. His successor, Father Thomas A. Quinlan, was at last able to begin construction in 1936, and on August 1, 1937, he dedicated the new Church of the Nativity — a beautiful edifice, in the American Colonial style, which is almost unique among the churches of the Archdiocese.

Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Hanover, formerly a mission of Rockland, was erected into a parish in December, 1907, re-

ceiving as its first pastor Rev. James J. Gilday. The new parish has come to include, in whole or in part, the five wooded, lake-strewn, sparsely inhabited towns of Hanover, Hanson, Pembroke, Halifax, and Plympton. In winter the Catholics are few and scattered, but in summer considerable colonies are gathered around the various lakes. While Mass has at times been said in a number of localities, worship has finally come to be concentrated in three churches. There is the old and tiny, white, frame church at Hanover, which has remained substantially unchanged, and from which the parish still takes its name. There is the fairly large and dignified stucco Church of Our Lady of the Lake, Monponsett, in the town of Halifax. This was built by Father Patrick H. Walsh in 1921-1922, and as it gathers in summer by far the largest congregations that are found in this parish, the clergy have long had their residence here. Finally, there is the small, white, wooden Church of St. Joseph, Hanson, which Father Eugene A. Maguire erected in 1939.

The vast parish of St. Peter's, Plymouth, as it stood in 1907, must have included about one third of Plymouth County. It was greatly reduced in September, 1908, when its mission of St. Joseph's, Kingston, was erected into a parish, with Rev. Andrew F. Haberstroh as pastor.

St. Joseph's, too, had and still has an area of somewhat formidable dimensions. It embraces all of the towns of Kingston and Duxbury, nearly all of Marshfield, parts of Plympton and Halifax, and at one time included Carver. Its original small wooden chapel, of Father Hugh P. Smyth's creation, was, under the second pastor, Father James H. Courtney, replaced by the present very tasteful brick-and-limestone church, which was built in 1935 and dedicated on December 1st of that year. The congregation of Kingston is not large, for the town itself has less than three thousand people. The financial mainstay of the parish has been its missions.

The fine beaches in the town of Marshfield have produced a chain of summer colonies along its shores, from Humarock and Fieldston in the north, through Ocean Bluff and Brant Rock, to

Green Harbor. A summer mission of Kingston was started at Green Harbor as early as 1909. Presently a small building called Webster Hall was acquired and gradually transformed into the neat, brick-veneered Church of Our Lady of the Assumption, which was completed in 1919. Father Haberstroh then built the pretty fieldstone Church of St. Ann, Ocean Bluff, and opened it for services July 3, 1921. Unfortunately this structure was destroyed by fire in 1940. Pending its reconstruction after the war, Mass has since been said during the summer months in a hall at Fieldston, before the largest congregations to be found in St. Joseph's parish.

In the fashionable and strongly Protestant town of Duxbury, Mass was first celebrated on July 12, 1903, in the Town Hall, by Father John J. Buckley, of Plymouth. The further use of that building being shortly afterwards denied — as a result, it is said, of bigotry² — Catholic services here seem to have been discontinued. Immediately after the creation of the Kingston parish, however, a summer mission was opened in Duxbury, Mass being said in a private hall. This continued until Father Courtney built the attractive, red-brick Church of the Holy Family, which was first used on July 1, 1934, and which has since been attended from Kingston throughout the year.

The Chapel of Our Lady of Lourdes, North Carver, owes its origin to the zeal of Father George M. de Butler, S.J., a French priest attached to Boston College, who about 1904 began to labor among the poor people in this somewhat secluded and neglected region. Through the generous help of friends in Boston and vicinity, he was able to erect the little church, which was opened for services on December 7, 1913, and dedicated on August 11, 1915. It became a mission of Kingston, but was transferred in 1926 to the care of St. Peter's, Plymouth.

St. Peter's area had been further reduced when, in May, 1915, the new St. Mary's parish was created for North Plymouth. This is an industrial district, with a Catholic population made up, in great part, of Italians, Portuguese, Germans, and Poles. Father Austin E. Doherty, the first pastor, built the present

² Cf. *Pilot*, July 18, Aug. 29, 1903.

fairly large, brown-shingled church on Court Street, which was completed by 1917.

On the other side of Plymouth, Father Buckley, of St. Peter's, in 1911 began a summer mission at White Horse Beach, Manomet, at first holding services in a tent. Ultimately he constructed St. Catherine's Chapel, which was blessed on August 31, 1924.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE CHURCHES (1907-1943)

I

THE INCREASE of the foreign-language churches under the rule of Cardinal O'Connell may best be set forth by the following table:

	At the death of Archbishop Williams		In 1943	
	Churches with resident		Churches with resident	
	pastor (s)	Missions	pastor (s)	Missions
German	1	1	1	1
French	17	3	29	1
Portuguese	4	1	5	—
Italian	7	—	15	4
Polish	6	—	15	—
Lithuanian	4	—	6	1
Syro-Maronite	2	—	3	—
Syro-Melkite	1	—	2	—
Armenian	—	—	1	—
	—	—	—	—
Total	42	5	77	7

This remarkable increase was effected mainly during the first half of the period. Inevitably, its pace has greatly slackened since 1921 because of the restrictions upon, and then the virtual cessation of, immigration from Europe.

The relations between the various racial groups in the Archdiocese have remained singularly harmonious. Within some of these groups there have at times been flurries of discord, occasioned usually by excitement over the appointment or removal of priests, by radical propaganda, or by the intrusion of clerical adventurers of very dubious character from outside. But these episodes have been of very minor importance. No schismatic or "independent national" church has lasted long here. Thanks to Cardinal O'Connell's unusual understanding of all the races

entrusted to his care, his liberal policy in "national" and language questions, and his wise and patient handling of whatever discords have arisen, the Archdiocese of Boston, with its varied racial elements, has enjoyed a degree of tranquillity such as many dioceses might envy.

Most of our foreign-language churches have been built by groups of recent immigrants, few of whom possessed much of this world's goods. The sacrifices that these brave souls were willing to make in order to have a church, and perhaps a school, where their mother-tongue would be used; the humble places in which they were often obliged to worship; the toils and trials of their priests — all this brings into our own age something of the atmosphere of the pioneer days of this Diocese.

II

The French-Canadians, the oldest and largest group among "the newer immigrant races," have in not a few respects maintained an honorable preëminence. They have, for instance, nearly twice as many parishes as any other foreign-language group, and far more charitable and educational institutions. Twenty-four out of their twenty-nine parishes maintain schools — a proportion such as (save for the Germans, who have only two churches) no other Catholic race here can match.

Lowell has remained the greatest Franco-American centre in the Archdiocese. Except for the parish of St. Louis, Centralville, all the French-speaking Catholics of the city in 1907 were still attached to the Oblate parish which took its official name from its first place of worship, St. Joseph's, but of which the effective centre was the splendid Church of St. John the Baptist. On November 21, 1912, this church was destroyed by fire except for its blackened walls. It was, however, speedily rebuilt in even more magnificent form — as a lofty and spacious granite edifice of pure Roman architecture, with almost the grandeur of a cathedral. Thus reconstructed, it was dedicated by the Cardinal on May 16, 1915. From St. Joseph's territory three new French parishes have been created, all under the care of the Oblates.

The first, that of Our Lady of Lourdes, for the district around the South Common, was created in 1908, after Father Joseph Campeau, rector of St. Joseph's, had purchased the Tabernacle Baptist Church on Middlesex Street. This building was blessed for Catholic worship on August 6, 1908, and opened for Mass exactly one month later.

In the Pawtucketville district in the northwestern part of the city, beyond the Merrimack River, a chapel was built in the winter of 1920-1921 at the request of His Eminence in response to petitions of the French-speaking people. On January 1, 1923, this mission was erected into the parish of St. Joan of Arc. In 1925 the Oblates began the building of the basement of what is intended to be another great granite church, and this — all that has yet been erected — was dedicated on April 19, 1929. It is the place of worship of one of the largest congregations in Lowell.

In the southernmost part of the city the Oblates had started the mission of St. Mary's, in a small chapel, as early as 1906. As the French-speaking residents multiplied in this rather sparsely settled district, the basement of a large church was erected and put into use in 1928. On November 25, 1931, a new parish was established here.

While the French Oblates have confined their parochial work to Lowell, the Marists, the other congregation that ministers to our Franco-Americans, have extended their activities rather widely. In 1907, it will be recalled, they already had two parishes in Lawrence, and others in Boston, North Cambridge, and Haverhill. In three of these they have since erected truly magnificent new churches.

In North Cambridge, Father Adolphe Rabel, S.M., began the construction of a new edifice in a new and more central location, on Rindge Avenue, in 1919. Cardinal O'Connell blessed the cornerstone on June 5, 1920, and on November 4, 1923, dedicated the present Church of Notre Dame de Pitié. It is a most stately temple, of Roman architecture, with outer walls of yellow brick trimmed with white stone, a high campanile, and a fine interior marked especially by mural paintings such as few of our churches possess.

At Haverhill the first, wooden Church of St. Joseph, at Grand and Locust Streets, burned down on December 6, 1923. For the reconstruction Father H. Pérennès, S.M., the pastor, chose an elevated site at the intersection of Blaisdell Street and Bellevue Avenue. There he erected a lofty and spacious, brown-brick, Gothic church, whose lines, within and without, recall the cathedrals of France. His Eminence blessed the cornerstone on November 9, 1924, and the church was dedicated on Christmas Day, 1925, by the Very Rev. Adolphe Rabel, S.M., then Provincial.

In the now flourishing parish of the Sacred Heart, South Lawrence, the original church-school needed to be replaced. The basement of a new church was built in 1914-1915. The upper structure was begun by Father Arthur J. Madore, S.M., in 1933, and was dedicated by Bishop Spellman on November 21, 1936. The time spent in this enterprise was well repaid by the final result, for this superb, white stone edifice of purest Gothic style is assuredly one of the most beautiful of churches.

Three new parishes have arisen under the direction of the Marists.

For the preponderantly Acadian, French-speaking Catholics of Chelsea priests of the Society from Boston occasionally came to conduct missions or other services from 1899 on. In 1903 and in 1907 the Society of the Assumption petitioned for the formation of a separate French congregation. On the latter occasion Archbishop Williams judged that the time was ripe, and from May 5, 1907, onward, the French Catholics worshiped by themselves, at first in the basement of St. Rose's parish school. In the following year a basement church was built on Broadway, a little north of the railroad. The conversion of the mission into the parish of Our Lady of the Assumption was completed in 1912, when Father Stephen Vinas, S.M., became the first resident pastor. His successor, Rev. Alfred St. Martin, S.M., began in 1924 the erection of the upper church. This pleasing red-brick structure was dedicated on November 29, 1925, by the Provincial, Father Rabel.

In the autumn of 1912 a committee of the French residents

of Methuen petitioned for a place of worship near their own homes. With the approval of His Eminence, Father Raymond Plasmans, S.M., of St. Anne's, Lawrence, then built for them a combined school and chapel, the latter being opened for services on March 16, 1913, under the name of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Ten years later Father John B. André, S.M., undertook the building of a church on new property acquired on Union Street. Through his efforts, aided by the valiant and long-continued voluntary labors of the men of the district, the present fieldstone church was erected. It was dedicated by the Provincial on July 18, 1926. After being attended for many years from Lawrence, this parish has since 1938 had resident Marist priests.¹

For the French people in the western part of Methuen Father Adolphe Rabel, S.M., then pastor of St. Anne's, began the construction of a church in 1935. This handsome, yellow-brick, Romanesque edifice was blessed on April 19, 1936, under the invocation of Ste. Thérèse. It, too, has had resident clergy of the Society of Mary since 1938.

To turn to the French parishes that are served by secular priests — at St. Joseph's, Waltham, the present pastor, Father Rosario Richard (1919-), in 1929 set out to replace the first, small church of his parish with another stately Gothic edifice of granite. The lower part of this structure was completed that year, and has since been in use, but the building of the upper portion has not yet been commenced.

Across the river, in the northern or Nonantum section of Newton, another French-speaking colony had gathered, and had, from 1894 onward, petitioned repeatedly to be organized as a parish. When their numbers had risen to a point that seemed to justify such a measure, in the spring of 1911 Archbishop O'Connell sent to them Father Joseph E. Robichaud, who today, more than thirty years later, is still their pastor. The first parish Mass was celebrated on May 14, 1911, in Lafayette

¹ Its story is related in the small illustrated pamphlet, *En Souvenir du 25^{ème} anniversaire de la fondation de la paroisse Notre Dame du Mont Carmel, Methuen, Mass., 1913-1938* (n.p., n.d.).

Hall on Dalby Street. This building had been erected in 1902 by a Franco-American society, with the distinct hope and provision that, though used at first for social gatherings, it might ultimately serve as a place of worship. Father Robichaud soon bought the structure, repaired and adorned it, and made of it the Church of St. John the Evangelist. A handsome school, a convent, and a rectory having since been provided, the parish looks forward to the day when it can build a grander church.²

In June, 1912, His Eminence appointed Father Victor Choquette pastor of the French residents of Everett and Malden. For lack of better accommodations, services had at first to be held in the barn of Colonel Harry E. Converse in Malden. Warmly supported, however, by a generous though far from numerous flock, Father Choquette was soon able to buy a part of the True estate on Buckman Street, West Everett, with a homestead that could serve as a chapel. Here his successor, Father Henry Joseph Filion, built the pleasing concrete-and-stucco, Gothic Church of St. Joseph, which was dedicated by His Eminence on November 16, 1919.

The parish of St. Joseph's, Salem, with its sixteen thousand people, was in a state of great prosperity in the early years of this period. In 1911 its pastor, Father George A. Rainville, started to build a sumptuous new church of stone and red brick, in the Roman style of architecture, with a most imposing façade and twin towers rising to a height of nearly two hundred feet. In three years this splendid temple was completed — the pride and joy of its people. Then catastrophe came. On June 25, 1914, Salem was stricken with one of the worst fires in New England's history. Starting with an explosion in a leather factory on Boston Street, the conflagration raged through the industrial district so rapidly that engines had to be called even from Boston. Dynamiting at last checked the further spread of the flames, but not until half the city had been devastated. Virtually wiped out were some of the most populous districts, in-

² The history of this parish is narrated in the pamphlet, *Noce d'argent de la paroisse Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, Newton, Massachusetts, 1911-1936* (n.p., n.d.).

cluding that area on the south side of town where most of the French resided. Destroyed, too, was the beautiful church, just erected at a cost of about \$250,000, and the parish school and convent, valued at \$150,000.³ Great was the misery, but greater still was the faith of the people of St. Joseph's as on the following Sunday they knelt for Mass in the open air and in driving rain — homeless, impoverished, wet, cold, and hungry.

Undaunted, Father Rainville within a year rebuilt the lower church in very handsome fashion, and then the rectory and convent. His successor, Father P. H. Grenier (1920-1931), erected two superb schools. In view of the cost of these enterprises, the fact that the parish has declined greatly in numbers because of the exodus that followed the conflagration, and in view of the hard times that began in 1929, it is not strange that the rebuilding of the upper church has not yet been attempted. The lofty façade of the burned church still stands, with the wind blowing through its numerous apertures, to recall the memory of a great disaster and, let us hope, to presage brighter days to come.⁴

After the Salem fire about two hundred families of St. Joseph's parish sought a new home in Beverly. Soon they began to seek also a new religious home and to petition for the creation of a parish. Towards the close of 1916, Cardinal O'Connell directed Father Rainville to take the necessary steps for organization. Beginning on December 3rd, Mass was regularly said in Beverly, at first in a place called Dreamland Hall. Within a few months Father Rainville succeeded in purchasing a former Methodist church on Railroad Avenue, which, remodeled as St. Alphonsus' Church, was first used for Catholic worship on June 3, 1917. On June 11th, Rev. Lucian C. Bédard was appointed first pastor of the new parish. The seventy-five-year-old church has since been repaired and adorned until it has become a dignified and pleasing edifice, but this relatively small parish has at times had to make heroic exertions to maintain

³ *Pilot*, July 4, 1914. Other accounts put the cost of erecting the church at a somewhat lower figure.

⁴ Cf. the illustrated pamphlet, *Soixantième Anniversaire de la paroisse Saint-Joseph, 1873-1933, Salem, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d.).

itself, and the much-desired school has not yet been established.⁵

At Ipswich the French residents were organized into a parish in February, 1910. Their first pastor, Father J. Stanislaus Vermette, built the present brown-shingled Church of St. Stanislaus. The basement was completed by March, 1912, and the upper structure by October, 1918.

In the Sacred Heart parish, Amesbury, Father Joseph H. Côté replaced the original place of worship, a remodeled Protestant meeting-house, with a very handsome, Gothic, red-brick church, which was dedicated at Christmas, 1928.

In St. Louis' parish, Lowell, Father John B. Labossière began in 1916 the construction of what is intended to be a very large granite church. The basement was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on September 23, 1917, but the upper church has not yet been erected.

In 1927, Father Labossière bought land for a church in the neighboring town of Dracut. On December 18th regular services were begun for the French people there in a room of the Whiteley Bleachery. Father L. P. Tanguay, who came at that time to conduct the mission under Father Labossière's direction, was, on March 26, 1928, named pastor of what now became the parish of Ste. Thérèse of the Child Jesus. A few months later he built the first church, which was blessed on October 12th. This edifice burned down on January 20, 1938. The present pastor, Father Arthur O. Mercier, rebuilt on the old foundations, producing the dignified yellow-brick church which was dedicated on December 2nd of the same year.

At St. Mary's, Marlboro, in 1939, Father F. X. Larivière gave the exterior of the old wooden church a coating of red brick, and in other ways greatly improved and embellished it, so that it now looks like a handsome new edifice.

Before becoming pastor at Marlboro (1933), Father Larivière had been the founder of a new parish in Hudson. Assigned to that post late in 1927, he had at once secured the use of a former Congregationalist meeting-house in the west part of the town,

⁵ Cf. the pamphlet, 1917-1942, *Album-Souvenir, jubilé d'argent, paroisse St. Alphonse, Beverly, Mass.* (n.p., n.d.).

and there, on December 18th, the first parish Mass was said. In the following year this small, brown, shingled edifice was purchased, and it has since served the little flock in Hudson as the Church of Christ the King.

A considerable French colony has gathered at South Bellingham, which is but a mile or so from Woonsocket, Rhode Island, that "capital of French New England." In 1926 the South Bellingham people petitioned for a parish of their own, urging that they were nine miles away from what was their legal parish church, St. Mary's, Franklin. Accordingly, on July 19, 1927, His Eminence named Father Joseph D. Binette as their pastor. The first parish Mass was said on July 31st — under cover of a tent. Father Binette at once bought a lot, on which stood a garage that could easily be enlarged and converted into a church. Services were held in it as early as September 11, 1927, and on May 28, 1928, the remodeled structure was dedicated by Bishop Peterson as the Church of the Assumption.

III

Portuguese immigration, never of really large dimensions, has in recent times almost ceased, as far as this region is concerned. Hence there has been but a slight growth of the Portuguese parishes of the Diocese during the present period.

The pioneer parish, St. John the Baptist's, Boston, in the early years of this century saw its people steadily moving away to districts less congested than the North End. They went chiefly to East Cambridge or East Boston. Already in 1902, Father Anthony J. Pimentel, pastor of St. John's, seeing the need of providing the East Cambridge colony with a place of worship, had bought a wooden building on Portland Street which had been the hall of a Portuguese benevolent society. This was blessed by Bishop Brady on May 30, 1902, as St. Anthony's Church. For some years thereafter, while more and more residing in Cambridge, Father Pimentel retained the direction of St. John's. But the old church on North Bennet Street was getting more and more deserted, dilapidated, un-

usable. Finally, in the winter of 1911-1912 new arrangements were made. The old church, sold to the City, was taken over and transformed into the North End Branch of the Boston Public Library. Father Pimentel retained the East Cambridge parish, of which today he is still the pastor after over half a century of service in this Diocese. Another parish was to be set up in East Boston under the name of, and as a continuation of, St. John the Baptist's. Father Paul L. Despouy, appointed its pastor in February, 1912, built the present neat brick church. While this was in use from an early date, it was completed only gradually, as resources permitted, and was dedicated on March 17, 1923.

At Gloucester, the first plain, wooden Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage was destroyed by fire on February 10, 1914. Its pastor, Father Francisco Vieira de Bem, replaced it on the same site with a much larger and handsomer edifice, built in a style typical of the churches of the Azores. The new church was dedicated on May 23, 1915.

At St. Anthony's, Lowell, Father Joachim V. Rosa replaced the first place of worship, originally bought from the Primitive Methodists, with a red-brick basement church, the cornerstone of which was blessed by Archbishop O'Connell on November 28, 1907. The upper structure has not as yet been added. This parish had the distinction of being presided over, from 1911 to 1924, by the Most Rev. Henry Joseph da Silva, Titular Bishop of Trajanopolis in Phrygia.

IV

Out of our present fifteen Italian parishes, twelve have been built up by religious orders. Four orders participate in this work.

In the pioneer Italian parish, St. Leonard's in the North End of Boston, the Franciscans early in this period entirely renovated the church, making the interior, especially, a gem of architecture and decoration. The church was then rededicated by Cardinal O'Connell on May 19, 1912.

The great East Boston-Revere mission, which had taken shape so rapidly in Archbishop Williams' last years, seems to have been divided during the summer or autumn of 1907. The Missionaries of St. Charles were left in possession of the Church of St. Lazarus, Orient Heights. St. Anthony's, Revere, was entrusted to a secular priest, Father Canio de Bonis. The Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, in the lower part of East Boston, was placed in charge of Father Francis Liberti, O.F.M., and by 1913 the Franciscans were given permanent possession of this parish. They gradually completed the attractive brick-and-limestone church, which was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on November 28, 1920; and they have built up what is now a very populous and thriving parish.

Towards the end of 1915 about five hundred Italians of East Cambridge, representing a colony of four thousand, petitioned for the establishment of a church in that district. After the necessary investigations and negotiations, Cardinal O'Connell decided to create such a parish and to entrust it to the Franciscans. For it he purchased, at the beginning of 1917, a large, brick, Baptist church on the corner of Cambridge and Fourth Streets. This was quickly renovated by Father Anselm Lenzi, O.F.M., the first administrator of the parish, and was dedicated on April 1, 1917 (Palm Sunday), by the Very Reverend James Merighi, O.F.M., Provincial. The edifice was greatly remodeled and embellished in 1932.

The newest of the Franciscan parishes, St. Ann's, Marlboro, had a somewhat stormy beginning. By 1919 there was gathered in that industrial city a colony of about one thousand Italians, many of whom desired to have a church in which their mother-tongue would be used. The St. Ann's Society, a mutual benefit association founded in 1907, had recently bought a small Protestant meeting-house on Lincoln Street, which was to serve for their meetings but might also serve as a church. Just at that time there descended upon the community two impostors — suspended Italian priests from outside the Diocese — who claimed to have a document from the late Pope Pius X granting them faculties to attend Italians in any diocese in the world.

Not a few simple people were taken in by them, quite innocently, no doubt; and other people, of radical or anti-clerical views, were glad to join in what they knew to be a revolt against the Church's law and authority. For a brief period the intruders were allowed to say Mass in the building of the St. Ann's Society, and when turned out of there, they continued their services in some kind of a chapel on South Street. At the end of 1919 they were talking of incorporating an "Independent Italian Church." Meanwhile, Franciscan Fathers from Boston began to come down to Marlboro occasionally to hold services in the Preston Block building for the well-intentioned and to try to avert a serious schism. For a time the Italian colony was sorely divided. By the end of 1920, at any rate, the "independent" priests had worn out their welcome and disappeared, leaving those who had been their dupes repentant of their folly. What particularly contributed to the *dénouement* was a decisive meeting of the St. Ann's Society, at which it was resolved to donate their church on Lincoln Street to the Archdiocese so that the Franciscans might come and minister regularly to the Italian people. With this donation made and the schism ended, His Eminence in 1921 authorized the establishment of a permanent mission, or, as it was officially called by 1925, St. Ann's parish.

The first Franciscan placed in charge, Father Marcellinus Sergenti, officiated for a brief period in the former "independent" chapel on South Street, but in November, 1921, removed to the tiny church on Lincoln Street, which could hold but one hundred and fifty persons. Twelve years later Father P. A. Scapigliati, O.F.M., built the present handsome brick church, which was dedicated on August 24, 1933.

The second religious order here in question, the Pious Society of the Missionaries of St. Charles, have as their principal centre the Church of the Sacred Heart in the North End of Boston. This edifice, enlarged and redecorated, was rededicated on December 16, 1928.

The parish of St. Lazarus, Orient Heights, owes its present prosperity in great measure to the devoted work of Father

Ludovico Toma, P.S.S.C., who has been in charge of it since 1911. Finding the old wooden church on Leyden Street quite inadequate for his growing congregation, Father Toma bought a new site on Ashley Street, and there erected the beautiful and lofty edifice, of Roman architecture, which His Eminence dedicated on November 11, 1923.

In the spring of 1915, Father Nazareno Properzi, P.S.S.C., was appointed pastor of the large Italian colony in Somerville. After first holding services in a vacant store on Elm Street, he bought land on Vine Street, a little west of Union Square, and started building. The basement of the new St. Anthony's Church was first used on February 11, 1917, and the completed church was dedicated by the Cardinal on October 4, 1925. Father Properzi is not only the founder and, so far, the only pastor of this church, but he was to a remarkable degree its creator, having worked upon it as draftsman, carpenter, electrician, painter, and decorator—and his skill as a painter is shown by the walls of the church today. The result has been a fine red-brick edifice, which is very attractive on the outside and unusually beautiful within.

St. Anthony's parish in Everett was organized in the spring of 1928. Father Linus Buggini, P.S.S.C., first brought the Italians of that city together for Mass on Palm Sunday in the Broadway Theatre. That building continued to be used for services, and in 1930 was purchased to serve as a church until a really adequate edifice can be erected.

Farthest removed but not the latest in time among the parishes attended by the Missionaries of St. Charles is St. Tarisius', South Framingham. This was launched in 1907 by Father Peter Maschi, who remains its pastor today. After holding services for two years on the third floor of the *Tribune* building, this good priest, through the generosity of friends, obtained a site on which he erected the present neat little brick-and-stucco church.

The parish of the Holy Rosary, Lawrence, has been conducted by Italian-speaking Augustinians. Its first pastor, Father Mariano Milanese, had in 1905 bought the old Church

of St. Lawrence, whose English-speaking congregation had removed to a finer edifice. In 1928-1929 he made over this church, enlarging it, adding a brick front, and creating a very sumptuous interior. Prior to this he had erected what is probably the finest school building that any of our Italian parishes possesses.

The Stigmatine Fathers, who had long done good work among Italians in the Diocese of Springfield, were admitted into this Archdiocese early in 1922. They first established themselves in Lynn, buying property on Bessom Street in the eastern part of the city and putting up the little portable Church of the Holy Family, of which Father Paul Sozzi became the first pastor. This was destroyed by fire on Christmas, 1926. Father Sozzi replaced it by building the basement of what is intended to be a fairly large brick church. This lower structure was blessed on February 12, 1928. From the Holy Family parish a mission was soon founded for the Italians of West Lynn. Its place of worship is St. Francis' Chapel on Blossom Street—a building which was bought and made over, and opened for services on March 29, 1925.

The second parish now served by the Stigmatini is that of the Sacred Heart, Waltham. This was founded in November, 1922, with Father Anthony della Porta as its first pastor. Services were at first held in a building generously placed at the disposal of the congregation by the Boston Manufacturing Company. Within two years, however, the Stigmatine Fathers had purchased land at the corner of River and Newton Streets, and had erected the attractive red-brick church which was opened for worship at Christmas, 1924.

Among the Italian parishes served by secular priests, the oldest, Our Lady of Pompeii, in the South End of Boston, has secured a new place of worship far superior to its first quarters in "Carroll Hall." Its handsome Gothic brick church on Florence Street was built in 1847 to be the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Messiah. When this congregation removed to the Back Bay in 1889 to a new home (which today is the Catholic Church of St. Ann), its South End edifice passed to the St. Stephen's parish of the same denomination. By 1923 this

congregation also wished a change of abode, and His Eminence bought the building towards the close of that year. It was first used for Catholic worship at the Christmas midnight Mass, sung by Father Gasson, S.J., in a freezing temperature, since the heating arrangements were quite out of order. After thorough renovation the church was in good shape for use by the following spring. With it there was acquired an adjacent five-story rectory, much of which has since served as a parish hall and social centre.

St. Anthony's parish, Revere, within twenty years of its foundation had an Italian population of at least eight thousand. To meet this situation, the second pastor, the late Father Ernest Rovai, resolved to build a very large new church. Late in 1923 he purchased from the City the former Erricola Park, a spacious site well calculated to set off a grand edifice. In 1924 he began the construction of the immense, gray-stone, Romanesque church whose towering nave and campanile today form conspicuous features of the landscape of northern Revere. Though the interior was not, and is not yet, quite finished, the new St. Anthony's was dedicated on June 6, 1926, the pastor's sacerdotal silver jubilee.

In the westernmost part of the city, which was inconveniently far from the church, the St. Lucy Society by 1931 had put up a small building on Washington Avenue and petitioned that Mass might be said in it. After some negotiations and the transfer of this property to the Archdiocese, on December 3, 1931, the building was blessed by Father Rovai as St. Lucy's Chapel, and it has since been maintained as a mission of St. Anthony's.

On November 1, 1914, there arrived in Salem an Italian priest who had come to this country but a few years before, Father Pietro Maria Piemonte. He had been sent with the blessing of His Eminence to shepherd the small flock of his compatriots in that city. The beginnings of St. Mary's parish were humble enough. Services were held in a wretched room over the fish market, and the pastor lived in that same building. But thanks to his untiring efforts and the loyalty of his

people, the situation gradually brightened. Land was acquired by 1916 on Margin Street, just west of the railroad. Eight years later construction could be begun, and on November 26, 1926, came the great day of the dedication. St. Mary's is a truly beautiful church, built of yellow-brown brick, in the Lombard Romanesque style, with a fine campanile and a most tastefully adorned interior — an immense credit to him who is still its pastor and to the zeal of his devoted flock.

For the thousand Italians of Malden the late Monsignor Neagle in 1923 bought a Protestant church on Pearl Street. As St. Peter's Chapel this has since been served by Italian-speaking priests from the Church of the Immaculate Conception.

A similar mission for the Italians of Wakefield has been organized by Father Florence J. Halloran, of St. Joseph's. The building used is that erected on Water Street by the SS. Maria del Carmine (benevolent) Society and later transferred by them to the Archdiocese. Mass has been said here each Sunday since June 20, 1934.

V

The one religious order that carries on parochial work among the Poles of the Archdiocese, the Conventual or "Black" Franciscans, now conducts five out of our fifteen Polish parishes.

Their first centre of activity here, it will be recalled, was at Chelsea. Their Church of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr, was destroyed by the great fire of 1908 in that city, but was speedily replaced by the much finer edifice that was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on June 16, 1912. The new church is a large red-brick structure, of Renaissance style, whose interior, with its beautiful altars, stained-glass windows, and mural paintings, makes a particularly striking impression. That impression is confirmed by the other parochial buildings. The zeal of the Franciscans and of the large Polish colony of Chelsea has produced here perhaps the strongest of our Polish parishes.

After the death of Father Francis Wojtanowski, first pastor of the Holy Trinity, Lawrence, in 1919, His Eminence decided

to entrust that church to the care of the Franciscans. The same kind of change was made in two other parishes in 1940. One of these was that of Our Lady of Czenstochowa, South Boston, whose founder, Father John Chmielinski, had died in 1937. The other was St. Michael's, Haverhill. This parish had been founded in 1910 under Father Alexander Syski, who built the brick church dedicated on September 17, 1911.

St. Joseph's parish, Peabody, was inaugurated by the Franciscans in 1931, and its neat stucco church was blessed on December 18th of the following year. Its first pastor was Father Damian Wydro, O.M.C.

Turning to the churches now conducted by secular priests — the two older parishes of the Holy Trinity, Lowell, and St. Michael's, Lynn, have prospered under the long pastorates of the beloved Father Alexander Ogonowski (1904-) in the former city, and of Fathers James Takuski (1906-1925) and John A. Drazek (1925-) in the latter. At St. John the Baptist's, Salem, another of the strongest Polish parishes, Father John J. Czubek remained in charge from 1903 to 1940. Finding the first place of worship on Herbert Street inadequate, he bought another on St. Peter Street, in the heart of the city: the former Central Baptist Church, which was dedicated for Catholic worship by Archbishop O'Connell on August 21, 1910. This commodious but ancient edifice, erected in 1826, has since been much improved and adorned, particularly by the present pastor, Father Ladislaus A. Sikora.

Nearly all the newer Polish parishes — those founded under Cardinal O'Connell — owe their inception in some degree, as, indeed, most of the older ones do, to the missionary labors of the pioneer Polish priest of the Diocese, Father John Chmielinski. Almost everywhere one discovers that he had been first on the scene, gathering and organizing the Polish people, arousing in them the desire to have a church and a resident pastor, laying the first foundations on which later pastors have built.

For the Poles of the downtown districts of Boston, among whom Father Chmielinski had first carried on his activities before removing to South Boston, a new mission was started in

August, 1916, under Father Sikora. While services were at first held in the basement of St. Stephen's Church in the North End, by 1919 it proved possible to buy the building formerly used by the Second Reformed Presbyterian Church and other Protestant bodies, on Chambers Street in the West End. This was dedicated on September 13, 1920, as the Church of Our Lady of Ostrabrama. While then administered for some years as a mission of the neighboring St. Joseph's Church, in 1932 it was raised to the status of a parish by the appointment of Father Ignatius E. Limont as pastor. As a result of a fire in the older edifice, a new brick church was erected here in 1941.

In 1907, Father Henry Zmijewski was named pastor of the Polish people of East Cambridge and vicinity. As a place of worship he succeeded in buying the Second Universalist Church on Otis Street, which was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on October 29, 1911. This old wooden structure was devastated by the hurricane of 1938, but was promptly replaced by the present attractive brick edifice, which was blessed by Father Zmijewski on November 30, 1939, less than two months before his death.

For the considerable Polish colony in Hyde Park, to which Father Chmielinski and other priests had previously ministered, a parish was created in 1913 under Father Alexander Syski. Within a year he erected a basement church, and in 1929 began the building of the superstructure which his successor, Father Sikora, completed. This handsome Gothic edifice was dedicated on September 7, 1931, as the Church of St. Adalbert.

From Hyde Park a mission was at once organized in Norwood in 1913, services being held at the English-language church, St. Catherine's. Some years later land was bought in the industrial southern part of the town, and a barn on this property was remodeled, encased in brick, and converted into a chapel. In the following year, in October, 1920, this mission was erected into St. Peter's parish, under Father Stanislaus Bona.

The Polish parish of Brockton, also called Our Lady of Ostrabrama, was founded in 1914. The best place of worship which the first pastor, Father Thomas Misicki, could provide for his diminutive and far from affluent flock, was a small, plain, and

uncomfortable garage. For some years the situation was rather bleak. The parish was first brought into a relatively prosperous condition by Father Ignatius E. Limont (1916-1932), who started the present pinkish-stucco, red-tiled church, which was blessed on July 4, 1934.

The Polish colony in Ipswich received its first resident pastor in 1907 in Father Charles Ryc. He at once began the construction of the gray-concrete, red-roofed Church of the Sacred Heart, which was dedicated by Father Chmielinski on March 15, 1908.

The parish of St. Casimir's, Maynard, was established in 1913. Under its first pastor, Rev. Francis Jablonski, services were held in the English-language Church of St. Bridget. His successor, Father John S. Dziok, bought a site containing a building which was remodeled into the handsome brick church dedicated on November 12, 1928.

VI

Among our Lithuanian parishes St. Peter's, South Boston, is the oldest and still the strongest. Once the troubles centring around Father Gricius were over, it has developed peacefully and prosperously.

At St. Rocco's, Brockton, Father Casimir Urbanowicz, abandoning the first tiny chapel on Webster Avenue, in 1914 built the lower structure of a large red-brick church.

At St. Francis', Lawrence, considerable trouble was experienced, during the heyday of radicalism in that city, through attempts of malcontents to establish a schismatic "national church." After tactfully and successfully weathering that storm, Father Francis A. Virmauskis in 1922 began the erection of what is, perhaps, the finest Lithuanian church in the Diocese. This Gothic brick edifice was completed by the present pastor, Father Francis M. Juras, and was dedicated on October 12, 1931.

Three new Lithuanian parishes have arisen under the rule of Cardinal O'Connell.

The first, that of the Immaculate Conception, East Cambridge, was founded in 1910. Its first pastor, Rev. Joseph Krasnickas, at once began building on property acquired on Windsor Street. The handsome brick edifice that he erected was dedicated by Bishop Anderson on May 30, 1913. While the upper story is used for worship, the lower story houses a school — the only one, it may be noted, possessed by any of our Lithuanian parishes.

At Lowell the Lithuanian people were first organized as a congregation in 1907 by Father Joseph Jusaitis of Lawrence. After at first having services in the Church of the Immaculate Conception and then at St. Joseph's (French) Church, in 1911 they were able to buy a Protestant meeting-house which Bishop Anderson blessed on May 30th of that year, likewise under the name of St. Joseph's. About that time Father Casimir Urbanowicz was named as first resident pastor. The church was devastated by fire on November 2, 1912, but was at once rebuilt and rededicated on January 1, 1913. It is an unpretentious, brown, frame structure, with a dignified and pleasing interior.

St. George's parish, South Norwood, was created in 1914 under Father Andrew F. Daugis. The neat, concrete church was dedicated on September 4, 1916.

VII

Among the Syro-Maronite parishes, the oldest, that of Our Lady of the Cedars of Lebanon, outgrew its original home on Tyler Street, Boston. Hence the present pastor, Rt. Rev. Stephen El-Douaihy, in 1935 purchased an old stone church on Shawmut Avenue in the South End which had formerly belonged to the Swedish Baptists. After extensive remodeling, this was dedicated on May 31, 1936.

Passing over St. Anthony's, Lawrence, where no changes are to be recorded, one comes to the third Maronite parish, St. Theresa's, Brockton, which was founded in 1931. Its pastor, Father Paul Merab, converted a house on Montello Street into a place of worship adequate to the present needs of the congregation, and this was dedicated on November 6, 1932.

The Syro-Melkites, who in 1907 had only the parish of St. Joseph's, Lawrence, had long desired to have a church in Boston. Archbishop Williams had always held that they were not sufficiently numerous. Early in 1907 an ardent adherent of this rite, Elias Scoff, arrived in Boston and, going to Archbishop O'Connell, then Coadjutor, obtained his promise to do his best to provide a church for the Melkites whenever he might have an opportunity. Soon after succeeding to the control of the Archdiocese, on Mr. Scoff's renewed request, the new Archbishop applied to the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch for a priest to serve the Syrians of his rite in Boston. The result was the arrival here in November, 1908, of the Rt. Rev. Nicholas Gannam. The latter at once organized his little flock into a congregation, which for a while worshiped at St. James' Church. After an intensive campaign to raise funds, after "one of the most valiant struggles to secure a place for religious worship on record," he was able to buy a three-story building on Harrison Avenue in the old South End. This, when remodeled, supplied both a residence for the priest and — on the ground floor — a temporary church, which was dedicated by the Archbishop on June 26, 1910, under the name of Our Lady of the Annunciation.⁶ As its congregation grew and its people, like the Maronites, tended to remove from the older to the newer South End, this parish, too, came to need a new location. The present pastor, Father Flavian Zahar, therefore bought the spacious and dignified brick church on the corner of Warren Avenue and West Canton Street which had formerly belonged to the Baptists, and dedicated it for Catholic worship on May 3, 1942.

Another Oriental Uniate congregation has recently been organized in the Diocese. The Hood Rubber Company in East Watertown has drawn around its works what is probably the largest Armenian colony in America. While the majority of these people adhere to the schismatic national Church, there are not a few Catholics among them. A certain Father Azdourian began work for this latter group in 1925, saying Mass for them in the Sacred Heart Church down to his death in 1928.

⁶ On the above, cf. *Boston Post*, Oct. 3, 1909, June 26, 1910; *Pilot*, July 2, 1910.

Through the efforts of His Eminence, Father Lawrence Kogy, D.D., a priest of the Mechitarist (Armenian Benedictine) Order, resumed this work in 1940, conducting an Armenian parish which has its centre in a house-church at 27 Hillside Road, Watertown.

In conclusion, it may be recorded that a Ruthenian (or Ukrainian) Greek Catholic congregation has existed in Boston since 1913, and now has its services in the German church on Shawmut Avenue, and another congregation at Salem, formed about 1923, now has its church (St. John's) and a resident pastor. As all Uniates of this rite in the United States are under a bishop who resides in Philadelphia, the detailed story of their fortunes in this vicinity scarcely belongs to the history of the Archdiocese of Boston.

CHAPTER XIV

EPILOGUE

I

THE RULE OF CARDINAL O'CONNELL over the Archdiocese of Boston has now lasted more than thirty-six years, and it is of deep interest to survey the results attained thus far.

The Catholic population of the Diocese has grown from an estimated 750,000 in 1907 to 1,092,078 in 1942. Great as this increase has been, it must be admitted that it is by no means as large as might have been expected at the outset or as was the growth during the reign of Archbishop Williams. The laws passed during the 1920's to restrict immigration and the depression that began in 1929 have fundamentally altered the situation. Catholic population increased rapidly down to 1929, when for the first time it passed the one-million mark, but since then has grown but slowly. At all events, Boston is now the third largest diocese in the United States, being slightly surpassed by New York and considerably outstripped by Chicago.

In every other respect the progress of these thirty-six years has been amazing. The number of parishes has swelled from 194 to 322, an increase of 40 per cent, and the number of churches from 248 to 375. In old parishes and new no less than 220 church buildings have been erected or completed or acquired by purchase. This is a record that has rarely been equaled in any part of the Catholic world in any similar period.

Even more striking, however, is the fact that the total number of priests in the Diocese had mounted from 598 in 1907 to 1,582 in 1942 — a gain of 164 per cent. The increase among the secular clergy alone has been from 488 to 957: in other words, their numbers have doubled. This growth attests alike the efforts of His Eminence and his priests to foster vocations, and the ardent zeal and idealism of the thousands of Catholic homes

from which vocations come. Nor is it unconnected with the great changes that have taken place at St. John's Seminary. Cardinal O'Connell has completely transformed and rejuvenated that "most important institution of the Diocese." The large additions to Theology House, the new Philosophy House, the new St. Clement's Hall, the Library, the Gymnasium, the embellishment of the Chapel, the adornment of the grounds, the summer Villa in New Hampshire, the doubling in size of the teaching staff, the multiplication of burses for the support of poor students, the manifold improvements in the internal régime of the institution — all this reflects His Eminence's desire to build up a diocesan seminary surpassed by none. Naturally, the number of students has steadily risen. There were but 86 in 1907: in June, 1943, there were 241.

No less impressive has been the growth of the religious orders and congregations. The number of priests belonging to such communities has increased from 110 to 625, the number of lay brothers from 140 to 356, the number of religious women (nuns, novices, and postulants) from 1,567 to 5,469. The number of religious orders and congregations of men has mounted from 13 to 21, and the number of those for women from 29 to 44. Whereas in 1907 the Diocese contained only three or four institutions for the intellectual or spiritual training of young recruits for the religious communities, there has since been an amazing multiplication of such institutions. We have already noted the establishment of five Juniorates: those of the Society of the Divine Word at Duxbury, the Marist Fathers at Bedford, the Stigmatine Fathers at Waltham, the Xaverian Brothers at Peabody, and the Marist Brothers at Tyngsboro. Eight Novitiates have been founded: those of the Maryknoll Missioners at Billerica, the Carmelite Fathers in Brookline, the Brothers of Charity in Billerica, the Sisters of St. Joseph in Framingham, the Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Newton, the Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary in Bedford, the Religious of Christian Education in Milton, and the Grey Nuns in Cambridge. Five new Scholasticates or Seminaries have arisen: those of the Jesuits in

Weston, the French Oblates in South Natick, the Italian Franciscans in West Andover, the Marist Fathers in Framingham, and the Stigmatine Fathers in Wellesley. The rapid increase of such institutions is to be traced chiefly to one fact, which is of capital importance in assaying the spiritual state of the Archdiocese under Cardinal O'Connell. There is no part of this country, or, probably, of the whole Catholic world, that is more fertile in religious vocations — in which there are more high-souled young men and young women eager to “leave all things” in order to enlist in one of the many legions in the army of Christ.

II

Cardinal O'Connell has undoubtedly shown himself the ablest organizer and administrator in the history of the Diocese. Breaking with the patriarchal and rather empiric methods of the pioneer prelates who preceded him, he has, as we have noted, for the first time established here a complete Curia, with all the officials and tribunals required by the law or common practice of the Church. Into the management of so vast and intricate a mechanism as this Archdiocese has now become, he has introduced methods of efficiency, punctuality, strict accounting, and careful planning, which would do credit to any great secular corporation, and which have made the Chancery of Boston a model in the handling of diocesan business. For the housing of those departments that most require close contact with the Archbishop, he has erected the Diocesan House in Brighton; and for those that need to be most easily accessible to the public, he has provided the Diocesan Centre in the heart of Boston. The legislation of the Archdiocese has been enriched and brought into harmony with the newer laws of the Church through the Synods of 1909 and 1919. In his relations with his priests he has known how to combine liberality and firmness. He has issued relatively few rules, but he has insisted that those which he has issued should be strictly obeyed. His clergy will never forget his paternal kindness — or his patience with those

who have made mistakes. His administrative genius and his skill in selecting able lieutenants are well illustrated in the development of the great diocesan bureaus that have grown up under him.

Under his leadership and a succession of highly competent Diocesan Supervisors of Schools, Catholic education has made great strides. The number of parishes maintaining schools has doubled, rising from 76 to 158; the number of those maintaining high schools has tripled, mounting from 22 to 67; and the number of pupils in these schools has increased from 48,172 to 90,576. Not less than 113 parishes have erected new school buildings, while 63 parishes have enlarged their school buildings or bought buildings to be adapted for school purposes. Moreover, 51 parishes have erected new convents for their teaching Sisters, and 81 parishes have enlarged existing convents or bought buildings to be turned into convents. There are now 77 Brothers teaching in the parochial schools of the Archdiocese, and 2,542 Sisters.¹ In brief, the increase in the number of schools, school buildings, and teachers in the parochial schools under Cardinal O'Connell has been almost as amazing as the increase in the number of churches and priests.

Not only have we far more schools and better school buildings, but His Eminence has transformed a series of more or less independent parochial enterprises into a well-organized, unified, and efficient diocesan school system. Mention has already been made of some of his more important measures in this connection: the establishment of the Board of Community Supervisors, of unified courses of study, of uniform examinations, of a complete health program for all schools, of the annual Teachers' Institute, of numerous extension courses for religious teachers.

Apart from the parochial schools, Catholic academies and preparatory schools have increased from 10 to 24, and the number of their pupils has swelled from 1,040 in 1907 to 5,510 in 1942. Keith Academy, Lowell, the Lawrence Central Catholic

¹ These statistics the writer owes to the kindness of Father William J. Daly, the present Diocesan Supervisor of Schools.

High School, St. Clement's School, Canton, the Sacred Heart Boarding School, Sharon, the Walnut Park Country Day School, Newton, St. Sebastian's Country Day School, Newton, and St. Dominic's Academy, Waverley,² are the new schools established for boys. For girls there have been founded: Keith Hall, Lowell, the Country Day School of the Sacred Heart, Newton, Loring Villa, Salem, and Rosary Academy, Watertown. For boys and girls there arose: Marycliff Academy, Arlington, Jeanne d'Arc Academy, Milton, Mount Alvernia Academy, Newton, Notre Dame Academy, Tyngsboro, and Mount Trinity Academy, Watertown.

The "second founding" of Boston College, the magnificent group of buildings that have been erected at Chestnut Hill, and the multiplication of the activities of this institution have already been described. Its enrollment rose from 143 in 1907 to 3,837 in 1940, although, because of war conditions, it has since declined. In all but name, Boston College has become a university. This period has also seen the founding of the first two Catholic colleges for young women in this vicinity. Emmanuel and Regis both have splendid buildings, and each college already has about five hundred students.

One of His Eminence's finest creations is the Diocesan Charitable Bureau. This great institution, with its seven branch offices in Boston and seven branch bureaus in other cities, its two settlement houses, its vacation camps, and its network of auxiliary organizations, has long been recognized as one of the foremost social agencies in this Commonwealth. Something of the scope of its activities may be gleaned from the fact that, during the year 1942, 55,894 people called at its offices; 33,555 letters were received; 10,310 cases were assigned for continuing service; relief was extended to 9,806 families; 3,123 children were under the care of its Children's Division; 1,040 children came under its interest from the courts; 163 mothers received maternity care; and employment was obtained for 671 individuals.³

² Originally open to pupils of both sexes, this academy has now been turned into a school for boys only.

³ Annual Report for 1942, in *Pilot*, May 15, 1943.

While the demands for material aid are no longer so great as during the years of the depression, nevertheless, in 1942 the Bureau disbursed \$545,227.70. As the closely affiliated St. Vincent de Paul Society in the same year expended \$244,645.29 for relief, the total for the two organizations was very nearly \$800,000.⁴ The St. Vincent de Paul Society has turned over to the Charitable Bureau most of those "special works" which it conducted before the rise of the Bureau, but it has pursued with ever-increasing effectiveness its primary task of rendering spiritual and material aid to those who need it in each parish. The Society now has in the Diocese 6 Particular Councils, 144 local Conferences, and an active membership of 1,565 men. Attention has been called to two splendid organizations that have recently been established, the Catholic Guild for the Blind and the Guild for the Hard of Hearing.

One of the great achievements of Cardinal O'Connell's early years was to carry through the reorganization and rejuvenation of the existing charitable institutions of the Diocese, saving some from imminent peril, introducing everywhere better methods of management, accounting, and operation, and placing all these enterprises upon a sound and secure basis. Some of the older institutions have been virtually refounded by him, especially through the acquisition of entirely new plants or the large extension of their previous equipment. As examples one would name: the House of the Angel Guardian, St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, Lowell, St. Mary's Infant Asylum, St. Helena's Home, and, above all, St. Elizabeth's Hospital. And alongside the numerous institutions started in earlier times, a score of new ones have arisen under His Eminence.

The magnitude of Catholic social work in this vicinity can best be illustrated, perhaps, by the following table of the Diocesan charitable institutions existing today.⁵

⁴ These figures were kindly furnished by the present Director of the Bureau, Father James H. Doyle.

⁵ In this list the institutions first established under Cardinal O'Connell are marked with asterisks, and those virtually refounded by him with double asterisks.

I. INSTITUTIONS FOR HEALTH

1. St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Brighton,**
2. Carney Hospital, South Boston,
3. St. Margaret's Hospital, Dorchester,*
4. St. John's Hospital, Lowell,
5. St. Joseph's Hospital, Lowell,*
6. Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, Cambridge,
7. Archbishop Williams' Memorial (for convalescent women), Framingham.*

II. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

8. St. Helena's House (for students and business women), Boston,**
9. St. Patrick's Home for Working Girls, Lowell,
10. St. Theresa's House, Lynn,*
11. St. Theresa's Home, Newburyport.*

III. INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDREN

(a) INFANT AND MATERNITY

12. St. Mary's Infant Asylum, Dorchester,**

(b) DAY NURSERIES

13. St. Elizabeth's Day Nursery, Roxbury,
14. Columbus Day Nursery, South Boston,
15. Venerini Sisters' Day Nursery, Lawrence.*

(c) ORPHANAGES

16. Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Boston,
17. St. Vincent's Home for Girls, Cambridge,**
18. St. Francis' Home (German), Roxbury,
19. Convent of Our Lady of Good Help, East Boston,*
20. Home for Italian Children, Jamaica Plain,*
21. Polish Home of the Little Flower, Hyde Park,*
22. Protectory of Mary Immaculate, Lawrence,
23. St. Anne's Orphanage (French), Methuen,*
24. St. Peter's Orphanage, Lowell,**
25. Franco-American Orphanage, Lowell.*

(d) INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

26. House of the Angel Guardian, Jamaica Plain,**
27. House of the Angel Guardian, Junior Division, West Newbury,*

- 28. Working Boys' Home, Newton,**
- 29. Daly Industrial School (for girls), Dorchester.

(e) VACATION CENTERS

- 30. Vacation House, Sunset Point, Nantasket (conducted by the Charitable Bureau),*
- 31. Lowell Vacation Camp (conducted by the Bureau's Lowell branch).*

IV. HOMES FOR THE AGED

- 32. St. Clement's House for Women, Boston,*
- 33. St. Joseph's Home for Aged Women, Dorchester,*
- 34. Home for the Aged Poor (conducted by the Little Sisters of the Poor), Roxbury,
- 35. Home for the Aged Poor (conducted by the same Sisters), Somerville,
- St. Francis' Home, Roxbury (No. 18 above),
- St. Anne's Orphanage, Methuen (No. 23 above).*

V. MISCELLANEOUS

- 36. Convent of the Blessed Sacrament (for work among the colored people), Roxbury,*
- 37. Boston School for the Deaf, Randolph,
- 38. St. Raphael's Hall (home for blind and deaf-blind women), Newton,*
- 39. Catherine Moore House, North End, Boston,*
- 40. Emmanuel House, South End, Boston,*
- 41. Convent of the Good Shepherd (protectory for imperiled girls and young women), Roxbury.

Cardinal O'Connell has not only organized and directed this remarkable progress in charitable work, but has always shown a warm, personal interest in the poor and afflicted. He has been a very frequent visitor at Catholic benevolent institutions, delighting to meet, talk with, and cheer the inmates. At Christmas or on other great occasions he has not infrequently had a group of poor old men from the Home in Roxbury as guests for dinner in his own house. During the trying winter of 1909-1910, he had prepared for him by the St. Vincent de Paul men a list of the neediest cases known to them in the North, South, and

West Ends of Boston, and then for some weeks the Archbishop, as far as official duties permitted, made personal visits to these houses, trying to bring both material relief and the consolation of religion.⁶ His public donations to benevolent causes have been numerous and large, but far more numerous, doubtless, have been his private charities, which seldom get to the knowledge of the world.

A third diocesan bureau, that of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, has made a unique record in its field. Under the leadership of His Eminence and a succession of exceptionally capable directors, this office has awakened here a zeal for and a generosity towards the Church's missions at home and abroad that have seldom been paralleled. The branches of the Society established in virtually every parish have been the mainstay of the bureau's efforts, but it has also succeeded, like the Charitable Bureau, in building up a network of other supporting organizations which are quick to respond to every appeal. Among the most meritorious of these auxiliaries are the Sen Fu Club, composed of women from various parts of the Archdiocese; ⁷ the Public Works Building Mission Circle, made up of employees at the building of that name in Boston; the Mission Circle of the Boston Elevated Railway Employees; the Teresian Guild, of St. Ann's parish, Neponset; the Maria Assunta Circle; St. Patrick's Mission Club; and the Academia at St. John's Seminary. With such devoted assistance, the offerings of the Archdiocese for missions have mounted from \$53,-097.39 in 1907 to \$724,030.33 in 1942.⁸ At present, as through most of this period, Boston is giving more for the missions than any other diocese in the United States, or, indeed, in the whole Catholic world. More than once the Holy See has expressed its congratulations to this Archdiocese for its "splendid success in its organization of the societies in favor of the foreign missions," and its profound gratitude to Boston, "which is in the vanguard

⁶ *Pilot*, Feb. 12, 1910.

⁷ The name comes from the Chinese designation for a Catholic missionary. Sen Fu means literally "spiritual father."

⁸ Data kindly furnished to the writer by the Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, Diocesan Director of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

of this noble enterprise to further the interests of the missions.”⁹

This splendid result, again, is in large part due to the warm personal interest of Cardinal O’Connell. His name and that of Boston are blessed throughout the Catholic missionary world. To quote one example among many — a well-known missionary in Hu-pei Province, China, distressed over the great number of abandoned infants and orphans in his vast “parish” of one hundred thousand pagans, was eager to found an asylum for these poor waifs. He toured Europe and America in search of funds. His hopes were disappointed until he met Boston’s Cardinal Archbishop and received from him an offering that enabled him to begin immediately the building of an institution destined to save thousands of children from actual death or spiritual ruin.¹⁰

The preëminence of Boston in contributions to the missions and the extraordinary number of vocations here to the ecclesiastical or religious life are impressive examples of the spiritual fervor of this Diocese, which His Eminence has striven to augment by every possible means. Among the methods he has employed have been the restoration of the ancient practice of the very frequent, or even daily, reception of Communion by the laity; the reception of that Sacrament by children from the time when they attain the age of reason; the establishment in virtually every parish of the Holy Name Society for men; the creation of professional associations of Catholic men, such as St. Luke’s Guild for physicians and St. Apollonia’s Guild for dentists; the upbuilding of the League of Catholic Women, which now has more than ninety groups affiliated with it; the development of the laymen’s retreat movement. The Archdiocese now has five retreat houses, all established under the Cardinal’s auspices; namely, the Passionist Monastery, and the Cenacle Convent, Brighton; St. Francis’ Friary, Brookline; Campion Hall, North Andover; and Hammond Hall, Gloucester. Other means of spiritual and moral advancement have

⁹ These phrases come from a letter of Cardinal Van Rossum, Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to Cardinal O’Connell, of Feb. 21, 1921, quoted from *The Pilot*, May 7, 1921.

¹⁰ *Pilot*, May 10, 1930.

been supplied by the Legion of Mary and the now so highly developed Catholic Youth Organization.

One great object that His Eminence has ever had in view is that Catholics should be led to study intensively and to understand and appreciate more deeply their sublime religious inheritance; that they should form the habit of reading the best Catholic literature; should acquaint themselves with the Church's position on controversial questions of religion, morals, social justice, science, and history; should, in short, make themselves more informed, intelligent, and enthusiastic Catholics, equipped to explain, defend, or diffuse the truths of faith. There is no theme which he has developed more frequently before Catholic audiences of every description. Hence his constant efforts to promote study clubs, reading circles, literary guilds, circles of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, and annual courses of sermons or lectures, such as those given at St. Clement's Church, Back Bay, or before the League of Catholic Women, or at the Catholic Labor School in Boston.

The Cardinal has also had it much at heart that the Church's teachings and point of view should be better understood by non-Catholics. This aim he has pursued by various means: by his own occasional addresses before Protestant organizations or articles in the public press; by sponsoring the Catholic Truth Guild, the Common Cause Forum, the annual series of Catholic radio talks. And for this purpose, among others, he has constantly emphasized the need of a strong Catholic press.

In the field of religious, as well as of secular, journalism the tendency in this country in recent decades has been towards a great reduction in the number of journals, because of the ever-increasing cost of publication. Of the fairly considerable number of Catholic periodicals that existed here in the time of Archbishop Williams, nearly all have since disappeared (save for those connected with Boston College, the House of the Angel Guardian, and the Working Boys' Home). *The Pilot*, too, might, not improbably, have passed away, as so many of the oldest Catholic papers in the country have done, had it not been purchased by Archbishop O'Connell and converted into

an official diocesan organ. In its new rôle it has filled a very real need and achieved a high degree of success. It has, in the first place, furnished a means of publicizing official announcements, pastoral letters and other communications of the Cardinal Archbishop, encyclicals and other pronouncements of the Holy Father. It keeps its readers informed of new developments in the Archdiocese and in the Church at large. It publishes many an instructive or inspiring sermon, address, or special article. On controverted questions it expresses the mind of the Church with an authority that no unofficial organ could ever possess. On occasion it has been a fearless and vigorous defender of Catholic views or Catholic rights, though always with courtesy and fairness to other points of view. Its weekly columns devoted to the news and needs of the missions or diocesan charities have been of incalculable assistance in calling forth that steady stream of gifts through which Boston has made so splendid a reputation in these fields. Finally, tribute should be paid to the literary merits of the editorial page, which, particularly in the last two decades, has come to recall the great days of John Boyle O'Reilly.

III

Of the progress made by the Catholic laity during this period it is still too early to say much except in very general terms. At any rate, for wellnigh the first time in our history, it can no longer be said that most Catholics here are either immigrants or the children of immigrants. The immense majority of them are native-born Americans, and most of them probably have behind them two or more generations of forbears who resided in this country. The Irish, indeed, are coming to rank among our older racial stocks. Though statistics are lacking, it would seem unquestionable that the proportion of Catholics who find themselves in comfortable or even in affluent circumstances, or who have enjoyed the advantages of higher education, has increased remarkably during the time of Cardinal O'Connell. Clearly, also, the importance of the Catholic element in the

political, the business, and the intellectual life of the community has grown immensely. The Mayors of Boston and of many other of our large cities are now most commonly Catholics; we have had three Catholic Governors of the Commonwealth; in our public offices, our business offices, our public school positions Catholics are very numerous. The bitter opposition and prejudice which the Church's children once encountered here is now mostly a thing of the past, although it would be idle to deny that in certain social circles and in certain branches of business the gulf between Catholics and Protestants is still far from obliterated. It may also be noted that the faith which the immigrants brought with them from lands across the sea has, as a general rule, not withered under the influence of the American environment: indeed, it has more commonly been strengthened and intensified under the conditions that exist in the Archdiocese of Boston.

From among the large number of Catholic laymen who have won distinction during this period, it is not easy to make a selection. But — simply to cite a few examples from various fields — in the medical and related professions, mention may be made of Drs. Thomas F. Harrington and John R. Slattery, both of whom had a great share in the upbuilding of the new St. Elizabeth's Hospital; of Dr. John T. Bottomley, long surgeon in chief at Carney Hospital; and of Dr. Frederick A. Keyes, a leader in the Guild of St. Apollonia, and, until his death, editor of its quarterly, *The Apollonian*, the only Catholic dental journal in the world. From the legal profession one may name Henry V. Cunningham and Judge Patrick M. Keating; from among educators, two beloved Superintendents of the Boston Public Schools, Jeremiah E. Burke and Patrick J. Campbell; from the business world, James J. Phelan, a leader in many civic and philanthropic movements and the recipient in 1934 of the *Laetare* Medal, also James M. Prendergast and Humphrey O'Sullivan; and from the political field, the Catholic who has risen highest in the public life of the Commonwealth, ex-Governor and since 1919 (save for one year) Senator from Massachusetts, the Hon. David I. Walsh.

Of Catholic authors of this period, His Eminence is doubtless the foremost. From the clergy, Father Hugh F. Blunt for over thirty years has been demonstrating, with a long series of excellent works in prose and verse, how much a busy priest can do with his leisure moments. There is Father James S. Gillis, C.S.P., the distinguished editor of *The Catholic World*, of New York, whom we may claim in the sense that he was born in Boston. The Society of Jesus has furnished numerous authors, among them Fathers Martin J. Scott, Leonard Feeney, Terence L. Connolly, and Martin P. Harney. Among lay writers of note have been Professors Jeremiah D. M. Ford and Louis J. A. Mercier, of Harvard; Daniel Sargent, Myles Connolly, James B. Connolly, Michael E. Hennessey, and David Goldstein; Mabel Farnum, Annette S. Driscoll, Mary Elizabeth Perkins, and Mrs. Maurice Fremont-Smith (who writes as "Mollie Dixon Thayer"). Numerous as is the list, it must be admitted that this period has brought forth few Catholic writers of the highest distinction, and that it has not fulfilled the hopes cherished at the end of the nineteenth century that a great Catholic literary movement was about to arise here.

The stream of converts has continued, at the rate of about fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred annually (according to official reports, which probably fall considerably short of the reality). As usual, not a few of them have come from the oldest and most distinguished New England families. Among such converts have been Daniel Sargent, poet, historian, and Harvard teacher; Gardiner Howland Shaw, long a member of the American diplomatic service and now Assistant Secretary of State; Rev. Henry L. Sargent, a former Episcopal minister, who after some years as a Catholic priest in this Diocese became a Benedictine monk and a founder of the present flourishing priory and boys' school at Portsmouth, Rhode Island; Foster W. Stearns, also once an Episcopal clergyman, and now Congressman from New Hampshire; and his father, the late Frank Warren Stearns, a great Boston merchant who became a national figure as the political sponsor and closest friend of President Calvin Coolidge. Among other converts of

distinction have been Amory Matthews, son of a great Boston financier, brother of a Mayor of this city, and himself in later years a chamberlain at the Papal court; Dr. Maurice Fremont-Smith, a leading physician of Boston; Dr. Herbert L. Lombard, an expert upon cancer research and Director of the Division of Adult Hygiene under the State Board of Public Health; Professor Edward H. Chamberlin, of Harvard, and Professors Paul R. Doolin and Summerfield Baldwin, both formerly of the Harvard faculty; Mrs. Francis Gray and Mrs. William H. Dewart, of Boston — the latter the wife of the rector of the historic Christ Church in the North End; and Mrs. Curtis Guild, the widow of a famous Governor of Massachusetts, sometime Ambassador to Russia.

IV

Reviewing the immense progress that this period has brought to the Archdiocese, one's thoughts inevitably turn back to that venerated and beloved figure who for nearly twoscore years has borne the care of all the churches and the heat and burden of the day.

Perhaps he has never been more accurately sketched than in an article which appeared thirty-five years ago in the *Boston Sunday Herald*. The author, who signed himself simply "A Bostonian," wrote in part:

Archbishop O'Connell is now a familiar figure to all Bostonians. His public appearances have been many, and through the medium of the metropolitan press people have become acquainted with the strong face upon which is indelibly stamped the force of character of Boston's chief pastor. . . . Those who have given him a closer scrutiny have not failed to note the large, well-shaped head set on broad shoulders; the massive brow, index of high intelligence; the clear, strong brown eyes, which look out upon one with fearlessness and frankness, yet always giving the impression of immense reserve power; the heavy, square jaws, denoting strength of will and tenacity of purpose; the firm mouth, indicating decision and promptness,

yet, under the influence of cordial feeling, wonderfully mobile, . . . and the dignified yet gracious bearing.

He is a man of generous proportions, yet walks with an elasticity and lightness of step which is but the external counterpart of the alertness, agility, and versatility of his mind. He is big physically and big mentally. . . .

The Archbishop has a capacious and luminous mind. His intellectual grasp is strong and sure. He sees instinctively the value of a principle, and his reasonings are always fundamental. He has, moreover, a mind that is fertile and resourceful. He follows no beaten path in his presentment of truth, and all his work is stamped with the impress of individuality. At the same time he is no seeker of novelties. He takes his stand firmly upon the dogmas and laws of the Church, and from that vantage-ground delivers the message which, in substance, is as old as the Church, but in its setting and exposition is strikingly original and effective.

But the Archbishop is no mere intellectual. He has an intensively practical mind also — the mind of a great churchman or ecclesiastical statesman, who while appreciating the logical and fundamental value of principles, sees also at a glance their practical drift and bearing and their application to the problems of life.

All his discourses betray this double element of intellectual strength and actual value. It is this sureness of grasp and vivid conception of the spiritual needs of today that give to his public addresses the tone of fearlessness which pervades them.

He is no mere dealer in the abstract. He faces concrete issues; and with an analytic power that he has developed to a remarkable degree, he tears away the pretentious wrappings with which a false philosophy has clothed them, and with a piercing insight lays bare the weakness of the foundation upon which they rested. At the same time he formulates in clear, terse, and forcible diction the true theory of life based upon the revealed truth of Christ and His divine law as these have been declared by the Church.

The series of powerful messages which he has delivered since he became Archbishop of Boston exemplify the strong mental caliber and practical good sense which are among the Archbishop's endowments. People sometimes wonder how the

Archbishop finds time from his manifold duties of administration to prepare these public utterances. They little know the resourcefulness of the man. He turns everything to profit. He is a strong believer in outdoor exercise and takes long walks in the country. But whether actually engaged in the work of the episcopate or taking his needed recreation, the thought of his high office and its responsibilities is ever before him. His active mind is never idle; and often during these long walks or while driving through parks the germ of some future address is conceived and given birth and stored away in the capacious mind to be brought forth sometimes in a few weeks, sometimes a year afterwards, and on occasion after a much longer lapse of time. His reading, his experience gleaned from dealing with men and affairs, information gained in conversing with the world's highest and noblest — everything is drafted into service and molded into form to produce the weighty pronouncements which everybody now expects whenever the Archbishop is called upon to deliver a public message. . . .

The public utterances of the Archbishop . . . have produced a deep impression upon the public mind of Boston and have attracted the attention and interest of the whole country. . . .

The groundwork of the Archbishop's moral character is his superlative courage. He is absolutely fearless when there is question of principle or the interests of the Church. He is daunted by no obstacle, but sets resolutely to work, having a sublime confidence in the power of the Church to overcome every impediment. He sets the example of work himself, and after formulating his policy in a broad but comprehensive way, gets others to do the work of detail and expects from them the same love for the Church and conscientious steadfastness to her interests that are behind his own prodigious labors.

In the herculean work of administering the affairs of a great archdiocese, he labors day by day, meeting each duty as it comes to hand and husbanding all available time for discharging the duties of his high office. Necessarily he has to meet the clergy and people of all classes who call upon him, but he dispatches business with a decision and brevity that suffer no loss of time.

He is affable to all, but will brook no idle talk or useless details. He is the Archbishop of a great diocese, and his time

is precious, and under no plea of weak condescension will he allow that time to be wasted. In his dealings with others he is most satisfactory: his decisions are clean-cut and definite, the knotty point is disentangled and things are put in their right place and upon their proper basis, to the wonder of those who listen and acknowledge the justice and propriety of his findings. His whole administration since he became Archbishop of Boston has been marked by singular prudence, tact, and courage.

The Archbishop rarely goes into the social circles of Boston. His activities are too many to permit the time required for such functions, nor personally has he any desire for the mere social pleasures and conventions. But he is the Archbishop of Boston, and whenever he judges the dignity and influence of the high office which he holds demand his presence at some social gathering, he does not hesitate to go. These occasions are rare, but when they do occur, the Archbishop, without forgetting for a moment the dignity of his office, is gracious and affable to all. . . .

All Boston knows the high standards of civic decency which the Archbishop has held aloft in his many public addresses. He is generally recognized as a powerful influence for good in the life of the city and the state. His public spirit and interest in all movements looking towards betterment in economic and social conditions have received warm acknowledgment on all sides. He stands for principle, for right living, for honesty, and he simply puts forth the unassailable program that the Church in this great community can stand only for what is best in the public service. . . . Refraining from all prejudice, strong but charitable in expressing his views, he is the great harmonizing force that will bring into relations of concord and unity the diverse populations of the city and state. For he has the power of the Church behind him, and his authoritative voice raised for peace and goodwill and civic virtue is a mighty power in the community. . . .¹¹

With but few changes, this passage might well be taken as a faithful portrait of Boston's Cardinal Archbishop today.

But there is another side of his personality that deserves to be

¹¹ *Herald*, Oct. 25, 1908.

brought out. It can be described only by those who have known him intimately, and hence I quote the words of one of the two priests who accompanied him on his mission to Japan in 1905:

His commanding figure, his stately carriage and authoritative voice had inspired a feeling of aloofness, but on the Japanese mission I discovered for the first time the wonderful simplicity of the man, the winning, almost playful mood, which, after a day of great work, was so wonderfully attractive. . . . The man whom I did not know, but whom I soon learned to know and love, was the simple, big-hearted, gracious man who, throwing aside his official demeanor, used to sit down with us after the day's work was done, entirely as equal among equals, to converse with us with a cordiality, a sense of humor, a playfulness that brought us back to our boyhood days. This is the man whom his friends revere and whom the world does not know. . . . To the proud and great ones of the world he takes his stand fearlessly and with a princely dignity, but with the humble and lowly he is gentleness and humility itself. And the reason of it all is that as a prelate he realizes his solemn obligations to God and His Church, and as a man simply among his fellow men, he is both unassuming and unpretentious and simply a kind-hearted human being.¹²

Of His Eminence's magnificent achievements for this Archdiocese this History is replete with examples. Of his rôle in the affairs of the American Church at large, it is still too early to attempt an evaluation, for the records are not yet completely accessible. But, recalling such things as his leadership in the Federation movement or the crusade for foreign missions or the fact that he has so long been Dean of the American hierarchy, presiding officer at the meetings of our bishops, president of the Trustees of the Catholic University, etc., one may safely assume that when the archives are opened, it will be found that his rôle was a very important and fruitful one. The same may, doubtless, be presumed as to his importance in the affairs of the Church universal, of which he is now the second oldest member of the Sacred College. In view of all this, it is natural that the

¹² Notes of Father Charles W. Collins on the Japanese mission, printed in *The Pilot*, May 15, 1926.

Catholics of this Diocese should admire and revere and love and be proud of him in the deepest and sincerest way.

But non-Catholics, too, have many reasons to feel gratitude, respect, and affection for him. He has preached and exemplified patriotism almost as much as religion; he has consistently insisted upon the highest standards of civic honesty and virtue; he has on many occasions proved himself a wise and far-sighted counselor of the American people; he has ever striven for harmony, mutual respect, and fraternal coöperation among the various racial and religious groups in the community. One outstanding Protestant commentator upon public affairs has attested: "The country is under a great obligation to the Roman Catholic Church, for in Massachusetts there is no greater influence for law and order than Cardinal O'Connell." "Among his other virtues, he is the first force for law, order, and right living that Massachusetts has seen."¹³

For many years Cardinal O'Connell, Bishop Lawrence of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and ex-president A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard were bracketed together in the public mind as the three Elder Statesmen of this Commonwealth. Two of them are now deceased, but Cardinal O'Connell — almost the last great surviving figure from his generation — remains, at the age of eighty-four still hale, erect, vigorous, and active, still planning and undertaking new enterprises for the advancement of God's kingdom. For all the magnificent things he has done for the Church's cause; for his multiplication of parishes and church buildings; for his splendid work for Catholic education, Catholic charities, Catholic missions, and the spiritual, moral, and intellectual advancement of the Catholic people; for his sterling Americanism and his manifold services to city, state, and nation, the present generation owes him a debt that can scarcely be put into words, but which is universally felt and acknowledged. How the people of this Commonwealth feel about him was exemplified on June 8, 1943 (the fifty-ninth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood), when the Massachusetts House of Representatives unanimously voted to stand

¹³ R. M. Washburn in *Boston Transcript*, Aug. 1, 1927, June 28, 1937.

for a brief period in silent tribute to one whom their resolution praised for his "superlative leadership" of his Archdiocese and hailed as "Massachusetts' most distinguished citizen." That God may grant him continued health and every happiness and still greater length of days *ad multos annos*, is the heartfelt prayer of all his devoted priests and people and of his grateful fellow citizens of every faith.

V

Before terminating this narrative, one final question requires at least the outline of an answer. Attention has often been called in these pages to the immense transformation which Massachusetts has undergone in the past hundred years. The ethnic composition of our population has been so profoundly altered by massive immigration that the original European settlers, the Yankees, are now numerically in the position of a minority race. The religious situation has, from the same cause, been changed to almost the same extent. What was a Gibraltar of ultra-Protestantism has become a Catholic stronghold. In the Commonwealth founded by the Pilgrims and Puritans, today two thirds of those who profess any faith adhere to the Church of Rome. The foremost religious teacher in this community is a Roman Cardinal. And from the humblest and most unpromising beginnings, the Archdiocese of Boston has grown into one of the strongest and most flourishing parts of the Catholic world. The question is bound to be raised, therefore: What have Catholics and their Church done to Massachusetts? What use have they made of their strength, their opportunities, their responsibilities? It must at once be pointed out that the full effects of these changes will not be clear for at least some generations. But some kind of provisional answer to these questions may, perhaps, be attempted.

In the first place, it may be affirmed that Catholics have hitherto done none of those things which their opponents have been accustomed to prophesy.

The incompatibility between Catholicism and American

democracy, which has been the theme of a thousand discourses, has never been verified in practice in even the slightest degree. The faith and discipline of Catholics have not withered under the impact of American democracy. The leaders of the Church have ever approved of American democracy. No one has accepted the principles and practices of democracy more readily and enthusiastically than our Catholic immigrants. And all Catholics realize that nowhere does the Church flourish more magnificently than under the aegis of American democracy.

Contrary to all hostile prophecies, the Church here has not shown itself an aggressive, intolerant, domineering, persecuting force. It has encountered an extremely fierce opposition, political, social, verbal, and physical. It has usually met this opposition simply by "turning the other cheek." Were it not for the invincible patience and charity of the Catholic prelates and people, this community might again and again have been plunged into bloodshed and even religious wars. And in the day of its strength the Church has never asked for any special privileges, never encroached upon the rights of any other religious body, never sought anything except equal liberty for all.

Another axiom of unfriendly critics in the olden days, that ignorance is the mainstay of Catholicism and education its worst enemy, has been singularly belied by the course of events. Scarcely any other incoming element here has shown greater eagerness for education than the Catholics, and none have made greater sacrifices to procure it for their children. The Church has strewn this Commonwealth with its parochial schools, academies, and colleges. And if Catholics have insisted on building up their own system of schools, that is, as every honest critic knows, simply because they believe religious education to be a necessary and fundamental part of true education, as all Protestants formerly believed and as an increasing number of Protestants are again coming to recognize.

Nor can it truthfully be said that the Catholic flood has fundamentally altered the character of this region, ruined the flavor or atmosphere of New England life, imperiled or even

seriously impaired the prospects of New England. It has often been remarked how quickly the immigrants have taken on (if they did not bring with them) the characteristic Yankee virtues of industry, thrift, enterprise, ingenuity, and inventiveness; and, in so far as they are good Catholics, they reproduce, in altered external form, the high religious and moral seriousness of Old New England. If the literary golden age of this region has passed, if New England no longer holds quite the place that it formerly held in the intellectual or economic life of the nation, if there are some signs here of declining energy or moral retrogression, the responsibility should not be imputed to Catholic immigrants. The causes lie rather in changing economic conditions, the impact of modern materialism and urban life, the growth of other regions, the weakening of older religious beliefs and moral standards. Better might it be argued that Catholic immigration has served to check, rather than produce, whatever retrogression has taken place. The racial homogeneity of Old New England has, indeed, been lost, and its social unity at least temporarily impaired. But it is a commonplace to remark that the strongest nations are those of mixed racial origin; and much may be said for the view that New England life will be enriched by adding to the characteristic virtues of the Yankee those of the Irishman, the French-Canadian, the Italian, and the Pole.

If Catholics have done none of those things which their opponents prophesied, they have, on the other hand, failed to fulfill thus far much that their sanguine friends have forecast. Great as has been their progress in the economic, social, and intellectual life of this community, they have not yet come to hold the place in these fields which, in proportion to their numbers, they ought to hold. They have made an appreciable contribution to our literature, as such names as Brownson, John Boyle O'Reilly, Louise Imogen Guiney may suggest. But in works of scholarship their contribution has been relatively small, and in the fields of art and music very small, indeed. It has often been noted that, as a general rule, Catholics are not "a reading public," although in this respect there has been con-

siderable improvement in recent times. The least satisfactory part of our record has been in politics. Since Catholics began to be prominent in that domain, we have had many public men who were a credit to their religion, but also too many who were not. And it is to be regretted that Catholic voters have often shown a tendency to cast their ballots for anyone of their own religion and race, no matter how discreditable his record.

At all events, despite some defects and blemishes, such as are inseparable from any human thing, we venture to think that the Catholic contribution to the upbuilding of this Commonwealth has been a large and a precious one.

In all our wars Catholics have taken a share which seems to have been quite disproportionate to their numbers, and have demonstrated that in patriotism and valor they are surpassed by no other group of citizens.

In times of peace they have, in general, been defenders of law and order, as their Church so insistently enjoins upon them. Despite the reputation which has been foisted upon the Irish, for instance, of being a turbulent and pugnacious race, they have again and again, under dire provocation, shown a self-restraint and a law-abiding and Christian spirit which deserve the warmest recognition. If the industrial working class in Massachusetts has not been deeply infected with radical or revolutionary ideas, if the contests between capital and labor have usually been less bitter and dangerous than in some other regions, if Socialism, Communism, and Syndicalism have made little progress here, the credit would seem to belong in large measure to Catholics and their Church.

Catholics have also been a liberalizing influence. They have normally supported all measures designed to promote greater democracy, social justice, greater regard for the rights of workmen, the poor, the afflicted, the underprivileged. It may be admitted that during the agitation over the slavery question eighty or ninety years ago most of them, chiefly out of concern for the preservation of the Union, opposed the Abolitionist movement; and in more recent times they have failed to rally to certain reform movements which have seemed to them ex-

aggerated or not quite honest, such as those for national prohibition or the Child Labor Amendment in its present form.

Not a few examples may be cited of a beneficent Catholic influence on the social life of this community. In general, it may safely be said that the somewhat chill atmosphere of Old New England has been appreciably warmed and mellowed by the infusion of Celtic and Latin gaiety and spontaneity. Catholics have surely had their part in freeing this region from the rigors of the Old New England Sabbath and a too straitlaced moral code inherited from Puritan and Evangelical tradition. Catholics have given back to this community Christmas, now observed in varying degrees by men of all faiths; and their example, it may well be thought, has had not a little to do with the fact that most Protestant churches now observe Lent, Good Friday, and Easter and display a growing appreciation of beauty and symbolism in public worship.¹⁴ If Massachusetts has not acquired an even more lamentable preëminence than it now has for its high divorce-rate and low birth-rate, the chief restraining factor, it seems clear, is the numerical and moral strength of its Catholic population.

Above all, Catholics have brought into the life of this Commonwealth its strongest and, presumably, its most enduring religious force. The population of Massachusetts may, from the religious standpoint, be divided into three main groups, the relative strength of which has varied but little since the first decade of this century. According to the Federal Religious Census of 1936, two fifths of our population have no religious affiliations; nearly two fifths (39 per cent) are Catholics; and all other religious groups taken together make up slightly more than one fifth (21 per cent). In other words, almost two thirds of the 60 per cent who do profess any religion are Catholics. Clearly, then, the Catholic Church bears by far the major part of the work and the responsibility for upholding religion in this Commonwealth. Were she to fail or to be driven from here, it

¹⁴ It is but fair to note that in all these respects Catholic influence has been assisted by that of the Episcopalians.

is likely, in view of the slight drawing power of Protestantism for peoples of Catholic tradition, that Massachusetts would come to have a population in great majority abandoned to irreligion, agnosticism, or atheism — living (in St. Paul's phrase) "with no hope . . . and without God in this world." For those who believe that religion is indispensable to every nation and that a civilization that has lost its religion is doomed to decadence and sterility, that would be a catastrophe.

But the Catholic Church is not at all likely to fail here. She is in many ways uniquely fitted for the position and the responsibilities that she has assumed. She has throughout her long history shown an altogether unparalleled vitality, a perpetual power of renewing her youth, a sheer indestructibility that have been the wonder of her critics and which mark her out as quite *sui generis* among earthly institutions. She has also shown a unique power of adapting herself to every age of civilization, to every kind of government and social system, to every class and condition of men. She has been supremely fruitful in eliciting and inspiring every kind of good work, whether in producing saints, or in raising moral standards, or ameliorating social conditions, or exemplifying in myriad forms the charity of Christ. She knows how to arouse among her people a vivid sense of "the things unseen and eternal," an unlimited and unhesitating loyalty and devotion, a willingness to make every sacrifice, to a degree that no other society has done. In an age when outside her fold the currents of thought are running so strongly against religion, when in other Christian denominations traditional beliefs and moral standards are more and more being attacked and surrendered, when all around her are doubt and confusion, she alone knows her own mind, is perfectly confident of her position, and dares claim to be the authorized and unerring interpreter of a God-given revelation. When so much in this storm-racked world reels and crumbles, she stands firm as the rock of Gibraltar.

Assuredly her record here through three hundred years — recounted in these pages — has been a noble and inspiring one, untarnished by any serious stain. On the basis of that record,

her children may well be confident that she will continue successfully to carry on her salutary mission in the Archdiocese of Boston for the glory of God, the good of souls, and the strengthening of this Commonwealth and Nation.

THE END

INDEX

A. P. A. movement, *see* American Protective Association
 Abadie, Capt. d', i, 315, 317
 Abbelen, Rev. P. M., iii, 165, 166, 168
 Abenaki Indians, i, 66-67, 70, 83, 85, 86, 98-99, 108, 116, 128-129, 137, 165-166, 183; ii, 156, 157, 158
 Abington, Mass., ii, 499-500; iii, 329-330
 Abolitionists, ii, 643, 646-647
 Academia, St. John's Seminary, iii, 755
 Academy of the Assumption, iii, 349
 Academy of the Infant of Prague, iii, 349
 Academy of Notre Dame, Boston, ii, 617; iii, 348, 572, 661; Roxbury, ii, 617-618, 688-690; iii, 347-348; Tyngsboro, iii, 643, 751
 Academy of the Sacred Heart, iii, 57
 Acadia, i, 13-14, 17-18, 19, 22, 64, 83, 91-92, 167
 Acadian Fishery Company, i, 22, 49, 81
 Acadians, i, 195, 500-501; expulsion, 196-201; settlement in Massachusetts, 201-210; sufferings in exile, 210-217; religious difficulties, 224-228
 Acquarone, Fr. Louis, ii, 524; iii, 292
 Acton, Mass., iii, 710
 Adams, Abigail, i, 364
 Adams, Charles Francis, ii, 238, 497
 Adams, Charles H., iii, 419
 Adams, Elizabeth Theresa, i, 607-608
 Adams, Rev. Henry Austin, iii, 408
 Adams, Rev. Hugh, i, 105
 Adams, John, i, 190, 236, 251, 259, 270-272, 276-277, 285-287, 321, 323, 559, 619
 Adams, Mrs. John, i, 287, 307
 Adams, John Quincy, i, 488
 Adams, Samuel, i, 241-242, 253, 275, 279
 Adams, Mass., ii, 147, 277, 287, 551; iii, 42
 Administration, Diocesan, ii, 295-301, 410-411, 414-419, 428-430; iii, 334-342, 521-524
 Affre, Msgr. d', iii, 12
 Agassiz, Prof. Louis, ii, 407; iii, 353
 Agliardi, Dr. Antonio, iii, 453
 Aguecheek, *see* Fairbanks, Charles Bullard
 Ahern, Fr. Michael J., S.J., iii, 645
 Aitton, Gov. John, ii, 281
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Peace of, i, 198
 Alemany, Archbishop, iii, 36
 Alexis, Sister Ann, ii, 330, 331, 382, 631-632; iii, 359
 Alien and Sedition Act, ii, 666
 All Saints' Church, Roxbury, iii, 252
 Allan, Col. John, i, 287-288, 291-294, 296, 299-301, 310-311, 314-315, 317-319, 328-331 *passim*, 448, 450-452, 518, 528
 Allchin, Fr. Frederic J., iii, 700
 Allen, Bishop, Mobile, iii, 516
 Allen, Fanny, ii, 741
 Allen, Prof. George, ii, 742
 Aloysia, Sister Mary, ii, 688, 692-693, 698

Alphonsa, Mother, *see* Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne
 Alphonsus, Sister Mary, ii, 616
 Ambrogio, Fr., i, 361
 Amee, J. L. C., ii, 476-480 *passim*
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences, ii, 756
 American Alliance, iii, 67
 American Bible Society, ii, 184
 American Catholic Congress, iii, 170, 171, 600-601
American Celt, ii, 743, 747
 American College, Rome, ii, 750; iii, 88, 452-453, 460-461, 465, 467-468, 517
 American Committee for Relief in Ireland, iii, 615
 American Federation of Catholic Societies, iii, 390, 505-507, 589, 630
American Magazine, The, i, 177
 American Minute Men, iii, 417, 583, 584
 American Protective Association, iii, 5, 100, 104, 140-145, 146-159, 179, 416
American Protestant, The, iii, 66
 American Protestant Association, iii, 66
American Protestant Vindicator, ii, 240
 American Reformation Society, iii, 121
 American Temperance Society, ii, 646
 Ames, Frederick L., ii, 494
 Amesbury, Mass., ii, 521-522; iii, 56, 215, 294, 732
 Amessokanti Indians, i, 87
 Amherst, Mass., ii, 174, 550, 554; iii, 42
 Amory, Col. Thomas C., ii, 692, 698
 Ancé, Abbé, ii, 276
 Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, i, 455, 619
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, ii, 758; iii, 146-147, 171, 558, 586, 651
 Anderson, Bishop Joseph G., iii, 418, 456, 518-519, 533, 558, 559, 572, 640, 653, 683
 Andover, Mass., ii, 531; iii, 297, 302, 706
 André, Fr. Gabriel, iii, 537
 Andrew, Gov., ii, 707, 713, 715
 Andrews, Albert E., iii, 152, 155
 Andros, Sir Edmund, i, 21, 34-36, 38
 Anezaki, Professor, iii, 483
 Anglican Church, in colonial New England, i, 31-32, 220-224, 230, 240-242, 244, 246, 248, 258, 269
 Anmour, Chevalier D', i, 381, 383
 Annapolis, Nova Scotia, i, 166
 Annisquam, Mass., ii, 524
 Annunciation, Church of the, Stockbridge, ii, 552; Danvers, iii, 289, 703
Answer to Six Months in a Convent (St. George), ii, 226
Anthems, Hymns, etc. Usually Sung at the Catholic Church in Boston (Cheverus), i, 594
 Anthology Club, i, 764
Anthology Review, i, 626-630

- Anti-Aid Bill**, iii, 584-585
Anti-Catholicism, in colonial New England, i, 30-34, 36-37, 74-78, 157-160, 172-177, 249-255, 256-260, 262-266; in days of Bishop Cheverus, 568-573, 626-630, 771-774; 1825-1834, ii, 179-182, 185-186, 187-197; burning of Charlestown convent, 210-222; Native Americanism, 240-243, 257-263, 652-655; Broad St. Riot, 243-251; Montgomery Guards, 251-257; institutional, 624-629; attempted Irish conversions, 648-652; Hannah Corcoran Riots, 656-660; politics in, 665-669; John S. Orr, 669-672; Fr. Bapst attacked, 672-678; Know-Nothingism, 584, 585, 664, 667-668, 683-703; iii, 5, 17, 66, 67; post-Civil War, 63-68; 1886-1897, 100-111, 134-145, 146-159; No Popery, 118-126; post-World War, 582-585, 588-593, 635-639
Anti-Child Labor Amendment, iii, 647
Anti-Jesuit, *The*, ii, 198
Anti-Masonic party, ii, 201-202
Anti-Priest Laws, Massachusetts, i, 19, 40, 74-78, 233
Anti-Semitism, iii, 619
Apollonian, *The*, iii, 759
Apostleship of Prayer, *see* League of the Sacred Heart
Appleton, William, ii, 406, 480
Archbishop Williams Memorial Farm, iii, 574
Archbishop's House, iii, 639
Archdiocesan Union of Catholic Associations, iii, 388
Argall, Capt., i, 8
Aristos Club, iii, 643-644
Arlington, Mass., ii, 513, 514; iii, 273, 694-695
Arlington, Vt., ii, 572
Armenian parish, iii, 745-746
Arnold, Gen., i, 282-283
Arrowsick, Me., settlement of, i, 105, 111
Arundel, Lord Thomas, i, 5, 9
Ashburnham, Mass., ii, 543
Ashland, Mass., ii, 537; iii, 312
Association of the Blessed Sacrament, i, 653
Association Canado-Américaine, iii, 200
Association of the Holy Childhood, ii, 430; iii, 624
Association for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children, ii, 637
Assumption, Church of the, Lawrence, iii, 197; South Bellingham, 733
Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Mission of, Kennebec, i, 18
Athenaeum, Boston, i, 765
Athol, Mass., ii, 292, 543, 544
Atlantic, Mass., iii, 324
Attleboro, Mass., ii, 506
Aubéry, Fr. Thomas, S.J., i, 86
Aubry, Rev. Nicholas, i, 4, 6
Auburn, Mass., ii, 178
Auchmuty, Robert, i, 319
Audiffred, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
Audran, Fr. Pierre, S.J., i, 186, 190, 193
Augusta, Me., i, 100; ii, 150-151, 278, 555, 722
Augustine, Sister, iii, 344
Augustinians, ii, 530; iii, 18, 236, 296, 298, 299-301, 302-303, 700, 706, 737
Aulnay, Charles D., i, 14, 16, 18
Austin, Charles, ii, 742
Austin, Gustavus, ii, 742
Austin, Atty.-Gen. James T., ii, 218, 226-227, 228, 235, 238
Avalon, i, 12
Avery, Martha Moore, iii, 631
Avon, Mass., iii, 322-323
Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal (Monk), ii, 240, 241
Ayer, Mass., ii, 544; iii, 308-309
Azdourian, Fr., iii, 745
Azevedo da Encarnação, Rev. João Ignacio, iii, 217, 218
Bacon, Bishop David W., ii, 423, 531; iii, 16, 36
Badin, Rev. Stephen, i, 678
Bailey, Rev. Jacob, i, 230, 243
Bailly, Abbé, i, 242-243, 245, 256
Baldwin, Prof. Summerfield, iii, 761
Ballardvale, Mass., iii, 302
Baltimore Catechism, iii, 94
Baltimore, Lord, i, 12
Bancroft, George, ii, 238
Bancroft, Susanna, iii, 409
Bangor, Me., ii, 141, 150, 151-152, 278
Bangor Theological Seminary, ii, 75
Bannon, Fr. Thomas H., ii, 544, 545
Bapst, Fr. John, S.J., ii, 423, 455, 557-567 *passim*, 609-610, 611, 663, 672-678; iii, 25, 352
Baptists, i, 808-809
Baratta, Rev. Joseph M., iii, 308-309
Barber, Rev. Daniel, i, 740-742, 745-748, 751-752; ii, 16, 44, 45, 62, 64
Barber, Samuel, i, 743
Barber, Truworth, ii, 62, 63, 64
Barber, Rev. Virgil, S.J., i, 743-745, 746, 752; ii, 16, 29, 31, 59-64, 66-67, 72, 78, 81-82, 89, 93
Baring, Me., ii, 150
Barlow, Anna, ii, 741
Barlow, Hon. Bradley, ii, 741
Barlow, Deborah, ii, 741
Barlow, Helen, ii, 741
Barnabò, Cardinal, iii, 43
Barre, Mass., ii, 178, 542
Barry, Rev. Garrett J., iii, 692
Barry, Rev. Henry A., iii, 253, 404
Barry, Rev. Richard J., iii, 243, 259, 260, 316
Barry, Msgr. Robert P., iii, 694
Barry, Rev. Thomas, iii, 293, 313
Barth, Rev. Louis de, i, 786, 787
Bartlett, Albert L., iii, 126, 127
Bartlett, Dr. John Stephen, ii, 336, 355
Bartol, Rev. Cyrus A., iii, 116
Barton, Edward, i, 600, 645, 646
Basel, Fr. George, C.P., iii, 541
Bason, Sock, ii, 157
Bassi, Fr. Ugo, ii, 660
Bastani, Rev. Gabriel, iii, 238
Batal, Rev. Philip, iii, 238
Bates, Eliakim, ii, 538

- Bath, Me., ii, 65, 555
 Baudin, Rev. Jean B., O.M.I., iii, 207
 Baury de Bellerville, Louis, i, 343-344, 347, 377-378, 381, 388, 391-392
 Baxter, Fr. James J., iii, 684, 695, 696, 697
 Baxter, Rev. Joseph, i, 106, 112, 114-116
 Baxter, Capt. William, ii, 252, 254, 645
 Bay State Militia, ii, 700
 Bayley, Archbishop James Roosevelt, ii, 483; iii, 12, 36, 46-47
 Beaudry, J. W., ii, 394
 Becket, Mass., ii, 551
 Bédard, Rev. Lucian C., iii, 731
 Bedford, Augustus, iii, 144, 145
 Bedford, Mass., iii, 274, 695
 Bedini, Archbishop Gaetano, ii, 423, 430-431, 542, 656, 660-663, 753-754, 765
 Beecher, Rev. Lyman, ii, 199-200, 240, 644
 Belcher, Gov., i, 139, 144-148, 151, 153-154, 158, 161
 Belfast, Me., ii, 68, 152
 Belknap, Rev. Jeremy, i, 399-401, 441, 457, 496, 543
 Bellarmine, St. Robert, i, 257, 276
 Bellingham, Mass., iii, 318, 733
 Bellomont, Earl of, i, 64-65, 68-75 *passim*, 77, 78-79
 Bellows Falls, Vt., ii, 277
 Belmont, Mass., iii, 274, 695
 Benedict XV, Pope, iii, 580, 585, 616, 632
 Benedicta, Me., colony at, ii, 150, 154-156, 279-280, 321-323, 324, 326, 555-556
 Bennington, Vt., ii, 104, 147
 Bensonville, Mass., ii, 554
 Bentley, Rev. William, i, 422, 425, 428-430, 434, 474, 582, 586, 605, 733; ii, 52
 Bernard, Gov., i, 219, 222, 224-230 *passim*, 244-245
 Bernard, Sister Mary, ii, 217, 221, 236
 Berthiaume, Fr. Juniper, i, 331-335, 336-337, 339, 448
 Bertoldi, Fr. Peter, ii, 499; iii, 332
 Bertrand, Fr. Emile, S.M., iii, 645
 Besarick, J. H., iii, 62
 Beverly, Mass., ii, 523; iii, 290-291, 703, 731
 Biard, Fr. Pierre, S.J., i, 6, 7-8
 Biasotti, Fr. Robert, P.S.S.C., iii, 227
 Bible, use of, in public schools, ii, 574-575, 582-606 *passim*, 668-669
Bibliographia Catholica Americana (Finotti), iii, 405
 Bigot, Fr. Jacques, S.J., i, 27-28, 41, 67, 68, 78-80
 Bigot, Fr. Vincent, S.J., i, 41, 44, 56, 60, 67
 Bill for the Inspection of Private Schools, iii, 114-118
 Billerica, Mass., iii, 206, 305, 708
 Billings, Fr. Patrick H., iii, 330
 Bineteau, Fr. Julien, S.J., i, 41, 56
 Binette, Fr. Joseph D., iii, 733
 Bishops' Reconstruction Program, iii, 616
 Blackstone, Mass., ii, 178, 504-505, 721
 Blaine, James G., iii, 59, 67
 Blake, Francis, ii, 356, 724
 Blake, Dr. Gerald, iii, 403
 Blake, Dr. John Baptist, iii, 403
 Blake, Dr. John G., iii, 119-120, 377, 403, 405, 422, 429, 436
 Blake, Mary Elizabeth, iii, 405
 Blanchet, Archbishop, iii, 36, 39
 Bland, Rev. J. P., iii, 84
 Blandina, Sister, ii, 330
 Blenkinsop, Fr. Peter, S.J., ii, 469, 541, 546-550 *passim*, 575, 762
 Blenkinsop, Rev. William A., ii, 762; iii, 21, 25, 244
 Blessed Chanel, Convent of, iii, 638
 Blessed Sacrament, Church of the, Cambridge, iii, 270, 691; Greenwood, 701; Hough's Neck, 712; Jamaica Plain, 258, 686; Saugus, 701; Walpole, 717-718
 Blessed Sacrament Mission House, iii, 658
 Bliss, Richard, iii, 409
 Blunt, Fr. Hugh F., iii, 692, 760
 Blyth, Dr. Stephen C., i, 598, 611-612
 Bodfish, Fr. Joshua P., iii, 131, 132, 322, 335, 408
 Bogan, Col. Fred B., iii, 417
 Boissonnault, Rev. Charles A., iii, 201-202
 Boland, Mrs. Eleanor (Fitzpatrick), ii, 393, 395, 692, 698
 Boland, Rev. Francis, ii, 67
 Boland, Fr. Richard, iii, 700
 Bomaseen, Chief, i, 54, 93, 97, 110, 121
 Bona, Fr. Stanislaus, iii, 742
 Bonis, Fr. Canio de, iii, 735
 Bonischère, Dr. Francis Vergnies de, i, 536
 Bonneuil, Marquis de, i, 674
 Bonneuil, Henry, i, 720
 Boott, Kirk, ii, 53, 54, 55, 56, 181
 Borgialli, Fr. Vincent, O.F.M., iii, 224
 Boston Catholic Lyceum Association, iii, 387
Boston Catholic Observer, ii, 743-744
 Boston City Hospital, ii, 639
 Boston City Missionary Society, ii, 628, 649-652
 Boston College, ii, 427-428, 429, 607, 609-611, 613; iii, 349-356, 449, 526-528, 572, 626-627, 640-641, 660-661, 751
 Boston Committee of Correspondence, i, 277
Boston Leader, iii, 398
 Boston, Mass., growth of Church in, ii, 467-487; iii, 3-5, 12, 13, 18-19, 46-47, 56-57, 85, 209-212, 218-219, 224-227, 231-232, 235, 237-243, 267
 Boston Massacre, i, 249, 252
Boston Pilot, see *Pilot*, *The*
 Boston Port Bill, i, 260
Boston Quarterly Review, ii, 364, 370
Boston Recorder, ii, 184
 Boston Roman Catholic Mutual Relief Society, ii, 346
 Boston School for the Deaf, iii, 370-371, 644
Boston Tablet, ii, 342
Boston Vindicator, ii, 455, 743, 744
 Bottomley, Dr. John T., iii, 759
 Bouchard, Claude Florent, see *La Poterie*, Abbé de
 Boucher, Fr. Olivier, iii, 127, 207, 208, 212, 213n., 329
 Bouland, Msgr. A. Léon, iii, 209-211
 Bouquillon, Rev. Dr. Thomas, iii, 175-176

- Bourg, Rev. Mathurin, i, 282, 287, 288, 292, 300, 310, 311, 328
 Bournigalle, Fr., O.M.I., iii, 209
 Boursaud, Fr. Edward V., S.J., iii, 354
 Bouthillier de Chavigny, Marquis, iii, 516
 Bowditch, Dr. Henry L., ii, 616, 631; iii, 377
 Bowditch, Nathaniel, ii, 406, 478, 479
 Bowdoin, Gov., i, 335
 Boyce, Fr. John, ii, 279, 505, 535, 536, 537, 545, 546, 564, 621
 Boylan, Fr. Matthew T., iii, 263, 318
 Boyle, Rev. Patrick F., iii, 259, 291
 Bradbury, Benjamin F., iii, 106, 110, 131, 134, 158
 Bradley, Bishop, iii, 187, 472
 Brady, Bishop John, iii, 185-186, 244, 518, 519
 Brady, Rev. John, ii, 148, 162, 169, 174, 175, 286, 287; iii, 294
 Brady, Fr. John D., ii, 145-146, 148, 274, 286, 287, 288, 548
 Brady, Fr. Robert W., S.J., ii, 709; iii, 240, 352
 Bragantini, Fr. Boniface, O.F.M., iii, 224
 Brainerd, Rev. Charles Rollin, iii, 408
 Brainerd, Elizabeth Washburn, iii, 409
 Braintree, Mass., iii, 324, 713
 Branagan, Fr. Francis X., ii, 514
 Brannan, Fr. Thomas F., iii, 718
 Brandon, Vt., ii, 147, 571, 572
 Brasseur de Bourbourg, Fr., ii, 384, 421-422
 Brattleboro, Vt., ii, 572
 Brebeuf, St. Jean de, iii, 654
 Breck, Samuel, i, 344
 Breck, Samuel, Jr., i, 344, 366, 369, 476
 Breda, Treaty of, i, 20
 Brennan, Fr. John P., iii, 315, 316, 317, 321
 Brewer, Col., i, 332, 336
 Brewin, Fr. James A., iii, 719
 Briand, Bishop Jean-Olivier, i, 240, 248, 300
 Bridgeport, Conn., ii, 92, 101, 171, 285
 Bridger, Col., i, 103, 124, 142
 Bridgewater, Mass., ii, 494-495; iii, 328, 719
 Brigden, Joseph, ii, 100, 324
 Bright, Mrs. Ann, i, 475-476
 Brighton, Mass., ii, 489-490, 518; iii, 58-59, 261, 689
 Brimmer, Martin, ii, 406
 Brissot de Warville, i, 369
 Bristol, Me., ii, 65, 150
 Bristol, R.I., i, 667, 703-704
 British-American Association, iii, 102-103, 110, 111, 121, 123, 143, 146
British-American Citizen, iii, 103, 120
 British-American Women's Association, iii, 121
 Broad Street Riots, ii, 202-204, 243-251
 Brocard, Fr., S.J., ii, 557
 Brockholes, Anthony, i, 21, 23
 Brockton, Mass., ii, 272, 494; iii, 214, 236, 328, 718, 742-744
 Broderick, Rev. John F., iii, 259
 Brogan, Rev. Farragh A., iii, 721
 Bronson, Rev. Dr. Tillotson, i, 753, 754
 Brook Farm, ii, 354, 359
 Brookfield, Mass., ii, 178, 542; iii, 42
 Brookline, Mass., ii, 488; iii, 314, 714
 Brooks, Bishop Phillips, iii, 132, 427
 Brosius, Rev. Francis Xavier, i, 647-649
 Brosnahan, Rev. Timothy J., iii, 275, 310, 355
 Brothers of Charity, iii, 19, 359-360, 644, 658, 748
 Brothers of the Christian Schools, iii, 184
 Brothers of the Sacred Heart, iii, 184, 641
 Brouillon, Gov., i, 80, 84
 Brouthers, Anna E., iii, 144-145
 Brown, Fr. Dennis W., iii, 700
 Brown, Harold G., iii, 154, 155
 Browne, Rev. Arthur, i, 223
 Browne, Charles F., ii, 724
 Browne, Rev. Robert, ii, 18-21 *passim*
 Browne, Fr. Walter J., iii, 710
 Brownson, Orestes A., ii, 273, 360-373, 725-734, 737, 743; iii, 769
Brownson's Quarterly Review, ii, 342, 370
 Bruneau, Fr. Joseph, S.S., iii, 537
 Brunswick, Me., i, 100, 101, 105, 110, 131
 Buckley, Fr. John J., iii, 333, 723, 724
 Buckley, Fr. Patrick J., iii, 721
 Bucksport, Me., ii, 564
 Buggini, Fr. Linus, P.S.S.C., iii, 737
 Bulfinch, Charles, i, 557
 Bullard, John R., iii, 316
 Bureau, Rev. Célestin, i, 341
 Burke, Fr. Daniel F., iii, 715
 Burke, Fr. E. Joseph, iii, 721
 Burke, Rev. Edmund, i, 548-549, 550
 Burke, Jeremiah E., iii, 759
 Burke, Fr. Thomas M., iii, 361, 407
 Burlington, Mass., iii, 709
 Burlington, Vt., i, 687; ii, 104, 107, 147, 148, 275-276, 421-423, 570, 571, 620
 Burnett, Mother Ruth, iii, 410
 Burns, Anthony, ii, 679
 Burns, Michael, i, 357, 553
 Burns, Michael, Jr., i, 601
 Burns, Fr. Michael, iii, 323
 Bute, Lord, i, 232, 233, 238, 249, 264
 Butler, Benjamin F., ii, 238, 698; iii, 86
 Butler, Fr. Francis J., iii, 144*n.*, 692
 Butler, Rev. John A., iii, 326
 Butler, Fr. Michael A., iii, 717
 Butler, Dr. Samuel S., ii, 355
 Buttrick, Ephraim, ii, 414-415
 Buzzell, John R., ii, 216, 227-228
 Byrne, Abbé, i, 159*n.*
 Byrne, Dennis P., ii, 345
 Byrne, Fr. Patrick, i, 700, 719, 736, 738, 809; ii, 31, 55, 58, 72, 84-85, 105, 267, 284, 296; iii, 7, 9
 Byrne, Msgr. William, iii, 17, 25, 98, 185, 240, 243, 262, 335, 390, 400, 404, 456, 472, 681
 Cabot, George, ii, 393, 406
 Cabotville, Mass., ii, 173-175, 286, 287
 Cahensly, Peter Paul, iii, 171-172
 Cailleaux, Rev. Stephen, i, 700, 719, 736
 Caisse, Fr. Camille, iii, 213
 Calais, Me., ii, 150, 279, 565-566
 Callaghan, Owen, i, 553
 Callanan, Rev. Patrick H., iii, 277, 321, 716

- Callières, Gov., i, 75
 Campbell, Patrick, i, 356, 388, 421, 431, 435, 436, 438, 439, 442, 461, 553
 Campbell, Patrick J., iii, 759
 Campeau, Fr. Joseph, O.M.I., iii, 535, 727
 Campion Hall, iii, 659, 756
 Cambridge, Mass., ii, 270-271, 513-516; iii, 56, 57, 212, 268-271, 691-692, 727, 733-735, 742, 744
 Campello, Mass., iii, 328
 Canada, Catholic Church in, after Treaty of Paris, i, 240, 242, 244, 246
 Canal-building, New England, ii, 83-84, 89, 91-92, 130, 172
 Canarie, Fr. James D., iii, 703
 Canavan, Fr. Patrick, ii, 149, 162, 278
 Canny, Fr. P. J., iii, 274
 Canso, Nova Scotia, i, 166
 Canton, Mass., ii, 160, 161-162, 272, 493-494, 517; iii, 321-322
 Capuchins, i, 15-19 *passim*
 Carey, Rev. Arthur, ii, 736
 Carey, Fr. Justin, C.P., iii, 541
 Carey, Matthew, i, 540
 Carey, Richard, i, 335
 Carleton, Sir Guy, i, 299
 Carmelite Fathers, i, 13; iii, 748
 Carmelite Nuns, iii, 184, 343-345
 Carney, Andrew, ii, 252, 343, 431, 438, 467, 471, 610, 638; iii, 376
 Carney, Fr. Eugene A., iii, 714
 Carney Hospital, ii, 638; iii, 363, 376-378
 Carpenter, James E., ii, 692
 Carpenter, Mary, ii, 637
 Carraher, Fr. Bernard, ii, 271, 272, 279, 496, 498
 Carraher, Fr. Michael, ii, 537
 Carrière, Abbé, S.S., iii, 11
 Carrigan, E. C., iii, 113, 114
 Carroll, Charles, i, 270, 285
 Carroll, Archbishop John, i, 285, 364-365, 368, 381-384 *passim*, 401-404, 410, 420-421, 426-428, 431-432, 442-446, 455-460, 462, 468, 585, 695, 688-689; ii, 8, 11, 12
 Carroll, Fr. Lawrence, ii, 515
 Carroll, Fr. Michael X., ii, 495; iii, 276, 283
 Carter, Deacon, ii, 657, 660
 Carter, Judge, iii, 128-129
 Carver, Mass., iii, 723
 Cary, Emma Forbes, ii, 723-724; iii, 410
 Casey, Fr. John J., iii, 712
 Casey, Rt. Rev. William J., iii, 687
 Casgrain, Rev. Louis A., iii, 207, 212
 Cassin, Rev. Joseph H., iii, 263
 Castleton, Vt., ii, 104, 147, 277
Cathedral, The, weekly, iii, 52*n*.
 Catherine Moore Settlement House, iii, 664-665
 "Catholic Academy," Bishop Fenwick opens, ii, 310; iii, 8
 Catholic Boy Scouts, iii, 630
 Catholic Campaigners for Christ, iii, 631
 Catholic Charitable Bureau, iii, 418, 657
 Catholic Church, growing tolerance of, in Massachusetts, i, 267-270, 272-278, 284, 285-287, 294-295, 296-299, 319-326, 371-372; founded in Boston, 375, 377-381, 387-389, 410-411; in Bishop Fitzpatrick's time, ii, 716-718; question of Papal representation, iii, 167-168, 170; growth of, in United States, 499; influence of, in Massachusetts, 767-773
 Catholic Church Extension Society, iii, 571
Catholic Citizen, iii, 399
 Catholic Daughters of America, iii, 628
Catholic Digest, The, iii, 667
 Catholic Educational Association, iii, 501
 Catholic Evidence Guild, iii, 632
 Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau, iii, 538
 Catholic Foreign Missionary Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers), iii, 539, 658
Catholic Forum, iii, 399
 Catholic Friends' Society, iii, 369
 Catholic Guild for the Blind, iii, 666-667
 Catholic Guild for the Hard of Hearing, iii, 667-668
Catholic Herald, ii, 333
Catholic Home Journal, iii, 400
 Catholic Institute, ii, 621
 Catholic Labor School, iii, 757
 Catholic Lectures of 1831, ii, 199-201
 Catholic Literary Union, Charlestown, iii, 496
 Catholic Lyceum Association, Marlboro, iii, 399
 Catholic Missionary Congress of America, first, ii, 536, 582; second, iii, 570-572
Catholic Observer, ii, 412
Catholic Press, The, ii, 96, 97, 98, 101, 169, 197
Catholic Question in America, The, i, 753
Catholic Repository (Fenwick), ii, 376
 Catholic Summer School of America, iii, 412, 459-460
 Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, iii, 386
 Catholic Tract Society, ii, 96, 199, 333
 Catholic Truth Guild, iii, 631, 757
 Catholic Truth Period, iii, 646
 Catholic Union, Boston, iii, 72, 186, 388-390, 497; Portland, iii, 473
 Catholic University of America, iii, 62, 93, 170, 587, 673
 Catholic University of Tokyo, iii, 487
 Catholic Women's War Relief Organization, iii, 602
 Catholic Women's War Service Council of Massachusetts, iii, 602
Catholic World, iii, 399, 760
 Catholic Youth Organization, iii, 668-669, 757
 Cattani, Fr., S.J., ii, 486
 Caughnawaga Indians, i, 284
 Causse, Rev. Jean Baptiste, i, 347-348
 Cazneau (William?), i, 720
 Cecilia, Mother, iii, 375
 Cenacle Convent, Brighton, iii, 542-543, 638, 756
 Central Bureau of Information, iii, 418-419. *See* Diocesan Charitable Bureau
 Cerretti, Archbishop Bonaventure, iii, 616
 Challoner, Bishop, i, 424-425
Challoner's Manual, i, 593
 Chamberlin, Prof. Edward H., iii, 761
 Chambly, Governor, i, 22

- Champlain, Samuel de, i, 3, 14
 Chancery Office, ii, 764
 Chandler, Capt. Daniel, ii, 625-626
 Chaney, William H., ii, 674
 Channing, Rev. William H., ii, 455
 Charitable Irish Society, i, 156, 504, 767;
 ii, 345, 390; iii, 567
 Charities, Bazaar, iii, 505, 533-534
 Charities, Diocesan, i, 652-655, 729-730; ii,
 329-331, 629-643; iii, 19, 57, 68-69, 358,
 664-665, 751-754
 Charles I, King, i, 11
 Charles II, King, i, 28, 29
 Charleston, S.C., ecclesiastical difficulties
 in, i, 705-706; ii, 18-21
 Charlestown, Mass., ii, 56-58, 506-509; iii,
 261-263
 Charlestown, N.H., ii, 277
 Charleton, Mass., ii, 178
 Chase, Capt. Bela, i, 747; ii, 64
 Chase, John, ii, 173
 Chatham, Conn., ii, 101, 171
 Chauncy, Rev. Charles, i, 172, 173, 221, 359
 Chauvreulx, Fr., i, 201
 Chazelle, Fr., S.J., ii, 322-323
 Chelmsford, Mass., i, 760*n.*; ii, 527; iii,
 308, 708
 Chelsea, Mass., ii, 273, 518-519; iii, 232-
 233, 265-266, 689-690, 728, 740
 Cheney, Mary, iii, 410
 Cherry Village, Mass., ii, 178
 Cherryfield, Me., ii, 564
 Cheshire, Mass., iii, 42
 Chester, Mass., ii, 548, 550, 552
 Cheverus, Bishop Jean-Louis-Anne-Made-
 leine Lefebvre de, First Bishop of Bos-
 ton, i, 480; ii, 3, 28, 29, 52, 65, 296, 299,
 300; early years in France and England,
 i, 520-523; arrives in Boston, 524-527;
 work with Maine Indians, 527-534, 535-
 542 *passim*, 559, 614, 616, 662, 701-702;
 marriage case, 564-568; considers return
 to France, 573-579; character and per-
 sonality, 605, 762-770 *passim*, 811; pub-
 lic life, 619; attends trial at Northamp-
 ton, 622-626; Bishop of Boston, 632,
 635, 638-640, 652, 658-660, 672, 689-695,
 727-729, 761; communications with
 Rome, 704-707; failing health, 781-783,
 784-785; policy in matters of American
 dioceses, 787-791; leaves for France, 791-
 792, 793, 796-807; last years and death,
 811-812
 Chicopee, Mass., ii, 173, 547-548; iii, 42
 Chiesa, Cardinal della, *see* Benedict, XV,
 Pope
 Children's Mission to the Children of the
 Destitute, ii, 628-629
 Chiniquy, iii, 106, 123
 Chittick, Msgr. James J., iii, 260-261
 Chmielinski, Rev. John, iii, 231-232, 741,
 742
 Choate, Rufus, ii, 406, 480
 Choquette, Fr. Victor, iii, 730
 Christ the King, Church of, Hudson, iii,
 733
 Christian Brothers, iii, 286
 Christian Mirror, ii, 185
 Christian Register, ii, 185
 Christian Watchman, ii, 185
 Christian Witness, ii, 185
 Christian's Monitor, The (Taylor), i, 794-
 795
 Church Music Book (Fenwick), ii, 376
 Church Music Commission, iii, 524
 Churchill, Harriet Brewer, iii, 410
 Ciampi, Fr., S.J., ii, 612
 Ciquart, Fr. François, S.S., i, 482, 483, 485-
 486, 492, 517, 528, 529, 687
 Citizens' Public School Union, iii, 137
 City Orphan Asylum, Salem, iii, 19, 370,
 578-579*n.*
 Civil War, ii, 602, 604, 707-715, 718
 Clapp, Charles W., iii, 409
 Clappville, Mass., *see* Rochdale
 Claremont Catholic Seminary, i, 749-751;
 ii, 59-63
 Claremont, N.H., i, 740, 745-752; ii, 31,
 58-64, 107, 148, 277, 568
 Clark, Rev. Arthur Marsh, iii, 408
 Clarke, Caroline Gardner, ii, 742
 Clarke, Gen. De Witt, ii, 742
 Clarke, Rev. John, i, 511
 Clarke, Mary, i, 343
 Clarke, Rev. Michael, iii, 264
 Clarke, Rev. William J., iii, 719
 Clerc, Laurent, i, 757
 Clergy Fund Society, ii, 430; iii, 342
 Clinton, James B., ii, 338, 342, 345
 Clinton, Mass., ii, 292, 545; iii, 42
 Coan, Fr. John J., iii, 711
 Coheco, N.H., *see* Dover, N.H.
 Cochituate, Mass., iii, 214
 Coffey, Fr. Michael J., iii, 701
 Cohasset, Mass., ii, 497; iii, 326, 721
 Colbert, Fr. John D., iii, 284, 700
 Cole, Brig. Gen. Charles H., iii, 604
 Coleman, Rev. Mr., i, 149, 151
 Collins, Patrick, ii, 314, 315
 Collins, Patrick A., iii, 69-70, 389, 401,
 402, 420
 Collinsville, Mass., iii, 308
 Colman, Rev. Mr., i, 149, 151
 Colman, Fr. Patrick, iii, 288
 Columbia, iii, 400
 Columbiad, iii, 399-400
 Columbian Artillery, ii, 679, 700
 Columbian Guard, ii, 714
 Columbian Literary Association, ii, 712, 714
 Columbian Squires, iii, 669
 Columbus Day Nursery, iii, 630
 Committee on Catholic Affairs and Inter-
 ests, iii, 616
 Committee of One Hundred, iii, 121, 123,
 125, 129, 134, 136, 158
 Common Cause Forum, iii, 631, 757
 Company G., Lawrence, ii, 700
 Concannon, Bishop, i, 638, 639; ii, 13
 Concord, Mass., ii, 273, 518; iii, 274, 710
 Concord, N.H., ii, 277
 Condon, Fr. John B., iii, 698
 Conference on Catholic Charities, iii, 505,
 533
 Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, i,
 594-595
 Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, iii, 757

- Confraternity of the Holy Cross, i, 653-655; ii, 344
 Congregation of the Good Shepherd, iii, 375
 Congregation of the Propaganda, iii, 79, 89, 95
 Congregationalists, i, 354, 769, 771
 Conlan, Fr. P., ii, 550, 552
 Conlon, Fr. John A., ii, 539; iii, 309, 310, 329
Connecticut Convert, The (Brigden), ii, 100
Connecticut Observer, ii, 185
 Connellan, P. L., iii, 98
 Connolly, Msgr. Arthur T., iii, 258, 686
 Connolly, Fr. J., ii, 555
 Connolly, James B., iii, 760
 Connolly, Bishop John, i, 704-705, 786; ii, 13, 14, 26, 47
 Connolly, Fr. John J., ii, 545; iii, 666
 Connolly, Myles, iii, 760
 Connolly, Rev. Peter, ii, 50, 89, 145, 148, 161, 162, 163, 164, 272, 315
 Connolly, Fr. Terence L., S.J., iii, 760
 Connor, Edmund, i, 553
 Connor, Rev. William A., iii, 695
 Conroy, Bishop, iii, 16, 27, 37, 40, 45, 186
 Conscriptio Act, ii, 708-709
Considerations on the Repeal of the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics, etc., i, 232-237
 Constitution, Massachusetts ratifies United States, i, 371-372
 Constitutional Convention, Massachusetts, i, 296-299, 320-325
 Conterno, Fr. Angelo, O.F.M., iii, 218, 224
 Continental Congress, i, 260, 262, 267-269, 273-274, 285
 Convent Boys, ii, 242
 Conversions to Catholicism, i, 606-612, 655-658; ii, 354-360, 722-743; iii, 407-415, 760-761
Convert, The (Brownson), ii, 728-731, 732-733
 Conway, Fr. James, ii, 152, 156, 274, 522, 523; iii, 9
 Conway, Katherine E., iii, 395, 398, 399, 468, 546
 Conway, Mass., ii, 554
 Conwell, Bishop, i, 788-789; ii, 26
 Cook, McLaurin, F., ii, 587, 593, 599
 Cooke, Elisha, i, 74, 101, 124-125, 129, 153
 Coolidge, Calvin, iii, 652
 Cooney, Rev. Leroy V., iii, 669
 Cooper, Mrs. Rebecca, iii, 73, 74
 Cooper, Rev. Samuel, i, 218, 259, 305, 307, 308-309, 346
 Cooper Street Riot, ii, 708-709
 Coppin, Fr., S.M., ii, 211
 Coppinger, Rt. Rev. Joseph F., iii, 714-715
 Coram, Thomas, i, 102, 142
 Corbett, Sister Mary, iii, 371
 Corcoran, Rev. William J., iii, 260
 Cordaville, Mass., ii, 536
 Cork, Me., i, 101
 Corn Laws, repeal of English, ii, 440
 Cornish, N.H., ii, 277
 Cornwallis, Gov., i, 198
 Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, i, 71, 76
 Corporation of Roman Catholic Clergymen, ii, 18
 Corpus Christi Church, Auburndale, iii, 698
 Corrigan, Archbishop, iii, 89, 98-99, 162, 163, 166-167, 169, 177, 183
 Corry, Rev. John, ii, 50, 90-91, 163-164, 165, 282, 284, 285, 307, 347
 Corthier, Fr. Lawrence Thomas, S.J., i, 164, 165, 181
 Coskery, Very Rev. Henry B., ii, 423
 Costello, Rev. George A., iii, 322
 Côte, Rev. Joseph H., iii, 215, 732
 Cottrill, John, i, 601, 644, 645, 646
 Cottrill, Matthew, i, 538-539, 540, 560, 565, 775
 Coudrin, Abbé Pierre-Joseph, ii, 156
 Coughlan, Fr. Thomas J., iii, 275
 Council (s), Provincial, ii, 419; iii, 25; Plenary, ii, 430; iii, 19, 20-24, 57, 85, 88, 89, 91-95, 101; Vatican, 1869-70, 28-40
 Country Day School of the Sacred Heart, iii, 751
Courrier, Le, iii, 200
 Courtney, Fr. James H., iii, 722, 723
 Covenanters, iii, 583
 Crabb, Caroline, ii, 688-689, 692, 693, 698
 Crane, Fr. John J., iii, 708
 Cranston, R.I., ii, 89
 Cravath and Duggan, i, 355
 Crawford, Rev. Dr. William, i, 229
 Crescents, The, iii, 66
 Crèvecoeur, St. Jean de, i, 350
 Crimmins, Rev. John, iii, 97
 Crocker, Alvah, ii, 543
 Crockett, Edward H., iii, 146, 151
 Crolly, Archbishop, ii, 437
 Crosswell, Mrs. William, iii, 410
 Crothers, Rev. Samuel M., iii, 381
 Crowe, Fr. John A., iii, 270, 310, 691
 Crudden, Rev. Peter, ii, 268, 274, 526, 536; iii, 305, 368, 446
 Cuddihy, Fr. Michael J., iii, 711
 Cuddihy, Fr. Patrick, ii, 537, 550, 551; iii, 313
 Cudworth, Rev. Warren H., iii, 146
 Cuffe, Fr. John P., iii, 324
 Cullen, Fr. John S., iii, 275, 311-312
 Cummings, Homer, iii, 673, 674
 Cummins, Fr. John, iii, 295
 Cummins, Fr. John F., iii, 260, 687
 Cummins, Fr. Richard, iii, 295
 Cummysky, Fr. James, i, 699
 Cunningham, Rev. Charles N., iii, 683
 Cunningham, Henry V., iii, 516, 759
 Curley, Archbishop, iii, 650, 652
 Curley, James M., iii, 582
 Curran, Fr. Francis J., iii, 291
 Currier, Rev. Charles W., C.S.S.R., iii, 344
 Curtin, Rev. Edward J., iii, 329
 Curtin, Rev. John, ii, 145, 151
 Curtin, Fr. Timothy A., iii, 720
 Curtis, George Ticknor, ii, 237, 238
 Cusack, Fr. Thomas F., iii, 310, 689
 Cushing, Caleb, ii, 413, 521, 756
 Cushing, Bishop Richard J., iii, 663, 698
 Cutler, Rev. Dr., i, 156, 160
 Cutter, Edward, ii, 207, 210-216 *passim*, 221

- Cutts, Edward, i, 456
 Czubek, Rev. John J., iii, 232, 741
- Daily Standard*, iii, 143-144, 148, 158
Daily Whig, The, ii, 225
 Daley, Dominic, i, 622-626
 Dalton, Mass., ii, 287
 Daly Industrial School, iii, 367-368
 Daly, Rev. John A., iii, 247, 685
 Daly, Fr. John B., O.F.M., ii, 148, 275, 276-277, 544, 568, 569, 572
 Daly, Fr. Patrick J., iii, 254, 280, 368
 Daly, Fr. William J., iii, 240
 Damariscotta, Me., i, 538 (*see also* Kavanagh, James, and Newcastle); ii, 31, 65
 Dana, Matilda, iii, 410
 Dana, Ruth Charlotte, ii, 359
 Danahy, Rev. Timothy J., iii, 276, 317, 698
 Danvers, Mass., ii, 523-525; iii, 289, 703
 Darracott, George, ii, 406
 Daudin, Fr., i, 201
 Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul (Emmitsburg), ii, 310, 329-331, 614, 630-631; iii, 18, 204, 303, 315-316, 359, 361-364, 368-369, 377, 535
 Daugis, Fr. Andrew F., iii, 744
 Daunery, Jean Baptiste, i, 501
 David, Bishop John B., ii, 9, 11
 Davis, Rev. William J., ii, 360
 Dean, Dr. John, iii, 409
 Dearborn, Gen. H. A. S., ii, 261, 396
 de Butler, Fr. George M., S.J., iii, 723
 Dechamps, Archbishop, iii, 35
 Declaration of Rights, Boston, i, 257-258
 De Courcy, Charles A., iii, 516, 518
 Dedéant, Fr., O.M.I., iii, 203
 Dedham, Mass., ii, 273, 488; iii, 315-317, 715
 Deer Island, ii, 510, 449-451, 626-627
 Degan, Fr. John A., iii, 707
 Delahunty, Rev. John E., iii, 274, 290, 309
 Delaney, Fr. Michael F., iii, 312, 710
 Delebecque, Bishop Louis Joseph, ii, 751
 Delétang, Miss, iii, 211
 Demillier, Rev. Louis-Edmond, ii, 157-158, 282
 Deming, Rev. Dr., iii, 121
 Democratic party, i, 508, 509, 510, 620-622; ii, 665-666
 Denaut, Bishop, i, 584-585
 De Neckere, Fr., S.J., ii, 565
 Denis, Fr., iii, 448-449
 Dennyville, Me., ii, 150
 Denonville, Gov., i, 25, 26, 40, 41
 de Normandie, Dr. Myra, iii, 409
 Derby, Dr. Hasket, iii, 377, 409, 421
 Derby, Richard, i, 764
 Derby, Dr. William P., iii, 409
 Derby, Conn., ii, 171, 286
 Dermody, Fr. Joseph J., iii, 719
 Deschambeaux, Rev. Jacques, i, 42, 62, 66
 Desenclaves, Fr., i, 201, 208, 212
 Desnoues, Joseph, i, 650
 Despouy, Fr. Paul, iii, 219, 734
 de Valera, Eamonn, iii, 614
 De Valles, Fr., iii, 599
 Devereux, Henry L., ii, 334-335, 337
 Devereux, Nicholas, ii, 95, 99, 169
- Devitt, Fr. Edward I., S.J., iii, 355
 Devlin, Fr. William, S.J., iii, 626, 640
 Dewart, Mrs. William H., iii, 761
 Diaz, Rev. Antonio Felisberto, iii, 217
 Diaz, General Armando, iii, 620
 Dighton, Mass., ii, 504
 Diocesan Centre, iii, 663, 749
 Diocesan Charitable Bureau, iii, 533, 601, 627-628, 643, 663, 664, 751-752. *See also* Central Bureau of Information
 Diocesan Committee on Reconstruction, iii, 619
 Diocesan Constitutions, iii, 26, 96
 Diocesan House, iii, 640, 749
 Diocese, Boston, Catholic Church founded in, i, 375, 377-381, 387-389, 410-411, 630-635; early poverty of, 695-698; growth of, 716-727; ii, 292, 294, 429, 432, 460-461, 749-750; iii, 3-6, 18-19, 189, 657, 680-681, 725-726, 747-749, 767; division of, ii, 292-294, 421-423; iii, 41-46; elevated to Archdiocese, ii, 423-425; iii, 4, 19, 46-48; Centennial Celebration, 507-517
 Dionne, Fr., ii, 556
 Doherty, Fr. Austin E., iii, 723
 Doherty, Fr. John J., ii, 468, 536, 547, 620, 622
 Doherty, Rev. Michael, iii, 297, 328
 Dolan, Fr. Edwin J., iii, 718
 Dolan, Felix, ii, 415
 Dolan, Msgr. Francis X., iii, 684, 714
 Dolan, Fr. Gerald L., iii, 715
 Dolan, Fr. James H., S.J., iii, 640, 641, 660
 Dolan, Fr. Michael, iii, 276-277, 279
 Domenec, Bishop, iii, 39
 Dominican Sisters, iii, 349, 528, 661
 Dominis, Capt. Giovanni, ii, 139
 Dompieri, Fr. Simeon, S.J., iii, 224
 Donahoe, Lawrence, ii, 674, 675
 Donahoe, Patrick, ii, 334-337, 339, 345, 715; iii, 71, 344, 361, 389, 391, 392, 396-397
 Donahoe, Patrick M., iii, 396, 398
Donahoe's Magazine, iii, 396, 399, 459
 Donahue, Fr. John W., iii, 268-269
 Dongan, Gov. Thomas, i, 23-24, 33, 89
 Donnelly, Charles Francis, ii, 605-606; iii, 115, 131, 344, 401-402, 419, 429, 436
 Donnelly, Fr. James A., iii, 712
 Donnelly, Fr. John A., iii, 312, 317, 685
 Donnelly, Rev. Richard, iii, 282
 Donoghue, John, iii, 404
 Donovan, Fr. Dennis H., iii, 698
 Donovan, John J., iii, 86
 Donovan, Fr. John M., iii, 704
 Doody, Rev. Michael J., iii, 269, 335
 Doolin, Prof. Paul R., iii, 761
 Doonan, James, S.J., ii, 611
 Dorchester, Mass., ii, 89, 493; iii, 56, 246-251, 638-686
 Dorset, Vt., ii, 104, 147
 Dougherty, Cardinal, iii, 651
 Dougherty, Rev. Manasses P., ii, 268, 271, 431, 513, 514, 515; iii, 25, 269, 272, 273
 Douglas, Mass., ii, 505
 Dover, N.H., i, 39, 42; ii, 65-70 *passim*, 149

- Dowd, Abbé, i, 340
 Dowd, Rev. George M., iii, 668
 Downey, Rev. John J., iii, 291, 367
Downfall of Babylon, ii, 240
 Doyle, Mrs. Anne, i, 676-677
 Doyle, Michael, iii, 153
 Doyle, William, i, 677
 Dozois, John B., iii, 201
 Dracut, Mass., iii, 308, 708, 732
 Draper, Gov., iii, 518
 Drazek, Fr. John A., iii, 741
 Drexel, Mother Mary Katherine, iii, 573, 658
 Driscoll, Annette S., iii, 760
 Droiet, Fr. Hector, ii, 534, 571-572
 Druilletes, Rev. Gabriel, S.J., i, 18-19
 Drumgoole, Rev. John C., iii, 364
 Drummond, Rev. James, ii, 143
Dublin Pilot, ii, 335
 Dubois, Bishop, ii, 321
 Du Bourg, Bishop, i, 693; ii, 8, 24, 26, 27
 Duckville, Mass., ii, 550, 554
 Duda, Rev. Stephen, P.S.S.C., iii, 232, 233
 Duddleian Lectures, Harvard College, i, 218, 235, 244, 258, 344, 497, 772-774
 Dudley, Gov., i, 82, 83, 85, 88, 93, 104
 Dudley, Mass., ii, 175, 178, 542
 Duggan, John, i, 553
 Duggan, Patrick, i, 355
 Dumaine, Louis Charles Cherot, i, 500
 Dummer, Gov., i, 131
 Dumontier, Rev. Joseph Zéphirin, iii, 213, 349
 Dunbar, David, i, 142-144, 151, 156-157
 Dunbar, Jeremiah, i, 157
 Duncan, Fr. William H., S.J., iii, 240
 Dunn, Rev. James B., iii, 107, 158
 Dunn, Mother Louise, iii, 542
 Dunniel, Capt. Nathaniel, i, 203
 Dupanloup, Bishop, iii, 35, 37
 Duplessis, Mme., i, 674-675
 Durand, Fr. Justinian, i, 90
 Durant, Henry F., ii, 600
 Durcan, Fr. Patrick J., iii, 704
 Durin, Fr. S.M., iii, 211
 Duxbury, Mass., iii, 723
 Dwenger, Bishop, iii, 95, 167
 Dwight, Mrs. James, iii, 546
 Dwight, Dr. Thomas, ii, 724; iii, 51, 74, 115, 377, 384, 385, 413-415, 420, 429, 516
 Dwight, Mrs. Thomas, ii, 640, 724
 Dwight, Wilder, ii, 600
 Dwyer, Fr. William J., iii, 703, 704, 716
 Dyer, Micah, ii, 590, 594, 601
 Dzierozynski, Fr., S.J., ii, 27, 32, 323, 326
 Dziok, Fr. John S., iii, 743
 Early, Fr., S.J., ii, 575
 East Boston, Mass., ii, 509-513; iii, 228, 263-265, 282-283, 734-737
 East Boston Riot, iii, 146-156
 Easthampton, Mass., iii, 42
 Eastman, Edwin S., ii, 760
 Easton, Mass., ii, 162, 272, 493-495
 Eastport, Me., ii, 65, 67, 69, 70, 150, 278-279, 563-566
 Eccleston, Archbishop, ii, 293, 380
 Eck, Fr. Gustavus, S.J., ii, 484-486, 487
Ecole Economique, L', i, 650-651
 Edes, Miss, iii, 98
 Edgar, Constance, iii, 409, 410
 Edge, Fr. Louis M., O.S.A., iii, 296
 Edgeremit, i, 53, 57
 Edson, Rev. Theodore, ii, 314
 Education, Catholic, in New England, i, 17, 87, 395, 409, 440, 498, 504, 524, 597, 644-649, 680-683, 723-727; development of Catholic, ii, 309-329; iii, 57, 525-531, 624-627, 639, 640-643, 659-662, 750-751; struggle for Catholic, ii, 574, 583-584, 586-587; growth of parochial schools, 614-623; iii, 345-349
Education: To Whom Does It Belong? (Bouquillon), iii, 175-176, 182
 Edwards, Gen. Clarence R., iii, 604
 Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, i, 177
 Edwards, William, ii, 546, 721
 Egan, Ann, *see* Keyes, Ann Egan (Williams)
 Egan, Bishop Michael, i, 639
 Egan, James, ii, 317
 Egan, Fr. Peter, ii, 552
 Egremont, Mass., ii, 287
 Elder, Bishop, iii, 37
 El-Douaihy, Rt. Rev. Stephen, iii, 744
 Eliot, Rev. Andrew, i, 240
 Eliot Charity School, ii, 583, 587-601, 637
 Eliot, Charles W., iii, 116-117, 132, 548
 Eliot, Rev. John, i, 455
 Eliot, Samuel, ii, 636-637
 Eliot, Samuel A., ii, 249, 254, 396
 Ellis, George E., ii, 756
 Ellsworth, Me., ii, 150, 279, 565, 566, 672-678
 Elm Bank, Wellesley, iii, 657
 Embargo of 1807, i, 632, 641
Emerald Isle, The, ii, 336
 Emerson, George B., ii, 406
 Emery, George F., ii, 356
 Emery, Susan L., iii, 410, 546
 Emigration, International Congress on, iii, 171
 Emmanuel College, iii, 626, 644, 661, 751
 Emmanuel House, iii, 665
 Emmons, Judge, iii, 155
 Endicott, Henry B., iii, 605, 606
 Enfield, Conn., ii, 91, 95, 98
 England, Bishop John, i, 795-796; ii, 20-21, 24, 26, 29, 380; iii, 649
 Enright, Fr., ii, 552
 Entremonts, D', i, 208-209
 Epinette, Fr. Peter, S.J., ii, 11
 Epiphany, Church of the, Hyde Park, iii, 260
Episcopal Watchman, ii, 185
 Episcopalianism, *see* Anglican Church
 Essex, Mass., ii, 524, 704
Estafette, L', iii, 200
 Estaing, Count D', i, 303, 304, 305, 307, 313
 Etienne, Mother, ii, 614-615
Etoile, L', iii, 200
 Eucharistic Congress, Montreal, iii, 519-520
 Eustis Street Dispensary, ii, 638-639
 Evangelical Alliance, iii, 65, 107, 110, 111, 121, 123, 129, 130

- Evangelical movement, ii, 258-259, 354
 Evans, Hiram Wesley, iii, 636
 Everett, Ann Vincent, ii, 358
 Everett, Edward, i, 767; ii, 251, 255, 396, 406, 480, 661, 707
 Everett, Rosamond, ii, 358
 Everett, Mass., iii, 266, 285, 700, 730, 737
 Exeter, N.H., ii, 531
Expostulator, or Young Catholic's Guide, The, ii, 332, 333

 Faber, Fr., ii, 357, 426
 Fagan, Fr. Gerald, iii, 327
 Fahey, Fr. Timothy J., iii, 718
 Fairbanks, Charles Bullard, ii, 725
 Fairfield, Vt., ii, 104, 147, 276, 571
 Fairview House of Studies, iii, 622
 Falconio, Diomedes Cardinal, iii, 552
 Fall River, Mass., ii, 84, 88, 163, 164, 282, 283, 502; iii, 42, 45, 46, 202
 Fallon, Mrs. James, iii, 709
 Falmouth Treaty, i, 181, 185
 Famine of 1846, Ireland, ii, 434-439
 Faribault Plan, iii, 173-178, 180, 182
 Farley, Cardinal, iii, 504, 519, 552, 580*n.*, 605
 Farley, George F., ii, 227
 Farmer, Fr. Ferdinand, S.J., i, 347
 Farnum, Mabel, iii, 760
 Farnum, Welcome, ii, 505
 Farnum, William, ii, 721
 Farrell, Mrs. James C., iii, 704
 Farrell, Fr. John J., iii, 683
 Farrell, Fr. William J., iii, 603
 Farrelly, Fr. Edward, ii, 505, 536, 537, 539
 Farrelly, Fr. James J., iii, 706
Father Mathew Herald, iii, 400
 Fay, George, ii, 244, 247, 250
 Federalist Party, i, 508, 510, 568, 620-622, 765; ii, 666
 Feehan, Archbishop, iii, 89
 Feehan, Bishop, iii, 519
 Feeney, Fr. Leonard, S.J., iii, 760
 Felton, President, Harvard, ii, 406
 Fennessy, Rev. William J., iii, 719
 Fenwick, Benedict Joseph, S.J., Second Bishop of Boston, i, 645, 744, 810; ancestry, ii, 3-7; early years, education, ordination, 7-12; apprenticeship in New York, 12-17; President of Georgetown College, 17-18, 23; Vicar-General for Georgia and Carolinas, 19-21; Chaplain at Port Tobacco, 22; Bishop of Boston, 23-27, 28-32, 35, 39-42, 67-68; expansion of Church under, 41-42, 51, 108-109, 309-313, 320-342, 344-350, 354-360, 384-385; founds 'colony' at Benedicta, 153-156; organizer of Boston Diocese, 295-301; character and personality, 374-380; illness and death, 381-384; iii, 12; plans for diocesan seminary, 57
 Fenwick, Cuthbert, ii, 4-5
 Fenwick, Bishop Edward Dominic, O.P., ii, 5, 24, 380
 Fenwick, Fr. Enoch, S.J., ii, 5, 8-11 *passim*, 23, 85
 Fenwick, Francis, ii, 5
 Fenwick, George, ii, 5-6

 Fenwick; Fr. George, S.J., ii, 6, 327
 Fenwick, Margaret (Medley), ii, 5-7
 Ferré, Lieut., i, 315
 Ffrench, Rev. Charles D., O.P., i, 745; ii, 45-48, 51, 58, 67, 68-71, 149, 161, 275, 528-529, 531, 620
 Ffrench, Bishop Edmund, ii, 46
 Fidelis, Fr., C.P., iii, 389, 411, 541
 Fidentianus, Fr., i, 347-348
Field Ajar, The, iii, 538
 Field, Rev. Joseph, ii, 232
 Fields *versus* Tighe, ii, 491-492
Fifty Years in the Church of Rome (Chiniquy), iii, 66
 Filicchi, Anthony, i, 609-610
 Filion, Fr. Henry Joseph, iii, 730
 Filippi, Mother Alexandrina, iii, 543
 Finn, Fr. Aloisius, iii, 712
 Finn, Msgr. Charles A., iii, 640, 660, 720
 Finn, Joseph, iii, 285
 Finnegan, Rev. Charles A., iii, 309
 Finotti, Fr. Joseph M., ii, 410, 489, 490, 712, 745; iii, 273, 274, 315, 405
 Fitchburg, Mass., ii, 292, 517, 542, 721; iii, 42
 Fitton, Rev. James, ii, 42-43, 48, 79, 100-101, 105, 166-169, 171-178 *passim*, 285, 286, 290, 323-324, 333, 342, 347, 469, 471, 511-513, 619, 763; iii, 9, 25, 146, 257, 263, 264
 Fitzgerald, Bishop, iii, 39
 Fitzgerald, Lieut.-Col. John, i, 284
 Fitzgerald, Hon. John F., iii, 399, 436, 494, 558, 559, 582
 Fitzgerald, Rev. John F., iii, 712
 Fitzgerald, John R., ii, 338, 341-342
 Fitzgibbons, Fr. Joseph M., iii, 695
 Fitzpatrick, Bernard, ii, 390, 391, 394-395
 Fitzpatrick, Eleanor (Flinn), ii, 390-391
 Fitzpatrick, John Bernard, Third Bishop of Boston, ii, 142, 267, 271, 294, 304, 306, 382, 383, 384; iii, 55, 429; family background, youth and ordination, ii, 390-399; early years in priesthood, 399-401; Coadjutor Bishop of Boston, 401-403; character and personality, 404-408, 641, 764-766; expansion of Church under, 409-410, 432, 614, 622-623; Diocesan administration under, 410-411, 414-419, 428-430; opposes archbishopric, 423-425; visits Europe, 426-428; failing health, 432-433; views on slavery, 709-711; and founding of St. Joseph's Seminary, 751-752; and American College, Rome, 750; iii, 57; plans Cathedral, ii, 752-754; iii, 49; academic honors, ii, 754-756; last years and death, 758-764; iii, 14-15, 16
 Fitzpatrick, Peter P., S.J., ii, 611
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas B., iii, 403-404, 574, 622
 Fitzpatrick, Rev. William H., iii, 247, 283, 298
 Fitzsimmons, Fr. James F., iii, 700
 Fitzsimmons, Fr. Terence, ii, 269, 271, 347, 417-418, 491, 492-493, 494, 625-627
 Fitzwilliam, N.H., ii, 543
 Flaget, Bishop Benedict Joseph, i, 639, 640; ii, 8, 11, 24, 26

- Flanagan, Rev. Thomas L., iii, 282, 456, 699
- Flatley, Fr. John, ii, 493-494; iii, 270, 271, 321, 322
- Flatley, M. J., iii, 72, 74
- Flatley, Fr. Michael J., iii, 280, 284
- Fleischer, Rabbi, iii, 548
- Fleming, Fr. Francis A., S.J., i, 432, 438, 439, 443
- Fleming, Rev. John H., iii, 309, 316
- Fleuche, Fr., i, 6
- Flinn, James, ii, 390-391
- Flinn, Mary (Kinsella), ii, 391
- Flood, Fr. Bernard, ii, 517, 518; iii, 275, 277-278
- Flood, Fr. Patrick, ii, 149, 151, 305, 331, 400, 416-417, 474, 489, 515, 516-518; iii, 275
- Florence, Mass., ii, 553, 554
- Flynn, Martin, ii, 318
- Flynn, Fr. Thomas A., iii, 713
- Flynn, Fr. William H., iii, 704
- Foch, Marshal, iii, 620
- Foley, Rev. Peter J., iii, 695
- Foley, Fr. William J., iii, 697
- Forbes, Robert B., ii, 439
- Forbin-Janson, Count de, Bishop of Nancy, ii, 399
- Force, Fr., S.J., ii, 565
- Ford, Prof. Jeremiah D. M., iii, 760
- Ford, Rev. John F., iii, 366, 367, 452
- Foreign-language parishes, iii, 164-166, 171-172, 725-728; German, ii, 144-145; iii, 189, 196-197; French, ii, 276, 533-535, 571-573; iii, 726-733; Italian, 189, 197, 220-228, 705, 734-740; Portuguese, 189, 197, 215-219, 733-734; Polish, 189, 197, 228-233, 740-743; Lithuanian, 189, 197, 233-236, 705, 743-744; Syrian, 189, 197, 236-238, 744, 745; Ruthenian, 238, 746; Armenian, 745-746
- Foreign Mission Sisters of St. Dominic, iii, 539-540
- Foreign Missions Seminary, Quebec, i, 22, 27
- Foresters, Catholic Order of, iii, 386, 628
- Forestier, Fr. Benoît, S.M., iii, 208
- Fort Fairfield, Me., ii, 556
- Forty Hours' Devotion, iii, 383
- Foss, Gov., iii, 559
- Foster, Gen. John Gray, iii, 409
- Foster, Vinc, ii, 456
- Four of Us Club, iii, 402
- Fournier, Fr. O.M.I., iii, 209
- Fox, John, ii, 69
- Fox, Rev. Thomas B., ii, 681
- Foxboro, Mass., ii, 162, 493-495, 506; iii, 321
- Fraher, Fr. Edward J., iii, 702
- Framingham, ii, 291, 537, 547; iii, 310-312, 710, 737
- Franciscan Fathers, ii, 752; iii, 19, 223-225, 227, 233, 734, 735, 736, 740, 741, 749
- Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, iii, 544, 629-630
- Franciscan Sisters of Allegany, iii, 379
- Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, iii, 642-643, 657, 748
- Frankfort, Me., i, 185; ii, 564, 565
- Franklin, Benjamin, i, 257, 285, 305, 341, 362, 363
- Franklin, Mass., ii, 495; iii, 320-321, 717
- Franzelin, Cardinal, iii, 89
- Frawley, Fr. John J., C.S.S.R., iii, 258
- Frédéric, Fr., de Bourges, O.F.M., Cap., i, 328, 329-331, 340
- Free Home for Consumptives, Dorchester, iii, 380-381, 579n.
- Free Religious Association, iii, 76
- Freeman's Journal, The*, iii, 83
- Freemasonry, ii, 201-202
- Free-Soil Party, ii, 685, 701-702, 704
- Fremont, John C., ii, 702
- Fremont-Smith, Dr. Maurice, iii, 761
- Fremont-Smith, Mrs. Maurice, iii, 760
- French, early difficulties of, in Boston, i, 301-309; provide priests for Maine Indians, 309, 311-312, 313-319, 326, 329-331, 334-335; influence of, on Church in Boston, 326-327, 340-351; iii, 189
- French-Canadians, immigration of, to New England, ii, 138-139, 276; iii, 197-200
- French parishes, ii, 533-535, 571-573; iii, 209-215, 726-733
- French Revolution, i, 488, 492, 508-510
- Frenchville, Me., ii, 556
- Freygang, Rev. Joseph E., ii, 144
- Friguglietti, Fr. Francis, iii, 323, 324
- Frothingham, Mayor, ii, 508, 658
- Frothingham, Mrs. Randolph, iii, 665
- Fugitive Slave Act, ii, 703
- Fuller, Ransom B., iii, 410
- Fulton, Rev. Justin Dewey, iii, 103-106, 121-122, 123, 134, 144, 158
- Fulton, Fr. Robert, S.J., ii, 611; iii, 351-354, 387, 389, 449, 459
- Furnace, Mass., ii, 495
- Gadoury, Fr. Joseph O., iii, 214
- Gagnon, Ferdinand, iii, 199
- Galberry, Very Rev. Fr., O.S.A. (later Bishop), iii, 298
- Gallagher, Fr. Joseph H., iii, 253-254
- Gallagher, Fr. Louis J., S.J., iii, 660
- Gallagher, Very Rev. Lucian, O.F.M., iii, 666
- Gallagher, Rev. Michael E., O.S.A., iii, 302
- Gallagher, Rev. Dr. Simon, ii, 18
- Gallicanism, iii, 29
- Galligan, Fr. Charles J., iii, 707
- Galligan, William, ii, 345
- Galligher, Fr. Michael P., ii, 475; iii, 42, 547, 548
- Gallitzin, Fr. Demetrius A., i, 647-648; ii, 153
- Galvin, Fr. John B., iii, 273
- Gambier, Adm., i, 313
- Gannam, Rt. Rev. Nicholas, iii, 745
- Gannon, Fr. William, S.J., iii, 355
- Gardiner, Me., ii, 65, 150
- Gardner, Henry J., ii, 584, 685, 700, 702
- Gardner, Mass., ii, 543, 545
- Gargan, Thomas J., iii, 6, 132, 402, 420
- Garin, Fr. André, O.M.I., iii, 203, 205, 206, 207, 304

- Garnier, Fr., S.S., ii, 11
 Garrison, William Lloyd, ii, 238, 646-647, 704
 Gasson, Fr. Thomas I., S.J., iii, 356, 526-528, 572
 Gate of Heaven Church, South Boston, ii, 492, 619; iii, 119, 223, 244, 246, 682
 Gaulin, Rev. Anthony, i, 80-82, 86
 Gavazzi, Alessandro, ii, 661, 662
 Gavin, Anthony, i, 258, 759
 Gavin, Dr. Michael F., iii, 403
 General Theological Seminary, New York, ii, 735, 736
 Genest, Rev. Oscar, iii, 215
 Geoffroy, Fr. Louis, S.S., i, 26-27, 32
 George, Henry, iii, 166-167, 168, 169
 George II, King, i, 232
 George III, King, i, 232
 Georgetown College, ii, 17-18
 Georgetown, Mass., iii, 294-295
 Georgetown, Me., i, 104, 105, 110, 112-113, 131
 Gerbi, Fr. Emiliano, O.F.M., ii, 509, 752; iii, 223-224
 Germain, Fr. Charles, S.J., i, 164, 167, 186, 222
 German-Americans, discontent among, iii, 164-166, 168, 171-172
 German parishes, ii, 144-145; iii, 196-197
 Germans, immigration of, to New England, ii, 139, 142, 153, 185
 Gerrish, Sarah, i, 39, 45, 50
 Gibbons, James Cardinal, iii, 88, 89, 91, 97, 98, 161, 164, 166, 173, 179, 183, 423-424, 580, 596, 616, 618
 Gibson, Rev. Matthew W., ii, 268, 290-291, 292, 418-419, 505, 518, 535, 536, 537, 539-547 *passim*
 Gifford, Rev. Irving L., iii, 705
 Gilbride, Fr. Michael C., iii, 708
 Gilday, Rev. James J., iii, 303, 722
 Gilfether, Fr. James F., iii, 702
 Gill, Thomas, ii, 698, 725
 Gill, Rt. Rev. Walter H., iii, 702
 Gilleran, Rev. Leo J., S.J., iii, 666
 Gillick, Rev. Philip, iii, 318, 320, 321, 495, 506
 Gilligan, Fr. Michael, iii, 282, 456
 Gillis, Fr. James S., C.S.P., iii, 760
 Gilmore, Fr., O.S.A., iii, 297, 298, 302
 Gilmour, Bishop, iii, 95
 Gladden, Dr. Washington, iii, 158
 Gleeson, Fr. Thomas, iii, 280, 282, 283
 Glesnon, Abbé, i, 340
 Gloucester, Mass., ii, 146, 523; iii, 219, 292-293, 703-704, 734
 Glynn, Fr. Francis J., iii, 284
 Godfrey, Nicholas Cools, i, 535
 Godin, Fr. Elphège, S.M., iii, 208, 209, 211, 212-213
 Goësbriand, Bishop Louis de, ii, 423, 425, 508, 763; iii, 14, 36, 48, 202
 Goffe, Theodore, ii, 356
 Golding, Fr. Thomas J., iii, 699
 Goldstein, David, iii, 631-632, 760
 Gonzaga, Sister, iii, 377
 Goodrich, Samuel G., ii, 188
 Goodwin, A. G., ii, 457
 Goodwin, Fr. George J., ii, 267, 398, 506; iii, 12
 Gordon, Rev. A. J., iii, 109
 Gordon, George W., ii, 661
 Gordon, Rev. William, i, 275
 Gorham, Fr. John P., iii, 702
 Gorman, Fr. Daniel F., iii, 708
 Gospel Advocate, ii, 362
 Gouesse, Fr. Francis, iii, 213, 319-320, 321
 Gould, Col. Arthur, i, 292
 Gounon, Fr. Simon-Pierre, S.J., i, 181-184, 187-189, 194
 Grace, William R., iii, 86
 Gracey, Rev. S. R., iii, 129
 Grady, Maj. Patrick J., iii, 417
 Grafton, Mass., ii, 178, 505, 540
 Graham, Edward T. P., iii, 576, 688
 Graham, Rev. John J., iii, 337, 705
 Graniteville, Mass., iii, 308
 Grant, Deacon, ii, 644
 Grant, Ulysses S., iii, 66-67
 Grassi, Fr. John, S.J., i, 706; ii, 18
 Gray, F. C., ii, 406
 Gray, Mrs. Francis, iii, 761
 Gray, Fr. John J., iii, 288, 290
 Gray, Rev. Thomas, i, 768
 Great Awakening, The, i, 170
 Great Barrington, Mass., ii, 175, 287, 551
 Greater Boston Community Fund, iii, 664
 Greaton, Fr. Joseph, S.J., i, 159
 Green, Fr. Michael M., iii, 275, 278-279
 Greene, Gardiner, i, 764
 Greene, Dr. Henry B. C., i, 809; ii, 67, 337, 355
 Greene, Mary Gardiner, ii, 358
 Greenfield, Mass., ii, 174, 277, 550, 552-554; iii, 42
 Greenhalge, Frederic T., iii, 149-150, 187
 Gregorian Society, ii, 349
 Grenier, Rev. Pierre Hercule, iii, 215, 731
 Grey Nuns, ii, 620, 637, 639; iii, 19, 56, 127, 369, 370, 372, 378, 381, 535, 629, 665, 748
 Gricius, Fr. Joseph A., iii, 235-236, 743
 Griffin, Rev. James, iii, 254, 320
 Griffin, Fr. John, ii, 488
 Griffin, Rev. John H., iii, 265, 690
 Griffin, Martin, iii, 399
 Griffin, Representative, ii, 692, 694, 697
 Griffin, Fr. Thomas L., iii, 703
 Griscom, Lloyd C., iii, 480
 Griswold, Bishop Alexander, i, 703, 741, 742
 Groton, Mass., ii, 543, 544; iii, 309, 709
 Groveland, Mass., iii, 295
 Gruber, Very Rev. Fr., S.J., ii, 10
 Guard of Liberty, ii, 685
 Guardian Angels, Chapel of the, Norridge-wok, i, 96; Boston, iii, 12
 Guardians of Liberty, iii, 583, 584
 Guerrini, Fr. Joachim, O.F.M., iii, 224
 Guertin, Bishop, iii, 516, 519
 Guild, Curtis, iii, 436, 494, 516
 Guild, Mrs. Curtis, iii, 761
 Guild of the Infant Saviour, iii, 547, 628
 Guild of Nocturnal Adoration, iii, 414
 Guild of St. Apollonia, iii, 546, 625-626
 Guild of St. Luke, iii, 560

- Guillemet, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
 Guillet, Fr. Urbain, i, 596
 Guiney, Louise Imogen, iii, 405-406, 546, 769
 Guiney, Gen. Patrick R., iii, 405
- Haberlin, Msgr. Richard J., iii, 653, 684
 Haberstroh, Rev. Andrew F., iii, 722; 723
 Hadley, Aaron, ii, 229
 Hadley, Mass., ii, 174, 554; iii, 42
 Hage, Fr., O.P., iii, 519
 Hale, Charles, ii, 691-694 *passim*
 Hale, Rev. Edward Everett, iii, 116, 126, 187
 Hale, Ezekiel, iii, 295
 Hale, Rev. Moses, i, 141
 Hale, Nathan, ii, 691
 Haley, Daniel, i, 355
 Halifax, Mass., iii, 722
 Hallett, Benjamin F., ii, 226, 236
 Halligan, James, i, 622-626
 Halloran, Fr. Florence J., iii, 701, 740
 Halloran, Rev. John B., iii, 271
 Hallowell, Me., ii, 65, 150
 Hally, Fr. Patrick J., iii, 261, 284, 288
 Hally, Fr. William, ii, 497; iii, 288
 Hamilton, Fr. Alexander J., iii, 719
 Hamilton, Edward, ii, 665
 Hamilton, Fr. George A., ii, 507, 508, 509, 536, 639-640; iii, 25, 223, 262
 Hamilton, Fr. James F., iii, 331, 719
 Hamilton, Mass., iii, 704
 Hammond Hall, Gloucester, iii, 659, 756
 Hammond, John Hays, iii, 659
 Hammond, Nathaniel, ii, 478, 479, 480
 Hancock, John, i, 306, 307, 343, 344, 371, 375, 455
 Hanley, Michael, iii, 272
 Hanley, Patrick, i, 539, 540
 Hanley, Roger, i, 539, 540
 Hanna, Archbishop Edward J., iii, 596
 Hannah Corcoran Riots, ii, 656-660
 Hannawin, Fr. Francis P., iii, 288
 Hannigan, Rev. John, iii, 324, 326
 Hanover, Mass., iii, 331, 721-722
 Hanover, N.H., ii, 277
 Hanson, Mass., iii, 722
 Hardey, Rev. Richard B., ii, 283, 402
 Harding, Warren C., iii, 647
 Harkins, Fr. John J., iii, 707
 Harkins, Bishop Matthew, iii, 91, 213, 241, 273, 421, 488
 Harkins, Fr. Patrick J., ii, 554
 Harney, Fr. Martin P., S.J., iii, 760
 Harold, Fr. William, O.P., i, 640
 Harrigan, Fr. John H., iii, 684
 Harrington, Fr. John C., iii, 286-287, 288
 Harrington, Dr. Thomas F., iii, 759
 Harris, Rev. Thaddeus M., i, 768
 Harrison, Elizabeth, *see* Mary John, Sister
 Harrison, Thomas, ii, 211
 Hart, Fr. Francis H., iii, 719
 Hartford, Conn., i, 454, 752, 755-757; ii, 85, 92-100, 168, 169; iii, 44, 45
 Hartney, Fr. Michael, ii, 523
 Harvard University, i, 181, 603, 770; ii, 754
 Harvey, Rev. Thomas, i, 24
- Harwich, Mass., ii, 499
 Haskins, Rev. George F., ii, 267-268, 355, 396, 426, 488, 511-512, 592, 601, 619, 621, 632-635, 743; iii, 12, 25, 240, 254, 359, 360
 Hastings, Bulkeley A., ii, 360
 Hatfield, Mass., ii, 554
 Haverhill, Mass., ii, 531; iii, 202, 207, 212-213, 295-296, 704-706, 728, 741
 Haverhill School Case, iii, 126-129
 Havey, Rev. Francis P., S.S., iii, 62
 Haydenville, Mass., ii, 553, 554; iii, 42
 Hayes, Cardinal, iii, 648
 Haynes, Rev. E. J., iii, 110
 Hayward, Dr. Nathan, ii, 638
 Haywood, J. C., iii, 467
 Healy, Fr. A. Sherwood, ii, 488, 709, 752, 764; iii, 21, 34, 48, 55, 241, 429
 Healy, Fr. Daniel S., iii, 289, 293
 Healy, George Peter Alexander, ii, 343-344
 Healy, Bishop James A., ii, 430, 471, 611, 709; iii, 17, 25, 185, 186, 241, 255, 256, 327, 389, 429, 469
 Healy, Rev. Jeremiah J., iii, 292, 703
 Healy, John P., ii, 601
 Healy, Rev. Michael, ii, 50, 70, 80, 143, 149, 267
 Healy, Fr. Patrick, ii, 554
 Hearne, Fr. Daniel, ii, 503
 Heath, Gen., i, 304, 307, 308
 Hecker, Fr. Isaac, C.S.P., ii, 360, 727; iii, 76, 290
 Heffernan, Rev. Daniel J., iii, 708
 Heffernan, Rev. David R., iii, 694
 Heffernan, Fr. John F., iii, 312
 Hehir, John, ii, 605
 Hehir, Mary, ii, 605
 Heiss, Archbishop, iii, 165
 Helmpraecht, Very Rev. Joseph, C.S.S.R., iii, 255
 Hemenway, Abby Maria, ii, 743
 Hemlock Lake, N.Y., iii, 422, 425, 427
 Hendricken, Bishop Thomas F., iii, 46, 210
 Hennessey, Fr. Ambrose, iii, 696
 Hennessey, Michael E., iii, 760
 Henniss, Fr. Henry E. S., ii, 501
 Henriette Marie, Queen, i, 11
 Henry, Sister Mary, ii, 222, 230
 Hewit, Rev. Augustine F., C.S.P., ii, 356
 Heyden, Rev. Thomas, ii, 750
 Hibbard, Mayor, iii, 517, 518
Hibernian, iii, 400
 Hibernian Benevolent Society, New Haven; ii, 345; Portland, ii, 345
 Hibernian Institute, ii, 349
 Hibernian Lyceum, ii, 349
 Hibernian Orphan's Society, Providence, ii, 346
 Hibernian Relief Society, Boston, ii, 349; Providence, ii, 349
 Hibernian Society, i, 660
 Hibernian Total Abstinence Lyceum, ii, 349
 Hickey, Msgr. Augustine F., iii, 624
 Higgins, Rev. Patrick F., iii, 280
 Higginson, Henry Lee, iii, 548
 Higginson, Miss, ii, 724
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, ii, 263; iii, 81, 117, 131, 132

- Highgate, Vt., ii, 571.
 Hill, Eliza Trask, iii, 124, 135-136, 144
 Hill, Capt. John, i, 69
 Hinckley, Sylvester B., iii, 527
 Hingham Catholic Association, ii, 498
 Hingham, Mass., ii, 498-499; iii, 326
 Hinsdale, Mass., ii, 551; iii, 42
 Hinsdell, Rev. Mr., i, 148, 151
 Hioki, Eki, iii, 494
 Hiss, Joseph, ii, 689-699 *passim*
 Hoar, George F., iii, 157
 Hobart, Bishop John, i, 742, 744
 Hobdai, Fr. François, i, 340
 Hoffman, Rev. Franz De Sales, ii, 144
 Hogan, Abbé John Baptist, iii, 61, 62, 91, 404, 537
 Hogan, ex-priest, iii, 106, 261
 Hogan, Mrs. Sarah, iii, 73, 74
 Holbrook, Mass., iii, 322-323, 714
 Holden, Mass., ii, 543, 545; iii, 42
 Holderness, Earl of, i, 189
 Holland, Fr. Timothy J., iii, 282, 701
 Hollis, Thomas, i, 231, 233-234, 240
 Holliston, Mass., ii, 292, 536; iii, 312-313
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, ii, 406; iii, 353
 Holmes, Rev. Fr., i, 808-809
 Holy Cross, Cathedral of the, Franklin St., i, 553-559, 579-587, 593-597, 604-606, 641-644, 722; ii, 30, 35-36, 470-472
 Holy Cross, Cathedral of the, Washington St., ii, 753-754; iii, 4, 19, 48-55, 241, 420, 681
 Holy Cross Cathedral High School, iii, 639
 Holy Cross, Chapel of the, Boston, iii, 12
 Holy Cross, Church of the, School Street, i, 378-381, 384-386, 554
 Holy Cross College, ii, 296, 326-329, 429, 432, 575-582, 606-607, 611-613
 Holy Cross, Confraternity of the, i, 595
 Holy Cross Hymnal, iii, 649
 Holy Family, Chapel of the, Boston, ii, 468; iii, 12
 Holy Family, Church of the, Rockland, iii, 331; Duxbury, 723; Lynn, 738
 Holy Ghost, Church of the, Whitman, iii, 331, 719
 Holy Ghost Hospital for Incurables, iii, 184, 380, 381, 548, 665
 Holy Name, Church of the, West Roxbury, iii, 688
 Holy Name of Jesus, Church of the, Chicopee, iii, 42
 Holy Name Society, iii, 384, 517, 545, 650-652, 756
 Holy Rosary, Church of the, Lawrence, iii, 737
 Holy Trinity, Church of the, Boston, ii, 269, 410, 430, 484-487; iii, 56, 196; Hartford, ii, 99; Lawrence, iii, 232, 740, 741; Lowell, 232, 741
 Holyoke, Mass., ii, 549-550, 552-553; iii, 42, 202
 Homans, Dr. John, iii, 377
 Home for the Aged Poor, iii, 19, 548
 Home for Destitute Catholic Children, Boston, ii, 635-638; iii, 19, 69, 361-362; Newburyport, 184, 294, 369, 645
 Home for Italian Children, iii, 630
 Home Rule, Irish, iii, 610-615
 Home for Working Girls, Boston, iii, 184
 Hoover, Herbert, iii, 647
 Hopkins, Erastus, ii, 581
 Hopkins, Bishop John H., ii, 735, 737, 738
 Hopkinton, Mass., ii, 536, 537; iii, 312-313
 Horgan, Fr. Daniel F., iii, 703
 Hospital Aid Society, iii, 382
 Hough's Neck, Mass., iii, 324
 Houlihan, Fr. Michael J., iii, 690
 Houlton, Me., ii, 279
 House of the Angel Guardian, ii, 632-635, 641, 642; iii, 68, 69, 359-360, 575, 644, 752
 House of the Good Shepherd, ii, 640; iii, 19, 372-375, 644
 House of Industry, ii, 449, 625-627
 Howard, Anthony, ii, 446
 Howe, Julia Ward, iii, 187, 371
 Hoyt, Rev. William H., ii, 355, 570, 734-741
 Hoyt, Mrs. William Henry, ii, 735, 738, 740, 741
 Hubert, Bishop, i, 448, 449
 Hudson, Mass., iii, 310, 732-733
 Hughes, Archbishop, ii, 259, 380, 383, 384, 424, 483, 737, 759; iii, 339, 620
 Hughes, Rev. Henry B. M., O.P., iii, 218-219
 Hull, Mass., iii, 326-327, 720-721
 Hunt, Judge Luther B., ii, 741
 Huntington, Rev. Frederick D., ii, 629
 Hussey, Samuel F., ii, 81
 Hutchinson, Gov. Thomas, i, 202, 226, 227, 238, 242, 247-248, 304
 Hyannis, Mass., ii, 499
 Hyde, Col. Archibald, ii, 106-107, 181
 Hyde Park, Mass., iii, 260-261, 689, 742
 I.W.W., iii, 568-569
 Iasigi, Joseph, ii, 661; iii, 51
 Icard, Fr. S.S., iii, 60
 Immaculate Conception, Church of the, Boston, ii, 483, 609; iii, 242; Calais, ii, 566; East Cambridge, iii, 744; East Weymouth, 325, 713; Easton, ii, 494; Everett, iii, 266, 285, 700; Lawrence, ii, 529, 530, 620; iii, 297, 298, 299; Lowell, 56, 206, 304-305; Malden, ii, 509; iii, 280, 282; Marlboro, ii, 538, 539; iii, 309; Newburyport, ii, 521; iii, 293; Revere, 266; St. Albans, ii, 739; Salem, 523; iii, 213, 288; Somerville, 694; Stoughton, ii, 493; iii, 322; Winchester, 700
 Immigration, to New England, ii, 34-35, 298-299, 448-452, 664-665, 716; iii, 3-4, 101, 189-196, 499, 581-582, 634-635, 656; Irish, i, 101-102, 142-144, 155-157, 173-177, 352-358; ii, 110-130, 133-138, 187-191, 439-447, 452-455, 460-461; German, i, 142, 153; ii, 139; iii, 164-166, 171-172, 196-197; French-Canadian, ii, 138-139; iii, 197-215; Italian, ii, 139-140; iii, 220-228; Portuguese, 215-219; Polish, 228-233; Lithuanian, 233-236; Syrian, 236-238; Ruthenian, 238
 Imperial Education Society of Japan, iii, 483

- Independent Women Voters, iii, 124
 Indian Orchard, Mass., ii, 547, 550, 554
Indian Prayer Book, The (Romagné), i, 591
 Industrial School for Working Boys, iii, 184
 Industrial and Social Justice League of America, iii, 548
 Industrialism, rise of New England, ii, 33-34, 52-54, 83-84, 130-133, 172-173, 458-459, 461-463, 528
 Infallibility, doctrine of Papal, iii, 28-30, 35-40
 Infant Jesus, Church of the, Brookline, iii, 715
 Influenza epidemic, iii, 604-607
 Innocent XI, Pope, i, 33
 Inspection of Private Schools, Bill for the, 1888, iii, 111, 114-118; 1889, 129-133
 International Eucharistic Congresses, iii, 654, 670
 Ireland, Archbishop John, iii, 161, 163, 166, 172-180, 552, 596
 Ipswich, Mass., ii, 146, 522, 523, 524; iii, 291, 704, 732, 743
 Irish, in colonial New England, i, 89, 101-102, 142-144, 154-157, 327-328, 352-358, 503; opposition to, ii, 180, 187-191, 202-204, 664-668
 Irish Benevolent Society, Lowell, ii, 345
 Irish Catholic University, ii, 498
Irish Echo, iii, 400
 Irish Free State, iii, 614-615
 Irish Immigrant Society of Boston, ii, 455-458
Irish National Colonist, iii, 400
 Irish Poor Law of 1847, ii, 440
 Irish Protestant Mutual Relief Society, ii, 679
Irish Republican and Free Lance, iii, 400
 Ironside, Rev. George Edmund, ii, 16
 Iroquois Indians, i, 24, 65, 71
 Italian Mutual Relief Society, iii, 224
 Italians, early immigrants to New England, ii, 139-140; parishes, iii, 189, 197, 220-228, 705, 734-740
 Ivers, Fr. William, ii, 342
 Jablonski, Rev. Francis, iii, 743
 Jackson, Andrew, i, 540, 565
 Jackson, Dr. C. T., ii, 406
 Jackson, Elizabeth, i, 564
 Jackson Guards, ii, 700
 Jackson, Margaret (Newport), i, 540
 Jackson Musketeers, ii, 700
 Jacobini, Cardinal, iii, 89
 Jacques, Rev. Joseph N., iii, 206
 Jaffrey, N.H., ii, 543
 Jamaica Plain, Mass., iii, 257-260
 James, Benjamin, ii, 481
 James II, King, i, 29-34 *passim*
 James, Robertson, iii, 410
 Jarves, Deming, ii, 84
 Jarvis, Colonel, ii, 674, 678
 Jarvis, Rev. Dr., ii, 44
 Jaskolski, Fr. George, iii, 233
 Jeanne d'Arc Academy, iii, 751
 Jenks, Rev. William, i, 773
Jesuit, or Catholic Sentinel, The, ii, 198-199, 329, 332, 333, 334-335
 Jesuits, *see* Society of Jesus
 Jewell, Harvey, ii, 479
 John Boyle O'Reilly Club, iii, 402
 Johnson, Fr. Charles A., iii, 709
 Johnson, Fr. Robert J., iii, 246, 316, 489, 682
 Johnston, David Claypoole, ii, 356
 Joint Special Committee on the Inspection of Nunneries and Convents, ii, 687-699
 Jones, Fr., i, 453
 Jones, Wilhelmina, ii, 16
 Journalism, Catholic, in Diocese, i, 796; ii, 329, 332-342, 743-748; iii, 200, 391-400, 524-525
 Joyce, Dr. Robert Dwyer, iii, 405
 Joyce, Fr. William D., O.M.I., iii, 304, 305
 Jude, Brother, iii, 360
 Juras, Fr. Francis M., iii, 743
 Jusaitis, Fr. Joseph, iii, 744
 Katsura, Count, iii, 480-481, 482, 485
 Katzer, Archbishop, iii, 172
 Kavanagh, Edward, i, 601, 644, 645, 646-647, 720, 774, 775; ii, 157, 281, 351-354
 Kavanagh, James, i, 538-539, 540, 560-565, 775
 Kavanagh, Fr. Patrick, iii, 274
 Kavanagh, Samuel, i, 646, 720
 Keane, Bishop (later Archbishop) John, iii, 161, 166, 168, 182
 Keating, Judge Patrick M., iii, 759
 Keegan, Fr. James J., iii, 279
 Keelan, Fr. George A., S.J., iii, 370
 Keeley, Patrick C., ii, 469, 472, 502, 519, 548, 552, 617, 753; iii, 49, 51, 241, 248, 252, 254, 269, 281, 296, 304, 306, 307, 325, 379
 Keene, N.H., ii, 277
 Keith, A. Paul, iii, 639
 Keith, Mary Catherine, iii, 578, 639, 659
 Keith Academy, iii, 642, 750
 Keith Hall, iii, 642, 751
 Kelleher, Fr. John J., iii, 328, 705
 Keller, Dr. Elizabeth C., iii, 409
 Kelley, Alvah, ii, 207, 212, 216, 228-229, 230
 Kellogg, Rev. Elijah, ii, 72-81, 157
 Kelly, Fr. James F., iii, 687
 Kelly, Rev. James J., iii, 323, 328
 Kelly, Fr. James P. F., iii, 271, 692
 Kelly, Patrick A., iii, 153
 Kelly, Fr. William E., iii, 329
 Kennebec Company, i, 187, 191
 Kennebec Indians, i, 18, 42, 66, 84, 85, 109
 Kennedy, Irene, iii, 399
 Kennedy, Patrick, ii, 88
 Kennedy, Dr. Thomas F., iii, 461
 Kenney, Fr. Edward, iii, 717
 Kenrick, Archbishop Francis P., ii, 424; iii, 23
 Kenrick, Archbishop Peter R., iii, 23-24, 36, 37, 39
 Ketteremogus, i, 121
 Kewley, Rev. John, i, 753; ii, 16
 Keyes, Ann Egan (Williams), iii, 6, 7, 8
 Keyes, Dr. Frederick A., iii, 759
 Keyes, Michael, iii, 8
 Kielchen, Peter A., ii, 356

- Kiely, Fr. James, iii, 322
 Kiernan, Rev. Francis, ii, 150, 160, 162, 169
 Kiley, John, i, 677
 Kiley, Fr. Myles D., iii, 703
 Killilea, Fr. Bartholomew, iii, 718
 King, Frances, iii, 410
 King Philip's War, i, 21
 King William's War, causes, i, 39-41;
 French missionary influence in, i, 41-46,
 55, 63; British offensives in, i, 47-51;
 Peace of 1693, i, 53-55, 57-60; Indian
 aggression in, i, 55-60; Treaty of Rys-
 wick, i, 63, 64
 Kingston, Mass., iii, 332-333, 722
 Kirkland, Pres., Harvard, i, 772; ii, 43, 44
 Kitson, Samuel J., iii, 409
 Knapp, Fr. Leo J., iii, 716
 Knapp, Samuel L., i, 711, 765, 771, 776,
 805; ii, 29, 36, 37
 Knights of Columbus, iii, 171, 386-387,
 496, 588, 600, 601, 628, 679
 Knights of Labor, iii, 164, 168
 Knights of Luther, iii, 583
 Knights of Pythias, iii, 146, 151, 171, 182
 Know-Nothing movement, ii, 179, 584, 585,
 *664, 667-680, 683-703; iii, 5, 17, 66, 67
 Kohlmann, Fr. Anthony, S.J., i, 645, 651,
 746, 753; ii, 11-17 *passim*, 27
 Komura, Baron, iii, 480-481
 Korkemaz, Rev. Gabriel, iii, 237
 Korkemaz, Rev. Peter, iii, 237
 Korkemaz, Rev. Stephen, iii, 237
 Kossuth, Louis, ii, 657
 Krämer, brothers, ii, 139
 Krasnickas, Rev. Joseph, iii, 744
 Kroes, Fr., S.J., ii, 475, 546, 547
 Ku Klux Klan, ii, 179; iii, 635-636
 Kuczsa, Fr. Stanislaus, iii, 705
- Laborie, Rev. J., i, 71, 72
 Labossière, Rt. Rev. John B., iii, 215, 732
 Labre, Saint Benedict Joseph, i, 361
 La Chaize, Fr. de, S.J., i, 84
 La Chasse, Fr. de, S.J., i, 108-109, 111, 117
 Laconia, N.H., ii, 277
 Lacy, Rev. Fr., i, 342
 Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association, iii,
 628
 Ladies' Catholic Club Association, iii, 390
 Ladies' Charitable Society for Clothing
 Poor Children, ii, 345
 Ladies of Charity, Lowell, iii, 379
 Lafayette, Marquis de, i, 304
 Lagier, Fr., O.M.I., iii, 205
 La Guerne, Fr., i, 201
 Laity's Directory, *The*, ii, 21, 375
 Lakeport, N.H., ii, 277
 Lai, Cardinal Cajetan de, iii, 649
 Lalement, St. Gabriel, S.J., iii, 654
 La Luzerne, Chevalier de, i, 320, 324, 343,
 348, 352-353
 Lamarque, Rev. Narcisse, iii, 202
 Lamb, Fr. Peter F., iii, 315
 Lambert, Rev. Louis A., iii, 169
 Lambert, Rev. J. Walter, iii, 693
 La Motte, Rev. Hyacinthe de, O.S.A., i,
 313-319
 Lamson, Col. Daniel S., iii, 409
- Lancaster, N.H., ii, 277
 Lane, Fr. John I., iii, 537
 Lane, Fr. Michael, iii, 245
 Lanesville, Mass., ii, 523, 524; iii, 293
 Langdon, Samuel, Pres., Harvard, i, 277
 La Pine, Chevalier de, i, 345
 La Poterie, Abbé, i, 340, 370, 375-384, 386-
 387, 388-391, 392-399, 401-410, 415-420;
 iii, 210
 Lariscy, Rev. Philip, O.S.A., i, 700-701,
 730-732; ii, 88; iii, 7
 Larive, Breckvelt de, i, 440
 Larivière, Fr. F. X., iii, 732-733
 Larkin, Fr. John, ii, 293
 Lasco, Fr. Francis, ii, 554
 Lathrop, Rev. Dr., i, 497-498
 Lathrop, George Parsons, iii, 412
 Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne, iii, 381-382,
 409, 412-413
 La Tour, Charles de, i, 16, 17, 208
 Lauverjat, Fr. Etienne, S.J., i, 118, 119,
 125, 135, 137, 140, 143-144, 149, 152,
 165-166
 Laval, Bishop, i, 22, 26
 La Valinière, Rev. Huet de, S.S., i, 350-351
 Lavigerie, Cardinal, iii, 210
 Lawrence, Abbott, ii, 237, 406, 480, 666
 Lawrence, Amos, ii, 461, 480, 668-669, 707
 Lawrence, Mrs. Amos, iii, 371
 Lawrence, Bishop William, iii, 187, 527,
 598, 647, 766
 Lawrence, Mass., ii, 274-275, 528-531; iii,
 86, 197, 202, 207-209, 219, 228, 232, 236,
 238, 296-303, 568-570, 706, 728, 737-738,
 740-741, 743
 Lawton, Pliny, ii, 461
 Laymen's Retreat Guild, iii, 623
 Leach, Rev. George C., ii, 360
 League of Catholic Women, iii, 546, 602,
 606, 628, 630, 756, 757
 League of Independent Women Voters, iii,
 136
 League of Nations, iii, 615
 League of the Sacred Heart, iii, 383-384
 Lebreton, Fr. E. V., iii, 370
 Leclaire, Fr. B. J., iii, 203
 Lecomte, Rev. Phidime, O.M.I., iii, 207
 Leddy, Rev. Peter J., iii, 326
 Ledochowski, Cardinal, iii, 178, 468
 Lee, Gen. Charles, i, 272
 Lee, Rev. Constantine, ii, 149, 161, 162
 164-165, 166, 282
 Lee, Rev. Denis F., iii, 284, 700
 Lee, Rev. James, iii, 266-267
 Lee, John, i, 336, 337, 603-604
 Lee, Fr. Martin J., iii, 320
 Lee, Dr. Thomas J., iii, 409
 Lee, Mass., ii, 287, 552
 Legion of Mary, iii, 669-670, 757
 Leicester, Mass., ii, 89, 175, 178, 542, 546-
 547, 721; iii, 42
 Lelièvre, Abbé Ernest, iii, 375
 Le Loutre, Rev. Jean, i, 166-167
 Lemaire, Fr., i, 201
 Lenahan, Rev. Daniel W., iii, 689
 Lennon, Fr. Henry, ii, 520, 521, 522; iii,
 293
 Lenox, Mass., ii, 287

- Lenzi, Fr. Anselm, O.F.M., iii, 735
 Leo XII, Pope, ii, 27
 Leo XIII, Pope, iii, 98, 99, 181, 182, 183, 420, 468, 477
 Leominster, Mass., ii, 543-544
 Leonard, Daniel, i, 275-276
 Leopoldine Association, ii, 269, 296, 297
 Lépine, Fr. Octave, iii, 213
 Lesdernier, Lieut. De, i, 301
 Leslie, Rev. George, i, 465-466, 467, 470-473, 475
 L'Etombe, Etienne, i, 391-394, 397-398, 414
 Lévêque, Fr. Zéphérine, ii, 410, 533, 539, 540, 545, 571
 Lévesque, Fr. Joseph C. M., iii, 215
 Lexington, Mass., ii, 513-516; iii, 274, 695
 Leyden, Evangelist, iii, 107, 121
 Liberti, Fr. Francis, O.F.M., iii, 735
 Limont, Fr. Ignatius E., iii, 742, 743
 Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin, i, 337, 560, 592
 Lincoln, Col. Frederic W., ii, 161, 181
 Lincoln, William, ii, 177, 181
 Lincoln, Mass., iii, 274
Literary and Catholic Sentinel, The, ii, 335
 Literary Societies, iii, 387
 Lithuanian parishes, iii, 187, 197, 233-236, 705, 743-744
 Little Brothers of Mary, iii, 184
 Little, Rev. Daniel, i, 335-339
 Little Flower, Chapel of the, Marshfield, iii, 721
 Little Sisters of the Poor, iii, 19, 375-376
 Littleton, Mass., iii, 709
 Lloyd, Prof. Arthur, iii, 483
 Lloyd, George W., ii, 356
 Lobb, George, i, 354
 Lobb, Mrs. Mary, i, 354, 435, 461, 671, 676
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, ii, 406; iii, 593
 Lodge, John Ellerton, ii, 406, 631
 Logan, Col. Edward L., iii, 604
 Logan, Fr. William, S.J., ii, 541, 546
 Lombard, Dr. Herbert L., iii, 761
 London Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of America, i, 145
 Londonderry, N.H., i, 101
 Lonergan, John, i, 677
 Long, John D., iii, 131, 132
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, iii, 371
 Looby Asylum, *see* City Orphan Asylum
 Looby, Thomas, iii, 370, 403
 Loring, John W., ii, 270
 Loring, Judge, ii, 703
 Loring Villa, iii, 751
 Loron, Chief, i, 136, 139, 146, 161, 162
 Lotbinière, Fr. de, i, 283, 300
 Lothrop, Rev. Dr., ii, 601
 Loughlin, Bishop, ii, 483
 Louisbourg, i, 168, 169-172, 212
 Louise, Sister, ii, 615, 617
 Lovejoy, Isaac B., ii, 356
 Lovell, Gen., i, 318
 Lowell, A. Lawrence, iii, 599, 647, 766
 Lowell, Rev. Charles, i, 768
 Lowell, Francis C., ii, 33
 Lowell, James Russell, ii, 238, 412
 Lowell, John, i, 626, 764, 765
 Lowell, Mass., ii, 52-56, 141, 145, 274, 313-320, 526-527; iii, 56, 86, 201-207, 219, 232, 303-308, 707, 726-727, 732, 734, 741, 744
 Lowney, Fr. Thomas B., iii, 310, 318
 Loyal Orange Institution, iii, 140
 Loyal Orangemen, iii, 151
 Loyal Women of American Liberty, iii, 120, 121, 124, 125, 135, 143, 144, 158
 Loyalists, i, 354
 Loyola College, Baltimore, iii, 21
 Loyola, Sister, ii, 330
 Lubec, Me., ii, 150, 279
 Ludlow, Vt., ii, 572
 Lyceums, iii, 387
 Lyman, Mrs. Charles, ii, 358
 Lyman, Florence, ii, 358
 Lyman, George H., iii, 494
 Lynch, Bishop, iii, 53
 Lynch, Fr. Charles, ii, 551
 Lynch, Fr. Michael, ii, 152, 278, 286
 Lynch, Rev. Thomas, ii, 143, 144; iii, 253
 Lyndon, Very Rev. Patrick F., ii, 268, 402, 418, 469, 491, 492, 506-507, 657; iii, 11, 12, 17, 25, 34, 52, 55, 240, 248, 272, 335, 429
 Lynn, Mass., ii, 146, 273, 519; iii, 56, 214, 233, 265, 285-287, 702, 738, 741
 Lynnfield, Mass., ii, 523, 701
 Lyons, Fr. Charles W., S.J., iii, 626
 Lyons, Rev. George A., iii, 337, 687
 Lyons, Fr. William F., iii, 688
 McAuliffe, James, ii, 700
 McCabe, Fr. John, ii, 495, 524
 McCabe, Fr. John J., O.S.A., iii, 706
 McCall, Gov., iii, 598, 607
 McCall, Fr. Michael J., iii, 288, 310
 McCallion, Fr. Charles, ii, 510, 569
 McCarron, Michael, iii, 272
 McCarthy, Denis A., iii, 405
 McCarthy, Fr. James J., iii, 684
 McCarthy, Fr. John, ii, 516; iii, 275, 276, 518
 McCarthy, Rev. Lawrence P., iii, 263, 264
 McCarthy, Rev. Patrick J., iii, 701
 McCarthy, Rev. Thomas F., iii, 693
 McCarthy, Fr. William J., iii, 695
 McCloskey, John Cardinal, ii, 326, 483, 737, 751, 764; iii, 16, 21, 24, 36, 39, 43, 45, 47, 48, 52, 97
 McCloskey, Rev. (later Bishop) William, ii, 750
 McClure, Rev. Edward L., iii, 328
 McCool, Rev. Edward, ii, 145, 169
 MacCormack, Msgr. Thomas J., iii, 335, 715
 McCorry, Peter, iii, 399
 McCoy, Fr. Thomas R., iii, 711
 McDermott, Rev. James T., ii, 143, 145, 167, 169-171, 172, 274, 275, 317-318, 347; iii, 9, 307
 McDermott, Fr. Peter, S.J., ii, 611
 MacDonald, Fr. Alfred J., iii, 697
 McDonald, J. W., iii, 116, 132
 McDonald, Fr. William, ii, 527, 568
 McDonnell, Rev. John T., O.P., ii, 529, 531; iii, 295
 McDonnell, Fr. Matthew F., iii, 324, 713

- MacDonough, Fr. William F., iii, 682
 McElroy, Fr. John, S.J., ii, 11, 306, 323, 325, 474-484 *passim*, 521, 608-609, 615
 McEttrick, Michael J., iii, 132
 McEvoy, John F., iii, 402, 403
 McFarland, Bishop Francis P., ii, 424, 483, 492; iii, 16, 36, 44, 45
 McGarry, Fr. William J., S.J., iii, 660
 McGee, Thomas D'Arcy, ii, 338-342, 746, 747-748
 McGilligan, Fr. Patrick, ii, 105
 McGinn, Fr. Thomas P., iii, 709
 McGinniskin, Bernard, ii, 656
 McGlew, Rev. James, iii, 266, 285
 McGlinchey, Msgr. Joseph F., iii, 623, 663, 702
 McGlynn, Rev. Edward, iii, 166-167, 181
 McGoldrick, Rev. Thomas C., iii, 251
 McGrath, Msgr. Christopher T., iii, 272, 273
 McGrath, Fr. James, O.M.I., iii, 304, 343
 McGuire, Bernard, ii, 497, 500
 Machias, Mc., ii, 150, 279, 566
 Machugh, James B., iii, 450
 Machung, Rev. John, i, 340, 341
 McLroy, Daniel, ii, 315
 McInnis, Rev. Charles D., iii, 661
 McKenna, Mrs. Laura, ii, 62
 McKenna, Rev. Peter A., iii, 73, 74, 309, 399
 McKenzie, Rev. Alexander, iii, 381
 McKinley, William, iii, 158
 McKone, Fr. John S., iii, 685
 McMahon, Rev. Dr. John B., ii, 279
 McMahon, Msgr. John W., iii, 262
 McMahon, Bishop Lawrence S., ii, 495, 501-502, 715; iii, 42, 248
 McMahon, Thomas, ii, 551
 McManmon, Fr. Thomas P., iii, 698
 McManus, Msgr. Michael T., iii, 278, 303, 315
 McManus, Rev. Thomas F., iii, 315
 McMaster, James A., iii, 83, 84
 McNamara, Fr. William P., iii, 688
 McNamee, Fr. Patrick, ii, 152
 McNeirny, Bishop, iii, 48
 McNicholas, Archbishop, iii, 540
 McNulty, Fr. John J., iii, 243, 245, 336
 McNulty, Fr. Thomas B., ii, 494; iii, 328
 McNulty, Fr. Thomas R., ii, 284, 498, 500, 625; iii, 247, 248, 249, 260
 McQuade, Rev. Paul, i, 701, 733, 734, 738, 739; ii, 104
 McQuaid, Bishop, iii, 36, 39, 76, 77, 97, 161, 167, 171, 183, 186, 422, 423, 425
 McQuaid, Msgr. William P., iii, 241, 330, 331
 Madawaska, ii, 279, 556
 Madden, Fr. Henry J., iii, 280, 309
 Madden, John, i, 357
 Madden, Fr. John F., iii, 704
 Madden, Fr. Mark E., iii, 711
 Madden, Fr. Michael F., iii, 713
 Madockawando, i, 35, 38, 53, 57, 58
 Madore, Fr. Arthur I., S.M., iii, 728
 Maeda, Fr., iii, 483
 Magennis, Msgr. Thomas, iii, 115, 183, 188, 258-259, 260, 370
 Maginnis and Walsh, iii, 62, 528, 543, 637, 683, 692
 Magner, John, i, 354-355, 388, 438, 461, 500, 507, 553, 671, 675-676
 Maguire, Fr. Charles J., iii, 696
 Maguire, Fr. Dennis J., iii, 717
 Maguire, Fr. Eugene A., iii, 722
 Maguire, Rev. James, ii, 284
 Maguire, James E., iii, 147n.
 Maguire, Fr. Michael T., iii, 309, 310
 Maguire, Patrick, iii, 399
 Mahar, Fr. Joseph P., iii, 699
 Maher, Rev. Daniel, S.S., iii, 62
 Mahoney, Anna J., iii, 717
 Mahoney, Rev. Timothy J., iii, 682
 Mahony, Rev. John, ii, 45, 52, 55, 143, 145
 Maillard, Rev. Pierre, i, 171, 215-217, 222
 Majoux, Mother Marie, iii, 542
 Malden, Mass., ii, 509; iii, 280-282, 740
 Maley, Fr. Francis W., iii, 703
 Malley, Rev. Augustine D., iii, 710
 Malone, Fr. Aloysius S., iii, 708
 Manach, Fr., i, 225
 Manahan, Rev. Ambrose, ii, 394, 468
 Manchaug, Mass., ii, 505, 542
 Manchester, Mass., ii, 523; iii, 291
 Manchester, N.H., ii, 277, 320, 567-569
 Manchester, Vt., ii, 277
 Manidoubtik, i, 53
 Mann, Horace, ii, 311, 312, 574
 Mann, Samuel H., ii, 227
 Manning, Cardinal, iii, 35, 36
 Manning, Fr. Michael J., iii, 694
 Mansfield, Mass., ii, 494, 495, 506
 Mansur, Joseph, ii, 543
Manual of Prayers, iii, 94
 Marblehead, Mass., ii, 146, 523; iii, 289, 702
 Marbois, M. de, i, 349
 March, Major, i, 83
 Marcy, Marvin, ii, 220, 228-230
 Maréchal, Archbishop Ambrose, i, 483, 689-690, 783-784, 785, 799; ii, 9, 18, 19, 22, 24, 26; iii, 100
 Maria Assunta Circle, iii, 755
 Marion, Mass., iii, 45
 Marist Brothers, iii, 184, 637-638, 727, 748
 Marist Fathers, iii, 56, 657, 748, 749
 Marlboro, Mass., ii, 536, 538-539; iii, 86, 202, 213, 309-310, 732, 735-736
Marlboro Star, iii, 399
 Marron, Isabella, *see* Shepherd, Margaret L.
 Marshfield, Mass., iii, 722-723
 Martha's Vineyard, Mass., ii, 501-502; iii, 45
 Martin, A. P., iii, 87
 Martinelli, Archbishop Sebastian, iii, 182
 Martini, Fr. Alexander, ii, 484
 Mary, Sister, iii, 362
 Mary Benedict, Sister, ii, 206, 237
 Mary Immaculate of Lourdes, Church of, Newton, iii, 698
 Mary John, Sister, ii, 206, 210-216, 217, 222
 Mary Joseph, Mother, iii, 539-540
 Mary Joseph, Sister, ii, 614, 689-690, 698
 Mary Paul, Sister, iii, 362
 Mary Rose, Mother, iii, 578

- Mary of St. Aloysius Charlton, Sister, iii, 373
- Mascarene, Gov., i, 163
- Maschi, Fr. Peter, P.S.S.C., iii, 737
- Mason, Jonathan, i, 764
- Mason, Samuel, ii, 588, 590-594 *passim*
- Mason, N.H., ii, 543
- Marycliff Academy, iii, 573, 661, 751
- Maryknoll, iii, 536, 539-540
- Maryknoll Missioners, iii, 539-540, 658, 748
- Maryvale Seminary, iii, 638
- Massachusetts Catholic Union, iii, 388
- Massachusetts Catholic Women's Guild, iii, 628
- Massachusetts Emergency Public Health Committee, iii, 605
- Massachusetts Milk Consumers' Union, iii, 548
- Massachusetts Missionary Society, ii, 73
- Massachusetts Provincial Congress, i, 272, 274, 279
- Massé, Fr. Ennemond, S.J., i, 6
- Masson, Mamé, i, 431, 433, 436, 439, 461, 491
- Master Key to Popery*, i, 759
- Masterson, Fr. Michael J., iii, 290
- Masterson, Rev. Patrick, iii, 287
- Mather, Rev. Cotton, i, 37, 46-47, 106
- Mather, Rev. Increase, i, 30, 33
- Mather, Nathaniel, i, 29
- Mather, Rev. Samuel, i, 244
- Mathew, Fr. Theobald, O.M. Cap., ii, 347, 536, 643-647
- Matignon, Rev. Francis Anthony, i, 478; ii, 3, 29, 52, 299, 300; early years in France, i, 479-482; Boston pastorate, 483-485, 491-493, 499-500, 503-507, 512-513, 519-520, 544-546; character and personality, 483-484, 762; reunites Boston Catholics, 488-491, 493-495, 500-501, 502; travels in New England and Canada, 498, 535, 687-688; becomes citizen, 511-512; and building of new church, 553-559, 579-581; and ministerial tax case, 560-564; interest in Catholic education, 597-603; refuses bishopric, 633-638; death, 707-714
- Mattapoissett, Mass., iii, 45
- Matthews, Amory, iii, 761
- Matulaitis, Rev. Casimir, iii, 236
- Maurice, Fr., i, 340
- Maurice, Jacques, i, 209, 225
- May, Samuel, i, 763
- May, Deacon Samuel, ii, 692
- May, William B., ii, 693-694
- Mayhew, Jonathan, i, 192, 218, 221, 223-224, 230, 234, 235-237, 240
- Maynard, Mass., ii, 537; iii, 310, 710, 743
- Meagher, Thomas F., ii, 456
- Mechitarist Order, iii, 746
- Medfield, Mass., iii, 317
- Medford, Mass., ii, 509, 513-515; iii, 212, 282-283, 699
- Medway, Mass., ii, 178, 537; iii, 318
- Meech, Mrs. Lydia, ii, 743
- Meheran, Fr. John F., iii, 718
- Melrose, Mass., ii, 515; iii, 283-284
- Menace, The*, iii, 583
- Ménéval, Governor, i, 48, 49
- Menietti, Fr. Peter, ii, 551
- Menu, Père, iii, 449
- Merab, Fr. Paul, iii, 744
- Mercier, Cardinal, iii, 620
- Mercier, Fr. Arthur O., iii, 732
- Mercier, Prof. Louis J. A., iii, 760
- Meriden, Conn., ii, 286
- Merighi, Very Rev. James, O.F.M.; iii, 735
- Merrimac, Mass., iii, 294
- Merritt, Rev. Nathaniel J., iii, 283
- Merry del Val, Cardinal, iii, 470, 653
- Messmer, Archbishop Sebastian G., iii, 596, 648
- Metcalf, Judge, ii, 359
- Metcalf, Julia, ii, 359
- Metcalf, Rev. Theodore, ii, 639, 724; iii, 119, 335, 389
- Methuen, Mass., ii, 531; iii, 302, 706, 729
- Mexican War, ii, 412-414, 648
- Meyer, George Von L., iii, 470
- Michaud, Rev. Joseph E., iii, 207
- Micmac Indians, i, 85, 86, 289, 451
- Middleboro, Mass., ii, 495, 504; iii, 329, 720
- Middlebury, Vt., ii, 104, 147, 276
- Middletown, Conn., ii, 92, 101, 171, 286
- Mignault, Abbé Pierre, i, 737-738, 740; ii, 104, 423, 571
- Mignault, Fr. Napoléon, ii, 534, 542
- Milanese, Fr. Mariano, O.S.A., iii, 228, 737
- Miles, Gen. Nelson A., iii, 583
- Milford, Mass., ii, 292, 535-537, 721-722; iii, 42
- Militia, volunteer, in Boston, ii, 251-257; Irish, in State, ii, 700
- Mill River, Mass., ii, 551, 552
- Milla, Rev. Pascal di, iii, 227
- Millard, Rev. Richard S., iii, 714
- Millbury, Mass., ii, 175, 178, 505, 534, 539-540
- Miller, W. W., ii, 244-245
- Millerick, Msgr. Jeremiah E., iii, 240, 284, 326
- Millis, Mass., iii, 318, 716-717
- Mills, Rev. Michael, ii, 165
- Milltown, Me., ii, 150
- Milmore, Joseph, iii, 404
- Milmore, Martin, iii, 404
- Milton, Mass., iii, 714
- Miner, Rev. Alonzo Ames, iii, 106-107, 120, 121, 122, 131, 144, 158, 428
- Minihan, Msgr. Jeremiah F., iii, 676
- Minot, Stephen, i, 100, 101
- Miscellany, The*, i, 796
- Misicki, Fr. Thomas, iii, 742
- Mission Church, Roxbury, iii, 56, 254-257, 603
- Mission Circle of the Boston Elevated Railway Employees, iii, 755
- Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, iii, 364
- Missionaries of St. Charles, iii, 226-227, 228, 735, 736, 737
- Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, iii, 748
- Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary, iii, 638, 748
- Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle, ii, 360, 727

- Missions, early, Maine, i, 612-616, 662-663, 701-702, 735; Massachusetts, 616-617, 663-667, 670; New Hampshire, 616, 740; Rhode Island, 618-619, 666-668, 703-704, 734; Connecticut, 668-670, 752-760; Vermont, 687-688, 704, 737-740; foreign, iii, 337-338, 645
- Missisquoi Indians, i, 167
- Missouri Compromise, ii, 705
- Mitchell, Fr. Edward C., iii, 709
- Moeller, Archbishop Henry, iii, 596
- Moffet, Anne Ursula, *see* St. George, Sister Mary Edmond
- Moffitt, W. H., iii, 460
- Mohan, Fr. Joseph, iii, 266, 285, 700
- Mohawk Indians, i, 39
- Molinari, Fr. J. Antonio, ii, 554
- Molyneux, Fr. Robert, ii, 8, 10
- Monaco, Cardinal, iii, 455
- Monk, Maria, ii, 209, 240, 241; iii, 106, 109
- Monson, Mass., ii, 550, 554
- Montello, Mass., iii, 328
- Montgomery Guards, ii, 251-257, 700
- Montpelier, Vt., ii, 147, 571-572
- Monts, Sieur de, i, 3, 9
- Moody, Rev. Samuel, i, 170
- Moody, Capt., i, 104, 127, 128
- Mooney, Archbishop, iii, 678
- Mooney, Fr. James J., iii, 701
- Mooney, Nicholas, i, 651-652
- Mooney, Thomas, ii, 252
- Mooney, William, i, 775
- Moore, Bishop, iii, 95
- Moore, Fr. James, S.J., ii, 557, 564
- Moran, Rev. Michael, iii, 240, 330
- Moran, Fr. William, ii, 279, 499, 555; iii, 332
- Moreau, Gen. Jean V., i, 650
- Moriarty, Msgr. Edward J., iii, 270, 456, 687
- Moriarty, Capt. Thomas, ii, 356
- Morris, Fr. Lawrence J., iii, 315
- Morris, Marion Longfellow, iii, 409
- Morris, Robert, iii, 409
- Morse, Samuel F. B., ii, 240
- Most Blessed Sacrament, Church of the, Saugus, iii, 288; Hough's Neck, 712
- Most Holy Name of Jesus, Church of the, Chicopee, ii, 548-549
- Most Holy Redeemer, Church of the, East Boston, ii, 512; iii, 263
- Most Precious Blood, Church of the, Hyde Park, iii, 260
- Mount Alvernia Academy, iii, 643, 751
- Mount St. James Academy, ii, 323-325
- Mount St. Joseph Academy, Brighton, iii, 57, 184, 572, 605; Cambridge, 348
- Mount Trinity Academy, iii, 661, 751
- Moyce, Fr. P. V., ii, 554
- Moylan, Bishop Francis, i, 270
- Moylan, Stephen, i, 270, 284
- Moylan, Fr. Thomas, iii, 252, 253, 294
- Mulcahy, Fr. John M., iii, 273, 320
- Muldoon, Fr. Frederick F., iii, 708
- Mullan, Fr. W. J. Read, S.J., iii, 355, 356
- Mulledy, Fr. Thomas, S.J., ii, 326, 327
- Mulligan, Fr. Hugh, iii, 327
- Mulligan, James, iii, 59
- Mullin, Fr. W. George, iii, 703
- Mullooly, Fr. Joseph, O.P., iii, 562-563
- Mulrey, Fr. Frederick J., iii, 717
- Mundelein, Cardinal, iii, 596, 648
- Mundy, Rev. John F., iii, 81, 330
- Murphy, Cornelius, ii, 635
- Murphy, Fr. David J., iii, 708
- Murphy, Fr. Denis F., iii, 699
- Murphy, Rev. Edward, ii, 159, 282, 283, 500, 502
- Murphy, James, iii, 269
- Murphy, Fr. James, iii, 297
- Murphy, Rev. James C., iii, 330, 331, 332
- Murphy, Fr. James J., iii, 689
- Murphy, Fr. Maurice J., iii, 302
- Murphy, Fr. Michael D., iii, 313
- Murphy, Rev. Nicholas J., iii, 274
- Murphy, Fr. Patrick B., iii, 311
- Murphy, Rev. Timothy J., iii, 247, 367-368
- Murphy, Fr. William J., S.J., iii, 660
- Murray, Msgr. Edward G., iii, 660
- Murray, Judge Michael J., iii, 516, 518
- Muscongs Company, i, 101, 124
- Mutsuhito, Emperor, iii, 481-482
- Mutual Relief Society of St. Mary's, ii, 346
- Nagot, Fr., S.S., ii, 11
- Nahant, Mass., ii, 520; iii, 287
- Nantasket, Mass., iii, 327
- Nantucket, Mass., ii, 162, 284, 501; iii, 45
- Narantauk Indians, i, 57, 87-88, 182, 186
- Nashua, N.H., ii, 527
- Nast, Thomas, iii, 67
- Natick, Mass., ii, 291, 537, 539, 547; iii, 312
- Nation, The*, ii, 743, 747
- National Catholic Community Service, iii, 678-679
- National Catholic War Council, iii, 601, 602, 616, 617
- National Catholic Welfare Conference, iii, 617-618, 678
- National League of Flag Defenders, iii, 144
- National Order of Videttes, iii, 66
- Native Americanism, ii, 179, 192-193, 241, 257-258, 652-655, 656
- Nativity, Church of the, Merrimac, iii, 294; Scituate, 326, 721
- Neagle, Msgr. Richard, iii, 132, 280, 335
- Neale, Fr. Charles, S.J., ii, 22
- Neale, Archbishop Leonard, i, 689-695; ii, 8, 12
- Needham, Mass., ii, 537; iii, 317, 715-716
- Nelson, Rev. John, ii, 547, 721
- Neptune, Col., i, 337
- Neptune, Gov. Francis Joseph, ii, 73
- Neptune, Lieut.-Gov. John, ii, 281
- Neufville, Anna Cecilia de, i, 608
- Neuville, Baron Hyde de, i, 650, 791, 796
- Nevers, Lieut.-Col. Phineas, i, 300
- New Bedford, Mass., i, 731, 732; ii, 30, 83, 84, 88, 160, 162, 282, 284, 500; iii, 42, 45, 216, 217
- New Braintree, Mass., ii, 542
- New Britain, Conn., ii, 286
- New England Catholic Herald*, iii, 399
- New England Catholic Historical Society, iii, 420

- New England Company for Evangelizing the Indians, i, 35
 New England Company for Propagating the Gospel, i, 106
New England Primer, ii, 196
New England Reporter and Catholic Diary, *The*, ii, 338, 341
 New England Village, Mass., ii, 178
 New Haven, Conn., i, 454, 757; ii, 92, 98, 100-101, 169-171, 752, 757-758
 New London, Conn., i, 758-759; ii, 92, 101, 171, 286
 New York Literary Institute, ii, 14, 15
 New York Provincial Council, First, ii, 424
 Newbury, Mass., ii, 521-522; iii, 294
 Newburyport, Mass., i, 535-537, 552, 616, 617; ii, 146, 149, 278, 518, 520-521; iii, 215, 293-294, 704
 Newcastle, Me., i, 613-615, 695; *see also* Damariscotta
 Newman, Cardinal, ii, 179
 Newmarch, Laura B., iii, 8
 Newmarket, N.H., ii, 531
 Newport, R.I., i, 618; ii, 83, 84-85, 87, 163-164, 282, 283
 Newton, Mass., ii, 273, 518; iii, 276-279, 697-698, 729-730
 Nicholls, Francis J., ii, 622
 Nichols, Mrs. Daniel, ii, 104, 107
 Nickerson, Albert W., iii, 316
 Nilan, Bishop John J., iii, 294, 558
 Ninth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, ii, 713; iii, 416-417
 "No Popery" agitation, iii, 63-68
 Nopper, Fr. Xavier, S.J., iii, 197
 Norridgewok Indians, i, 86-87, 93-98, 116, 126, 130, 131, 132, 140, 169, 185, 186, 194
 Norris, Rev. Thomas, iii, 322
 North American Civic League for Immigrants, iii, 548
 North End Mission, iii, 218
 Northampton, Mass., i, 622 ff.; ii, 172-173, 287, 288, 552-554
 Northbridge, Mass., ii, 178
 Northfield, Vt., ii, 572
 Norton, Prof. Charles Eliot, iii, 381
 Norton, Mass., ii, 89, 504
 Norwalk, Conn., ii, 171, 286
 Norwich, Conn., ii, 171, 286
 Norwood, Mass., ii, 273, 488; iii, 317, 715, 742, 744
 Notre Dame, Church of, Pittsfield, ii, 288
 Notre Dame de Pitie, Church of, North Cambridge, iii, 212, 727
 Notre Dame des Victoires, Church of, Boston, iii, 184, 210-212
 Nova Scotia, i, 90, 139, 163, 242-243. *See also* Acadia
 Noya, Fr., iii, 217
 Noyes, Oliver, i, 100, 101
 Nuns of the Battlefield, iii, 651
 Oates, Titus, plot, i, 29-30
 O'Beirne, Fr. John, ii, 282, 518
 O'Beirne, Fr. Michael, ii, 488-489, 490
 O'Beirne, Rev. Patrick, ii, 143, 148, 271, 301-305, 431, 487, 488; iii, 25, 251, 258
 Oblates of Mary Immaculate, iii, 19, 202-207, 303-304, 305, 343, 535, 622, 637, 665, 707, 708, 726, 727, 749
 O'Brien, Fr. Charles A., iii, 713
 O'Brien, Dennis W., ii, 644
 O'Brien, Fr. Edward J., ii, 763
 O'Brien, James E., iii, 270
 O'Brien, Rev. James J., ii, 273, 693
 O'Brien, Rev. John, Lowell, ii, 319, 518, 520, 526, 564; iii, 306, 378
 O'Brien, Msgr. John, Cambridge, iii, 83-84, 268, 398
 O'Brien, Fr. Martin, iii, 276, 277, 317
 O'Brien, Fr. Matthew, i, 642, 643, 664-667
 O'Brien, Fr. Michael, iii, 306-307, 308, 372
 O'Brien, Missionary, ii, 650-652
 O'Brien, Rev. Nicholas A. J., ii, 269, 273, 383, 398, 413-414, 430-431, 468, 509-510, 715, 743; iii, 12
 O'Brien, Owen, ii, 345, 346
 O'Brien, Fr. Thomas, iii, 323
 O'Brien, Fr. Timothy, ii, 526, 527, 620; iii, 306
 O'Brien, Msgr. William, iii, 307, 308
 O'Brien, Rev. William, O.P., i, 403-406, 409, 416, 513, 514, 516
 O'Callaghan, Daniel, ii, 58
 O'Callaghan, Msgr. Denis, iii, 244-245
 O'Callaghan, Fr. Jeremiah, ii, 50, 51, 106, 146-147, 148, 257, 275, 277, 287, 306, 342, 552-553, 569, 570, 571, 620, 737
 O'Cavanagh, Rev. Bernard, ii, 49, 98, 101, 168, 286, 333, 550, 551, 622
 O'Connell, Brian, iii, 443
 O'Connell, Bridget (Farley), iii, 443-445, 446, 457
 O'Connell, Daniel, ii, 335, 339, 349-350, 443, 744
 O'Connell, Count Daniel, iii, 443
 O'Connell, Msgr. Denis J., iii, 98, 161, 170, 173, 182, 461
 O'Connell, Rev. James H., iii, 689
 O'Connell, John, iii, 443-444, 446
 O'Connell, Fr. John E., iii, 693, 696
 O'Connell, Don Juan, iii, 443
 O'Connell, Baron Maurice, iii, 443
 O'Connell, William Cardinal, family background, iii, 442-445; birth and childhood, 445-448; education, 448-454; ordination, 455; curate at Medford, 455-456; at St. Joseph's, Boston, 456-458, 463-464; reputation as preacher and public speaker, 458-460; Rector of American College, 460-469; Bishop of Portland, 469-476; Assistant at Pontifical Throne, 477; Papal Envoy to Japan, 477-487; Coadjutor, 487-498; Archbishop of Boston, 499-507, 517-520, 548-550; and centenary of Diocese, 507-517; Silver Jubilee, 518, 653-654; Diocesan administrative changes under, 521-525; Catholic education under, 525-531; reorganizes Diocesan charities, 531-535; and founding of Maryknoll, 535-540; and spiritual life of Diocese, 540-547; created Cardinal, 551-561; saves San Clemente, 562-566; counselor to the American people, 567-570; and World War I, 579-580, 585-587, 593-604, 608; answers anti-Catholic campaign,

- 588-593; in influenza epidemic, 604-607; post-war years, 609-615, 619-620, 632-633, 646-650, 654; *Sermons and Addresses* published, 648-649; Papal Legate to Convention of Holy Name Society, 650-652; leads pilgrimage to Rome, 652-653; seventieth birthday, 654-655; evening of life, 656, 670-679; Golden Jubilee, 672-674; organizer and administrator, 749-758; character and personality, 761-767
- O'Connor, Rev. Cornelius, iii, 280
- O'Connor, Fr. Jeremiah J., S.J., iii, 354
- O'Connor, Fr. Maurice J., iii, 694
- O'Connor, Fr. Michael J., iii, 604, 710
- O'Connor, Maj. Michael J., iii, 417
- O'Connor, Rev. Patrick M., iii, 267
- Odd Fellows, iii, 151, 171, 182
- Odin, Archbishop, iii, 36
- O'Doherty, Fr. James, iii, 127, 295
- O'Donnell, Rev. Hugh Roe, iii, 264-265
- O'Donnell, Fr. James, O.S.A., ii, 528-531 *passim*; iii, 296, 299
- O'Donnell, Fr. John, ii, 564, 680
- O'Donnell, Rev. John B., iii, 264
- O'Donnell, Rev. John J., iii, 699
- O'Donnell, Rev. Philip J., iii, 242, 682
- O'Donovan, Rev. Denis, iii, 316
- O'Farrell, Fr. Denis J., iii, 264, 283
- O'Flaherty, Rev. Thomas J., ii, 49, 58, 90, 198, 199, 200, 267, 273, 274, 301-306, 342, 347; iii, 9
- Ogonowski, Fr. Alexander, iii, 741
- O'Hearn, Fr. John J., iii, 704
- O'Keefe, Katherine A., iii, 399
- O'Laughlin, Fr. Michael, ii, 493
- Oldtown, Me., ii, 31, 152, 158-159, 281, 556-563, 565
- Oliver, Rev. Mr., i, 430
- Oliver, Andrew, i, 238
- Olympias, Sister, iii, 352
- O'Neil, Hon. Joseph H., iii, 494, 559
- O'Neil, Fr. Leo F., iii, 714
- O'Neil, Patrick A., ii, 345
- O'Neil's *Irish Pictorial*, ii, 743
- Orange Association, ii, 260
- Oratory of St. Thomas More, iii, 663-664
- Order of American Freedom, iii, 66
- Order of the American Phoenix, iii, 66
- Order of the American Union, iii, 66
- Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, ii, 683
- Order of United American Mechanics, iii, 66
- Order of United Americans, ii, 685
- Orders, growth of religious, in Diocese, iii, 18, 19, 56-57, 342-345, 622, 636-639, 657-659, 748-749
- O'Regan, Fr. Bernard, iii, 335
- O'Reilly, Fr. Bernard, ii, 473; iii, 240
- O'Reilly, Fr. Charles, ii, 495, 505
- O'Reilly, Fr. James, ii, 282, 283
- O'Reilly, Fr. James T., O.S.A., iii, 301, 302, 569, 706
- O'Reilly, John Boyle, iii, 102, 124-125, 126, 292, 344, 389, 391-396, 402, 429, 436, 758, 769
- O'Reilly, Bishop Patrick T., iii, 43-44, 45
- Orono, Chief, i, 280, 331-332, 334, 336, 339, 590
- O'Rourke, Fr. John H., S.J., iii, 516
- Orphelinat Saint-Joseph*, iii, 535
- Orr, John S., ii, 669-672
- Orr, Rev. William, iii, 270-271, 297-298
- Orsini, Donna Francesca Baglioni, iii, 452
- Osgood, Rev. David, i, 508-509
- Osouf, Msgr., iii, 484
- Ostinelli, Luigi, ii, 139
- O'Sullivan, Humphrey, iii, 759
- O'Sullivan, Fr. Thomas, ii, 278, 282, 411, 566
- Otis, Harrison Gray, i, 764; ii, 238
- Otis, Mrs. Harrison Gray, ii, 713
- Otis, James, i, 242
- Otis, Mrs. Richard (Grizel), i, 45
- O'Toole, Rev. Lawrence J., iii, 278
- Otter River, Mass., ii, 544
- Our Lady, Chapel of, Norridgewok, i, 96
- Our Lady of the Annunciation, Church of, Boston, iii, 745
- Our Lady of the Assumption, Church of, Brookline, ii, 489; Chelsea, iii, 728; East Boston, 263-264; Kingston, 723; Lynnfield, 701
- Our Lady of the Cedars of Lebanon, Church of, Boston, iii, 238, 744
- Our Lady Comforter of the Afflicted, Church of, Waltham, iii, 697
- Our Lady of Czenstochowa, Church of, South Boston, iii, 232, 741
- Our Lady of Good Counsel, Church of, Quincy, iii, 712
- Our Lady of Good Help, Church of, Brandon, Vt., ii, 573
- Our Lady of Good Help, Convent of, iii, 630
- Our Lady of Good Voyage, Church of, Gloucester, iii, 219, 734
- Our Lady of Grace, Church of, Chelsea, iii, 690
- Our Lady Help of Christians, Church of, Concord, iii, 274, 710; Newton, 278-279
- Our Lady of Hope, Church of, Pentagoet, i, 18
- Our Lady of the Isle School, East Boston, ii, 619
- Our Lady of the Lake, Church of, Monponsett, iii, 722
- Our Lady of Lourdes, Chapel of, North Carver, iii, 723
- Our Lady of Lourdes, Church of, Beachmont, iii, 267; Brockton, 719; Jamaica Plain, 260, 687; Lowell, 727
- Our Lady of Mercy, Church of, Belmont, iii, 696
- Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Church of, East Boston, iii, 228, 735; Methuen, 729
- Our Lady of Ostrabrama, Church of, Boston, iii, 742; Brockton, 742-743
- Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Church of, *see* Mission Church
- Our Lady of Pompeii, Church of, Boston, iii, 227, 738-739
- Our Lady of the Presentation, Church of, Brighton, iii, 689
- Our Lady of the Rosary, Church of, South Boston, iii, 245-246, 682; Spencer, ii, 540, 546

- Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, Church of, Hanover, iii, 331, 721
- Our Lady of Sorrows, Church of, Sharon, iii, 322
- Our Lady Star of the Sea, Chapel of, East Boston, ii, 512; iii, 264
- Our Lady Star of the Sea, Church of, Marblehead, ii, 523
- Outlook, The*, iii, 157
- Owens, Msgr. Michael J., iii, 711
- Oxford, Mass., ii, 89, 176, 178, 542
- Oxford Movement, ii, 355, 359, 734, 736-737
- Ozanam Club, iii, 473
- Pacelli, Eugenio Cardinal, *see* Pius XII, Pope
- Page, Alfred, ii, 544
- Page, Thomas H., ii, 544
- Paine, Thomas, i, 309; ii, 15
- Palmer, Edwin A., ii, 252, 345
- Palmer, Julius A., iii, 410
- Palmer, Mass., ii, 174, 550, 554
- Pandolfi, Fr. Ubaldus, O.F.M., iii, 227
- Panoplist, The*, i, 765, 769, 771
- Parent, Rev. John B., iii, 214
- Paris, Treaty of, i, 224, 233
- Parker, Rev. Mr., i, 148, 151
- Parker, Isaac, ii, 228
- Parker, Rev. Samuel, i, 441, 455, 511
- Parkman, Francis, ii, 406
- Parks, Rev. Leighton, iii, 132
- Parochial schools, i, 597-599, 647, 724-725; ii, 614-623; iii, 525-526, 624-626
- Parsons, Fr. Robert, S.J., i, 79
- Parsons, Theophilus, i, 298; ii, 406
- Partridge, Lieut.-Gov., i, 82
- Passamaquoddy Indians, i, 169, 228, 292, 448, 450-453, 528-531, 533, 660-661, 683, 736; ii, 71-75, 77-81, 156, 157-158, 281-282, 563-564, 567
- Passionist Fathers, iii, 541, 638, 689
- Passionist Monastery, Brighton, iii, 756
- Pathfinders, iii, 583
- Patriotic League of the Revolution, iii, 66
- Patriotic Order, Sons of America, iii, 146, 149, 151
- Patronage of St. Joseph Church, Somerville, iii, 272
- Patterson, Msgr. George J., iii, 245, 330, 331
- Pawtucket, R.I., i, 734; ii, 83-86, 90, 163, 282, 285
- Peabody, Mass., iii, 289-290, 703, 741
- Pearce, Frances, ii, 358
- Pearce, Georgiana, ii, 359
- Pearce, Julia, ii, 358
- Pegwacket Indians, i, 85, 87, 167
- Pelenz, Fr. James, S.J., i, 432
- Pelletier, Rev. Joseph A., iii, 214
- Pelletier, William S., iii, 404
- Pemaquid, i, 43
- Pemberton, Ebenezer, ii, 44
- Pembroke, Me., ii, 150, 566
- Pendergast, Fr., ii, 161
- Penhallow, Capt., i, 82, 133
- Pennacook Indians, i, 38, 42, 85
- Penniman, Mrs. Cynthia, ii, 741
- Penobscot Indians, i, 57-58, 84-87, 117-119, 130-132, 135-137, 151, 168, 169, 182, 194, 228-229, 245, 255-256, 279-283, 289-291, 294, 331-334, 337, 448-450, 527-532, 661, 683-684, 735, 808; ii, 71-72, 75, 77, 81-82, 156-159, 280-282, 556-563
- Pentagoet, i, 6, 14-17, 21-22, 25-28, 34-36, 62
- Pepper, George, ii, 335-336
- Pepperell, Sir William, i, 168, 170, 199
- Pepperell, Mass., iii, 309
- Perennes, Fr. H., S.M., iii, 728
- Perkins Institution for the Blind, iii, 667
- Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. James H., i, 435-436
- Perkins, Mary Elizabeth, iii, 760
- Perosi, *Abate*, iii, 556
- Perrot, Governor, i, 26
- Perry, Rev. Joseph, ii, 738
- "Peter Parley," ii, 188
- Peterson, Bishop John B., iii, 531, 543, 559, 640, 653, 662, 663, 720
- Petit, Rev. Louis, i, 22, 25, 48, 49
- Petithomme, Fr. Auguste, ii, 148, 157, 158
- Phelan, Msgr. Francis L., iii, 681
- Phelan, James J., iii, 601, 759
- Phelan, Fr. Michael J., iii, 326
- Phips, Sir William, i, 47-51 *passim*, 53, 54, 60
- Pianigiani, Fr. Valerian, O.F.M., iii, 227
- Picpus Fathers, ii, 156, 157
- Piemonta, Fr. Pietro Maria, iii, 739
- Pierce, Harvey, ii, 356
- Pierce, Rev. John, i, 767, 768, 773
- Pierron, Fr. John, S.J., i, 21
- Pilot, The*, ii, 335-337, 338-342, 413, 743, 744-748; iii, 391-398, 524-525, 623, 645, 757-758
- Pilot Publishing Company, iii, 663
- Pimentel, Fr. Anthony Joachim, iii, 219, 733-734
- Pise, Rev. Dr. Charles Constantine, ii, 326, 737
- Pittsfield, Mass., ii, 148, 287-288, 550; iii, 42, 202
- Pittsford, Vt., ii, 104, 147, 277
- Pius VII, Pope, i, 658-659; ii, 10
- Pius IX, Pope, ii, 419-421, 427; iii, 20, 27, 28, 34, 40, 41, 52, 88, 388, 389
- Pius X, Pope, iii, 476, 579
- Pius XI, Pope, iii, 632-633, 654, 675
- Pius XII, Pope, iii, 662, 674-675, 676
- Plasmans, Fr. Raymond, S.M., iii, 729
- Plattsburg, N.Y., ii, 105
- Pleasant Point, Me., ii, 556, 563
- Plessis, Bishop, i, 683-684, 685-687
- Plowden, Fr. Charles, S.J., i, 364, 367, 368, 410
- Plymouth, Mass., i, 535, 536, 617; ii, 499; iii, 331-333, 722-724
- Plymouth, Vt., ii, 277
- Police, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
- Polish Franciscans (O.F.M.), iii, 659
- Polish Home of the Little Flower, iii, 645
- Polish parishes, iii, 189, 197, 228-233, 740-743
- Political freedom, Catholics receive, in Maine and Massachusetts, i, 774-780
- Polk, James K., ii, 412, 413
- Pond, Prescott P., ii, 219, 228-229, 230, 235

- Poor, Samuel, ii, 213
 Poor Clares, Order of, iii, 345, 658
 Pope Day, i, 30, 178-180, 237-240, 247-248, 275, 284, 308
 Popham's Company, i, 5, 14
 Port Royal, i, 4, 14, 17, 22, 47, 88, 90
 Porta, Fr. Anthony della, C.P.S., iii, 738
 Portal, Fr. Jean M., S.M., iii, 209
 Portland, Me., i, 541, 616; ii, 65, 68, 69, 70, 149, 421-423, 555
 Portsmouth Conference of 1714, i, 105
 Portsmouth, N.H., i, 536, 616; ii, 149, 567, 569
 Portsmouth, R.I., i, 618-619, 667, 703; ii, 83-85
 Portsmouth, Treaty of, i, 93, 98
 Portuguese parishes, iii, 189, 197, 215-219, 733-734
 Poughkeepsie Plan, iii, 173, 174, 175
 Poultny, Vt., ii, 104, 147
 Poutrincourt, i, 6
 Powderly, Terence V., iii, 164
 Powell, Jeremiah, i, 312
 Power, Rev. David J., iii, 247
 Power, Elizabeth A., iii, 380
 Power, Fr. James, S.J., ii, 327
 Power, Very Rev. John, ii, 94, 737
 Power, Fr. John J., ii, 535, 602, 640
 Power, Fr. Thomas E., iii, 289
 Power, William, iii, 285
 Powers, Fr. John J., iii, 707
 Powers, Fr. William F., iii, 291, 689
 Pownall, Gov., i, 212
 Prebble, Maj., i, 207
 Prendergast, James M., iii, 759
 Price, James, i, 343
 Price, Mrs. Marie Margaret, i, 343-344, 347, 381, 461
 Price, Fr. Thomas F., iii, 538-539
 Prince, Rev. Thomas, i, 173, 177
 Princeton, Mass., ii, 543
 Prohibition, attitude of Church toward, iii, 648
 Propaganda, College of the, iii, 453, 454
 Proparvulus Club, iii, 643
 Property, tenure of Church, iii, 339-340
 Properzi, Fr. Nazareno, P.S.S.C., iii, 737
 Protectorate of Mary Immaculate, Lawrence, iii, 19, 369
 Protestant Reformation Society, ii, 240
 Protestant Revolution, i, 36, 38, 64
 Protestants, religious liberalism among, ii, 720-722
Providence Catholic Layman, ii, 338
 Providence, R.I., i, 618, 667-668, 703; ii, 83, 84, 85-87, 90, 141, 163, 164-165, 282, 284-285, 304, 307; iii, 45-46
 Provident Infant Asylum, iii, 363
 Provincetown, Mass., ii, 489
 Public Works Building Mission Circle, iii, 755
 Punch, Thomas F., iii, 399
 Purcell, Archbishop, ii, 507-508, iii, 21, 23, 36, 37
 Purcell, Fr. Edward, ii, 550, 551
 Putnam, Fr. Edward, ii, 555
 Qualey, Fr. John, ii, 516; iii, 279-280
 Quan, Fr. James, ii, 542, 546
 Quarter, Bishop, ii, 737
 Quebec, i, 50, 89, 90
 Quebec Act, i, 221, 260-265, 267-268, 275-276, 278
 Queen Anne's War, i, 82-90
 Quévillon, Fr., ii, 571, 572
 Quigley, Archbishop, iii, 552
 Quincy, Eunice, i, 343
 Quincy, Josiah, Sr., i, 264
 Quincy, Josiah, Jr., i, 763-764; ii, 382, 396
 Quincy, Josiah, 3rd., ii, 439, 645
 Quincy, Mary, iii, 410
 Quincy, Mass., ii, 89, 160-161, 271, 496-497; iii, 323-324, 711-713
Quincy Monitor, iii, 399
 Quinlan, Bishop, iii, 37
 Quinlan, Msgr. Richard J., iii, 313, 318
 Quinlan, Fr. Thomas A., iii, 721
 Quinn, Fr. Peter C., iii, 690
 Quirbach, Fr. Conrad J., iii, 701
 Quirk, Anne Ryan, i, 681
 Quirk, Catherine, i, 681
 Quirk, John, iii, 153
 Rabel, Very Rev. Adolphe, S.M., iii, 727, 728, 729
 Raffaeiner, Fr. John, ii, 144, 145
 Rageot, Rev. Philip, i, 81, 82
 Railroad-building, New England, ii, 130-131
 Rainoni, Fr. Charles, ii, 525; iii, 289
 Rainville, Fr. George A., iii, 214-215, 730-732
 Rampolla, Cardinal, iii, 179, 580
 Randolph, Mass., ii, 160, 162, 272, 498; iii, 322, 713-714
 Rattigan, Rev. Patrick, ii, 158, 273, 518
 Rasle, Fr. Sebastian, S.J., i, 42, 56, 67, 80, 84, 86, 93-97, 104, 105, 108-114, 117, 121-123, 126-134, 147; ii, 242
 Rauscher, Cardinal Archbishop, iii, 35
 Razilly, Admiral de, i, 14-15
 Raddy, Rev. Albert M., iii, 720
 Reading, Mass., iii, 284, 700
 Readville, Mass., iii, 688-689
 Reardon, Fr. Cornelius L., iii, 719
 Recollets, i, 16
Recorder, The, ii, 724
 Redemptorists, ii, 486; iii, 19, 255-257, 258
 Reed, Rebecca, ii, 209-210, 225-226, 236
 Reed, Thomas B., iii, 475
 Regan, Fr. David F., iii, 689
 Reggio, Marquis Nicolò, ii, 140
 Regis College, iii, 641, 644, 751
 Reiter, Rev. Ernest J., S.J., ii, 430, 486-487; iii, 196
 Relief Association for Ireland, ii, 438
 Religious of Christian Education, iii, 573, 661, 748
 Religious of Our Lady of the Cenacle, iii, 542-543
 Religious of the Sacred Heart, iii, 56, 348, 642
 Remington, Jonathan, i, 78
 Rémy, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
 Renaudier, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
 Repeal movement, Irish, ii, 349, 744

- Republic, The*, iii, 399
 Republican Party, ii, 665-666, 702
 Retreat Movement, ii, 306, 474, 749; iii, 341, 383, 523, 541-543, 622-623, 638-639, 659, 666, 756
 Revere, Joseph Warren, ii, 161, 724
 Revere, Paul, i, 262
 Revere, Mass., iii, 228, 266-267, 690, 735, 739
 Review Publishing Company, iii, 398
 Revolutionary War, i, 220, 265
 Rex, Fr. Charles, S.S., iii, 62
 Reynolds, Fr. Thomas R., iii, 685
 Richard, Fr. Gabriel, S.S., i, 483
 Richard, Fr. Rosario, iii, 729
 Richards, Fr., ii, 737, 738
 Richards, Rev. Henry L., iii, 407-408
 Richardson, Dr. Maurice H., iii, 377
 Riley, Fr. Daniel H., iii, 717
 Ring, Thomas F., iii, 344, 385
 Riordan, Fr. Daniel C., iii, 702
 Riordan, Rev. George T., ii, 289-290, 513, 515, 536, 547
 Ripley, George, ii, 360
 Ripley, Mrs. George, ii, 360
 Ripley, Col. J. W., ii, 289
 Robichaud, Fr. Joseph E., iii, 729-730
 Robichaud, Louis, i, 214, 215
 Robin, Abbé, i, 341
 Robins, Julia Gorham, iii, 410
 Robinson, Sir Thomas, i, 200
 Rocamego, i, 51
 Rochdale, Mass., ii, 178, 542; iii, 42
 Roche, Fr. Aaron L., ii, 469, 494, 497, 498, 500; iii, 329-330
 Roche, Msgr. Ambrose F., iii, 324, 399, 711
 Roche, Rev. David H., iii, 364-366
 Roche, Ellen, iii, 574
 Roche, James Jeffrey, iii, 395, 396-398, 459
 Rock, Fr. Dominic, iii, 714
 Rockbottom, Mass., ii, 537
 Rockingham, Vt., ii, 572
 Rockland, Me., ii, 566-567
 Rockland, Mass., ii, 272; iii, 331
 Rockport, Mass., ii, 523, 524; iii, 293
 Roddan, Fr. John, ii, 496-499 *passim*, 744-745, 746; iii, 332
 Roe, Rev. Stephen, i, 162-163
 Rogers, Fr. Francis E., iii, 696
 Rogers, Mary Josephine, *see* Mary Joseph, Mother
 Rogers, Michael, ii, 308, 415
 Rogers, Rev. Patrick J., iii, 261
 Rogers' Rangers, i, 217
 Romagné, Rev. James René, i, 546, 585, 588-592, 613-614, 639, 661, 662, 671, 683-685, 709; ii, 65
Roman Catholic Journal and Literary Recorder, i, 796
Roman Catholic Manual, i, 594, 651
 Ronan, Rev. Michael, iii, 305, 369, 472, 535
 Ronan, Msgr. Peter, iii, 248-250, 251, 305, 420, 535, 559
 Roncetti, Msgr. Cesare, iii, 47, 48
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., iii, 673-674
 Roosevelt, Theodore, iii, 475, 567
 Rosa, Rev. Joachim V., iii, 219, 734
 Rosary Academy, Watertown, iii, 528, 661, 751
 Rosary Hill Home, iii, 413
 Rosary Society, ii, 430
 Rosati, Bishop, ii, 380
 Roslindale, Mass., iii, 259-260
 Ross, John, iii, 154, 155
 Rossi, Fr. Anthony J., ii, 514; iii, 261, 311
 Rousselet, Fr. Louis de, i, 413-415, 417, 418, 423-424, 426, 427, 431-450 *passim*, 452-453, 458, 459, 463, 487-489, 490, 501-502
 Rovai, Fr. Ernest, iii, 739
 Rowley, Mass., iii, 704
 Roxbury, Mass., ii, 271, 487-488; iii, 56, 251-257, 259
 Royalston, Mass., ii, 292
 Ruddick, Dr. William H., iii, 409
 Ruffin, Robert Leo, iii, 574
 Runey, Mr. and Mrs. John, ii, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 221
 Russell, Benjamin, i, 763; ii, 396
 Russell, Thomas, i, 259, 456, 493, 763
 Russo, Fr. Nicholas, S.J., iii, 354, 404
 Ruthenian parishes, iii, 238, 746
 Rutherford, Rev. Mr., i, 165
 Rutland, Vt., ii, 147, 277
 Ryan, Catherine M., i, 681-682, 726
 Ryan, Rev. Dennis, i, 695, 698-699, 735; ii, 31, 65, 150, 151, 267, 282, 304
 Ryan, Fr. Edward F., iii, 688
 Ryan, Fr. Francis J., iii, 685
 Ryan, Harriet, ii, 723
 Ryan, Fr. John, ii, 509
 Ryan, Fr. John J., iii, 691
 Ryan, Fr. John P., iii, 313
 Ryan, Mary, i, 681-682
 Ryan, Archbishop P. J., iii, 89, 166, 552
 Ryan, Rev. William A., iii, 250-251
 Ryan, Fr. William H., iii, 291, 293-294, 704
 Ryc, Fr. Charles, iii, 743
 Ryder, Fr., S.J., ii, 491
 Ryswick, Treaty of, i, 63, 64-74 *passim*, 78-80
 Saburo, Shimada, iii, 483
 Saco, Me., ii, 67, 68, 69
 Sacred Heart Boarding School, iii, 641, 751
 Sacred Heart, Church of the, Amesbury, iii, 215, 732; Atlantic, 324, 712; Boston, 226, 736; Brockton, 214-215; Cambridge, 56, 83, 268; East Boston, 264; Groton, 309, 709; Ipswich, 743; Lanesville, 293; Lawrence, 209, 728; Lexington, 695; Lowell, 305; Lynn, 287, 702; Malden, 281; Manchester, 291; Middleboro, 329, 720; Natick, 312; Newton, 277, 698; Roslindale, 260, 687; Waltham, 738; Watertown, 275, 696; Weymouth, 325
 Sacred Heart Institute, *see* Rosary Academy
Sacred Heart Review, iii, 398
 Sacred Heart Society, ii, 430
 Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Church of the, Bradford, iii, 705
 Sagadahok, i, 4-5
 Sagg, Rev. Michael S., iii, 197
 Sainneville, Chevalier de, i, 301, 375

- St. Adalbert, Church of, Hyde Park, iii, 742
- St. Agatha, Church of, Milton, iii, 714
- St. Agnes, Church of, Arlington, iii, 274; Reading, 284, 700
- St. Aidan, Church of, Brookline, iii, 714-715
- St. Albans, Vt., ii, 104, 107, 147, 276, 570-571
- St. Aloysius, Chapel of, Sharon, iii, 322
- St. Aloysius, Church of, Dover, N.H., ii, 70; Newburyport, iii, 215
- St. Aloysius' Orphan Asylum, Providence, ii, 346
- St. Aloysius' School, Boston, ii, 620
- St. Alphonsus Association, iii, 257
- St. Alphonsus, Church of, Beverly, iii, 731
- St. Ambrose, Church of, Dorchester, iii, 684
- St. Andrew, Church of, Billerica, iii, 206, 305, 708; Forest Hills, 687
- St. Angela, Church of, Mattapan, iii, 685
- St. Ann, Church of, Boston, iii, 681; Bridgewater, 719; Georgetown, 294; Gloucester, ii, 524; iii, 292, 703; Hull, 720-721; Kingston, 723; Marlboro, 735-736; Neponset, 247, 685; Newbury, 294; Somerville, 273, 692; Thorndike, ii, 549; Wollaston, iii, 712; Worcester, ii, 535, 621
- St. Anne, Church of, Fall River, iii, 42; Lawrence, 207-209, 212; Littleton, 709; Manchester, N.H., ii, 569, 682; Peabody, iii, 703; Readville, 688; Salem, 214; Wayland, 214
- St. Anne's Academy, Marlboro, iii, 213, 349
- St. Anne's French Catholic Orphanage, Methuen, iii, 645
- St. Ann's Infant Asylum, Boston, iii, 19, 363
- St. Anthony, Church of, Cambridge, iii, 733; Cohasset, 326, 721; Everett, 737; Lawrence, 238, 744; Lowell, 219, 734; Revere, 228, 735, 739; Shirley, 215; Somerville, 737; Woburn, 700
- St. Anthony of Padua, Church of, Allston, iii, 261
- St. Anthony-by-the-Sea, Church of, Gloucester, iii, 703-704
- St. Apollonia's Guild, iii, 756
- St. Augustine, Chapel of, South Boston, i, 721-722; ii, 30, 143, 490; iii, 244
- St. Augustine, Church of, Andover, ii, 531; iii, 302; Lawrence, 298, 302, 706; South Boston, iii, 244
- St. Benedict, Church of, Somerville, iii, 692; Springfield, ii, 290, 547
- St. Bernadette, Church of, Randolph, iii, 714
- St. Bernard, Church of, Concord, iii, 274, 710; Fitchburg, ii, 543; Newton, iii, 277-278
- St. Brendan, Church of, Bellingham, iii, 318; Dorchester, 685
- St. Bridget, Church of, Abington, ii, 500; iii, 329; Bridgewater, ii, 495; iii, 329; Framingham, 311, 710; Lexington, 274; Maynard, 310, 710; Melrose, 283; Millbury, ii, 539
- St. Brigid, Church of, South Boston, iii, 682
- St. Bruno, Church of, Van Buren, Me., ii, 556
- St. Casimir, Church of, Maynard, iii, 743
- St. Castin, Baron de, i, 22-27 *passim*, 34-36, 38, 81, 84, 108, 130
- St. Castin's War, i, 36
- St. Catherine, Chapel of, Manomet, iii, 724
- St. Catherine, Church of, Athol, ii, 544; Graniteville, iii, 308, 708; Hull, 327, 720; Norwood, ii, 488; iii, 317, 715
- St. Catherine of Genoa, Church of, Somerville, iii, 273, 693
- St. Catherine of Siena, Charlestown, iii, 184, 263, 459
- St. Cecilia, Church of, Ashland, iii, 312; Boston, 184, 243, 681
- St. Charles, Church of, Woburn, iii, 279, 700
- St. Charles' College, Maryland, iii, 62, 448-449
- St. Charles Borromeo, Church of, Cambridge, ii, 515; Waltham, iii, 697
- St. Clare, Church of, Medway, ii, 537; iii, 318
- St. Clement, Church of, Boston, iii, 681, 757; Somerville, 693-694
- St. Clement's Hall, Brighton, iii, 659
- St. Clement's House for Women, Boston, iii, 629
- St. Clement's School, Canton, iii, 641, 751
- St. Colman, Church of, Brockton, iii, 719
- St. Columba, Church of, Brighton, ii, 490; Lowell, iii, 707
- St. Columbkille, Church of, Brighton, iii, 144, 145, 261
- St. Denis, Church of, Fort Fairfield, Me., ii, 556
- St. Dennis, Church of, Whitefield, Me., i, 735
- St. Dominic, Church of, Lawrence, ii, 530; Portland, 70, 555
- St. Dominic's Academy, iii, 349, 661, 751
- St. Edward, Church of, Medfield, iii, 317; Montello, 328, 718
- St. Elizabeth, Chapel of, Winchendon, ii, 545
- St. Elizabeth, Church of, Acton, iii, 710
- St. Elizabeth's Day Nursery, Boston, iii, 606
- St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Boston, iii, 19, 379-380, 575-578, 752
- St. Eulalia, Church of, South Boston, iii, 246, 682
- St. Flour, Bishop of, ii, 427
- St. Francis, Church of, Hough's Neck, iii, 324, 711; Lawrence, 236, 743; North Adams, ii, 551; Walpole, iii, 319, 717
- St. Francis of Assisi, Church of, Braintree, iii, 324, 713; Cambridge, 735; Medford, 699
- St. Francis' Friary, iii, 638-639, 756
- St. Francis' German Catholic Home, iii, 368
- St. Francis Indians, i, 281
- St. Francis de Sales, Church of, Charles-

- town, ii, 507-509; iii, 262, 271; Roxbury, ii, 487-488; iii, 251, 254; Waterville, ii, 565
- St. Francis de Sales' Guild for the Hard of Hearing, iii, 668
- St. Francis' Seraphic Seminary, iii, 657
- St. Francis Xavier, Church of, Weymouth, ii, 498; iii, 324, 325, 713
- St. Francis Xavier Mission House, iii, 637
- St. Gabriel's Monastery, iii, 542
- St. Gabriel's Monastery Church, Brighton, iii, 689
- St. George, Church of, Haverhill, iii, 705-706; Norwood, 744; Saxtonville, ii, 292, 536, 656; iii, 310-311
- St. George, Fort, i, 101, 217
- St. George, Mother Mary Edmond, i, 726-727; ii, 36, 205, 216, 217, 226, 229-230, 233, 236
- St. Gregory, Church of, Dorchester, ii, 493; iii, 246, 247, 684, 714; Haverhill, ii, 531; iii, 295; Milton, 246, 247
- St. Hedwig, Church of, Cambridge, iii, 742
- St. Helena's House, iii, 371-372, 629, 665, 752
- St. Hugh, Church of, Roxbury, iii, 253, 686
- St. Ignatius, Church of, Newton, iii, 698
- St. James, Church of, Arlington, iii, 694; Boston, ii, 468-469; iii, 12, 13, 17, 91, 237, 241, 255, 681-682; Bridgeport, ii, 286; Groton, iii, 709; Haverhill, 184, 295, 704; Medford, 699; Newburyport, 704; Salem, ii, 523, 621; iii, 288-289
- St. James' Parochial School, Salem, ii, 621
- St. James' School, Haverhill, iii, 127
- St. Jerome, Church of, Arlington, iii, 695; Holyoke, ii, 552-553; Weymouth, iii, 326, 713
- St. Joachim, Church of, Rockport, ii, 524; iii, 293
- St. Joan of Arc, Church of, Lowell, iii, 727
- St. John, Chapel of, Lowell, iii, 204, 205-206
- St. John, Church of, Bridgewater, iii, 329; Chelmsford, ii, 527; iii, 308; Clinton, ii, 545; East Cambridge, 270-271, 400, 513, 514; iii, 268; Newton, 277; North Cambridge, 271, 692; Peabody, 290; Roxbury, 252, 253, 686; Salem, 746; Townsend, 309; Wellesley, 716
- St. John the Baptist, Church of, Boston, ii, 269, 473, 749; iii, 218-219, 733-734; East Boston, 734; Essex, 704; Fall River, ii, 283, 502; Lowell, iii, 184, 206, 726; Lynn, 214; New Bedford, 217; Quincy, ii, 496; iii, 323, 711; Salem, 232, 741
- St. John the Evangelist, Church of, Canton, iii, 321-322; Hopkinton, 313; Newton, 730; Swampscott, 288; Winthrop, 265, 690; Worcester, ii, 291, 419, 535; iii, 43
- St. John Indians, i, 42, 57, 86, 95, 137, 169, 281-282, 284-285, 289, 291, 292, 299, 451
- St. John's Catholic Literary and Athletic Association, Quincy, iii, 399
- St. John's Hospital, Lowell, iii, 19, 204, 303, 378-379
- St. John's Industrial School, Newton, iii, 367
- St. John's Mutual Relief Society, East Cambridge, Mass., ii, 346
- St. John's Normal College, iii, 184, 347
- St. John's Preparatory College, iii, 347, 528, 626
- St. John's Seminary, Brighton, iii, 57-63, 528-531, 605, 627, 639, 659-660, 748
- St. Johnsbury, Vt., ii, 147
- St. Joseph, Chapel of, Lynn, iii, 702
- St. Joseph, Church of, Amesbury, iii, 56, 185, 294; Ballardvale, 302; Barre, ii, 542; Belmont, iii, 274, 695; Boston, ii, 472, 473; iii, 12, 43, 52, 240, 456-457; Burlington, ii, 571; East Boston, iii, 683; Eastport, ii, 70, 278; Everett, iii, 730; Hanson, 722; Haverhill, 212-213, 728; Holbrook, 383; Hyde Park, 689; Ipswich, 291, 704; Kingston, 333, 722; Lawrence, 238, 745; Lincoln, 274; Lowell (French), 205, 206, 726; (Lithuanian), 744; Lynn, 56, 286; Magnolia, 703; Malden, 281; Medford, 455, 699; Medway, 318; Needham, 317, 716; Newport, ii, 164; Peabody, iii, 741; Pepperell, 309; Pittsfield, 42, 202; Quincy, 711; Roxbury, ii, 271, 487, 618; iii, 251-252; Salem, 213-214, 730; Somerville, 56, 272; South Boston, 235, 236; Wakefield, ii, 509; iii, 284, 700, 740; Waltham, 215, 729; Winchester, 280
- St. Joseph's Dispensary, Lawrence, iii, 369
- St. Joseph's Home, Boston, iii, 371, 372, 629
- St. Joseph's Hospital, Lowell, iii, 665
- St. Joseph's Juniorate, iii, 637
- St. Joseph's School, Haverhill, iii, 127
- St. Joseph's Seminary, Troy, ii, 750-752; iii, 57-58
- St. Julia, Church of, Weston, iii, 697
- St. Lawrence, Church of, Brookline, iii, 315; New Bedford, 42, 248
- St. Lawrence O'Toole, Church of, Lawrence, iii, 297, 302, 706
- St. Lazarus, Church of, East Boston, iii, 228, 735, 736
- St. Leo, Church of, Dorchester, iii, 251, 686; Leominster, ii, 543
- St. Leonard of Port Maurice, Church of, Boston, iii, 224, 227, 734
- St. Louis, Church of, Webster, ii, 542
- St. Louis de France, Church of, Lowell, iii, 207, 726, 732
- St. Luce, Church of, Frenchville, Me., ii, 556
- St. Lucy, Chapel of, Revere, iii, 739
- St. Luke, Church of, Waverley, iii, 695-696; West Boylston, ii, 545
- St. Luke's Guild, iii, 545, 756
- St. Malachy, Church of, Arlington, iii, 273; Hopkinton, ii, 538; iii, 313
- St. Margaret, Church of, Beverly, iii, 291; Campello, 328, 719; Cliftondale, 701; Dorchester, 250; Lowell, 707
- St. Margaret Mary, Church of, Westwood, iii, 715
- St. Margaret's Hospital, Dorchester, iii, 535
- St. Mark, Church of, Ashmont, iii, 247, 685; Grafton, ii, 541

- St. Martin, Rev. Alfred, S.M., iii, 728
 St. Martin, Church of, Otter River, ii, 544
 St. Mary, Church of, Attleboro, ii, 506; Augusta, 555; Ayer, 544; iii, 308; Boston, ii, 143, 242, 301-305, 400, 474-475, 749; iii, 56, 224, 240, 681-682; Burlington, ii, 147, 258, 423; Canton, 321; Charlestown, ii, 57-58, 206, 506-507, 509; iii, 184, 223, 224, 261-262; Chelmsford, 708; Claremont, i, 749; ii, 58-64; Collinsville, iii, 308; Dedham, ii, 488; iii, 316, 715; Dover, N.H., ii, 69; Everett, iii, 285; Fall River, ii, 502; Foxboro, iii, 321; Franklin, 320, 717; Georgetown, 295; Holliston, 313; Lawrence, ii, 529-530; iii, 197, 296-297, 299, 301; Lee, ii, 552; Lowell, 274; iii, 307, (French), 727; Lynn, ii, 519; iii, 286, 702; Marlboro, 213, 732; Melrose, 283; Milford, ii, 536; Newburyport, 278; Newton, iii, 276, 698; Northampton, ii, 288, 553; Pawtucket, 86; Plymouth, iii, 723; Quincy, ii, 271, 496; iii, 323, 324, 711; Randolph, ii, 498; iii, 322, 713; Rowley, 704; Salem, i, 733; ii, 52, 145, 273, 522, 523; iii (Italian), 739-740; Taunton, ii, 163; Tewksbury, iii, 707; Uxbridge, ii, 505; Wakefield, iii, 284; Walpole, 718; Waltham, ii, 415-417, 517, 721; iii, 275, 696; Westfield, ii, 549; Winchester, iii, 280; Wrentham, 321, 717
 St. Mary of the Angels, Church of, Roxbury, iii, 253, 686
 St. Mary of the Annunciation, Chapel of, Scituate, iii, 721
 St. Mary of the Annunciation, Church of, Cambridge, iii, 81, 82, 269
 St. Mary of the Assumption, Church of, Brookline, iii, 314; Nantasket, 327, 720
 St. Mary of the Bay, Church of, Hull, iii, 721
 St. Mary of the Hills, Church of, Milton, iii, 714
 St. Mary of the Lake, Church of, Billerica, iii, 709; Dracut, 708
 St. Mary by the Sea, Church of, Winthrop, iii, 690
 St. Mary Star of the Sea, Chapel of, Salisbury, iii, 294
 St. Mary of the Visitation, Chapel of, Scituate, iii, 721
 St. Mary's Charitable Mutual Relief Society, Boston, ii, 346
 St. Mary's Day School, Dedham, iii, 316
 St. Mary's Free School for Boys, ii, 618
 St. Mary's Infirmary, Dorchester, iii, 363-364, 535, 644, 752
 St. Mary's Institute, Boston, ii, 619, 708
 St. Mary's Mutual Benevolent Catholic Total Abstinence Society, ii, 644
 St. Mary's Orphan Asylum, Boston, ii, 614, 641-642; Dedham, iii, 316
 St. Mary's Reading and Literary Association, ii, 349
 St. Mary's School, Boston, ii, 614-616; Lawrence, 620, 621
 St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, ii, 9, 10-11; iii, 448
 St. Matthew, Church of, Cabotville, ii, 287; Dorchester, iii, 247, 685; Indian Orchard, ii, 554
 St. Michael, Cathedral of, Springfield, ii, 548; iii, 42, 45
 St. Michael, Church of, Andover, iii, 297, 706; Avon, 323, 714; Bangor, ii, 152; Bedford, iii, 274, 695; Haverhill, 741; Hudson, 310; Lowell, 307; Lynn, 233, 741
 St. Monica, Church of, Methuen, iii, 302, 706; South Boston, 245, 682
 St. Nicholas, Church of, East Boston, ii, 269, 510, 619
 St. Patrick, Cathedral of, New York, ii, 13-14; iii, 52
 St. Patrick, Church of, Brockton, ii, 494; iii, 328, 718; Cambridge, 691; Damariscotta, i, 735; Groveland, iii, 295; Hinsdale, ii, 551; Lawrence, iii, 184, 297, 303; Lowell, ii, 56, 145, 526; iii, 202, 205, 306, 496; Lynn, 287; Monson, ii, 554; Natick, 539; iii, 312; Newcastle, Me., i, 614, 695; Providence, ii, 284; Roxbury, 143, 487; iii, 242, 251, 253; Stoncham, 283; Wareham, 42; Watertown, ii, 517; iii, 275
 St. Patrick's Academy, Lowell, iii, 348
 St. Patrick's Benevolent Society, Augusta, Me., ii, 345
 St. Patrick's Catholic Union, Lowell, iii, 388
 St. Patrick's Home for Working Girls, Lowell, iii, 372
 St. Patrick's Mission Club, iii, 755
 St. Paul, Church of, Blackstone, ii, 505; Cambridge, iii, 270, 691; Dorchester, 251, 683; Hamilton, 704; Hingham, 326; Wellesley, 716
 St. Peter, Chapel of, Malden, iii, 740
 St. Peter, Church of, Burlington, ii, 275; Cambridge, 513; iii, 268, 270, 271; Dorchester, 56, 247-250, 683-684; Gloucester, 703; Great Barrington, ii, 551; Lowell, 274; iii, 305, 476; New York, ii, 13, 47; Norwood, iii, 742; Plymouth, 332, 722; Sandwich, ii, 89, 499; South Boston, iii, 235, 743; Southbridge, ii, 546, 681
 St. Peter's Orphan Asylum, Lowell, iii, 19, 369, 575, 752
 St. Philip, Church of, Boston, iii, 242; Grafton, ii, 540-541
 St. Philip Neri, Church of, Waban, iii, 698
 St. Pius, Church of, Lynn, iii, 702
 St. Polycarp, Church of, Leicester, ii, 547; Somerville, iii, 692-693
 St. Raphael, Church of, Dedham, iii, 316-317; Medford, 283
 St. Raphael Society, iii, 171, 227
 St. Raphael's Hall, iii, 667
 St. Rita, Church of, Haverhill, iii, 705-706, 707; Lowell, 707
 St. Rocco, Church of, Brockton, iii, 236, 743
 St. Roch, Church of, Oxford, ii, 542
 St. Rose, Church of, Topsfield, iii, 703
 St. Rose of Lima, Church of, Chelsea, iii, 265-266, 689

- St. Rose's Home, New York, iii, 413
 St.-Sauveur, Chevalier de, i, 303, 306
 St. Sebastian's Country Day School, Newton, iii, 661, 751
 St. Stanislaus, Church of, Ipswich, iii, 732
 St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Martyr, Church of, Chelsea, iii, 233, 740
 St. Stephen, Church of, Boston, ii, 474; iii, 240, 681; Framingham, 312
 St. Tarcisius, Church of, Framingham, iii, 737
 St. Theresa, Chapel of, Reading, iii, 700; Sherborn, 710
 St. Theresa, Church of, Billerica, iii, 709; Brockton, 744; Revere, 690; West Roxbury, 259, 687
 St. Theresa of the Child Jesus, Church of, Watertown, iii, 696
 St. Theresa's House, Lynn, iii, 629
 St. Theresa's Union, iii, 388
 St. Therese, Church of, Everett, iii, 700
 St. Thérèse of Lisieux, Convent of, iii, 638
 St. Thérèse's Home for Working Girls, Newburyport, iii, 645
 St. Thomas, Church of, Bridgewater, ii, 495; iii, 328, 719
 St. Thomas the Apostle, Church of, Millis, iii, 717; Nahant, 287; Salem, 702
 St. Thomas Aquinas, Church of, Jamaica Plain, iii, 258, 687
 St. Thomas Aquinas College, Cambridgeport, iii, 57, 81, 357
 St. Thomas More, Church of, Braintree, iii, 713
 St. Thomas of Villanova, Church of, Wilmington, iii, 302, 700
 St.-Vallier, Bishop, i, 25
 St. Vincent, Church of, South Boston, iii, 245
 St. Vincent de Paul, Church of, Boston, ii, 467-468; iii, 185, 245
 St. Vincent de Paul Society, Boston, 1838, ii, 346; 1861, iii, 362, 384-386, 628, 657, 664, 752
 St. Vincent's Home for Girls, iii, 644
 St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum, ii, 329-331, 629-630, 641-642; iii, 358, 752. *See also* St. Vincent's Home for Girls
 St. William, Church of, Dorchester, iii, 684; Tewksbury, 707; Ware, ii, 549
 St. Zepherin, Church of, Cohituate, iii, 214
 Ste. Chrétienne Academy, Salem, iii, 626
 Ste. Croix, i, 3, 9, 14
 Ste. Jeanne d'Arc Academy, Milton, iii, 661
 Ste. Thérèse, Church of, Methuen, iii, 729
 Ste. Thérèse of the Child Jesus, Church of, Dracut, iii, 732
 SS. Peter and Paul, Church of, Lawrence, iii, 219; Providence, ii, 165, 304, 307; South Boston, 269, 417, 490-492, 619; iii, 21, 244
 Salem, Mass., i, 428-430, 432, 434, 536, 616-617, 663-667, 701, 733-734; ii, 31, 52, 145, 202, 213, 273, 304, 522-523; iii, 232, 288-289, 702, 730-731, 739-740, 741, 746
 Salisbury Beach, Mass., iii, 294
 Salter, Helen J., iii, 410
 Salter, Dr. Richard H., ii, 725
 San Clemente, Church of, iii, 557, 562-566, 579
 San Marco Society, iii, 225, 226
 Sandwich, Mass., ii, 84, 89, 160, 162, 282, 284, 499
 Sanford, Henry S., ii, 711, 760
 Sannella, Rev. Francis, P.S.S.C., iii, 228
 SS. Maria del Carmine Society, Wakefield, iii, 740
 Sargent, Daniel, iii, 760
 Sargent, Rev. Henry L., iii, 760
 Sargent, Lawrence, i, 586
 Sarsfield Guards, ii, 679, 700
 Satolli, Cardinal, iii, 98, 139, 170, 178-182, 188, 243, 453, 464, 470
 Saugus, Mass., ii, 146, 524; iii, 288, 701
 Saxonville, Mass., ii, 178, 291, 292, 536-537, 547; iii, 310-311
 Scalabrini, Bishop, iii, 226
 Scanlan, Rev. Michael J., iii, 627
 Scannell, Rev. Daniel P., iii, 320, 717
 Scapigliati, Fr. P. A., O.F.M., iii, 736
 Schoodic Lake, Me., ii, 567
 School Question, iii, 75-85, 101, 110-118, 122, 126-133, 134, 173-182, 336-337, 345-349
 School Sisters of the Good Shepherd, iii, 57
 School Sisters of Notre Dame, iii, 56
 Schwarzenberg, Cardinal Archbishop, iii, 35
 Scituate, Mass., iii, 326, 721
 Scoff, Elias, iii, 745
 Scott, Fr. Martin J., S.J., iii, 760
 Scully, Fr. Thomas, ii, 495, 715; iii, 81-83, 269, 381
 Seamen's Aid Society, i, 768
 Searle, Rev. George M., C.S.P., ii, 723
 Sears, Barnas, ii, 585
 Seaver, Benjamin, ii, 481, 627, 656, 658, 698
 Seccomb, Rev. Mr., i, 148-151, 153-154
 "Second Colonization of New England," iii, 3-6
 Secret societies, problem of, iii, 171
 Sedgwick, Grace, iii, 410
 Sedgwick, Jane, iii, 410
 Select School for Boys, Roxbury, ii, 621
 Seminary of the Holy Cross, ii, 321
 Sen Fu Club, iii, 755
 Sentinel, iii, 400
 Sepiaci, Msgr., iii, 89
 Sergenti, Fr. Marcellinus, O.F.M., iii, 736
 Sermons and Addresses (O'Connell), iii, 648-649
 Serpa, Rev. Theodore de, iii, 219
 Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer, iii, 413
 Seton, Mother, i, 608-611, 640-641, 665, 708; ii, 330; iii, 377
 Sewall, Samuel, i, 76-77, 106, 123, 129
 Shahan, Fr. Thomas H., ii, 503-504, 509, 522-525 *passim*, 621; iii, 241, 273, 274, 281, 284, 289, 290, 291, 306
 Shamrock Benevolent Society, Worcester, ii, 418, 465-466
 Shannon, Mother Rose, iii, 666

- Sharon, Mass., iii, 322
 Shattuck, Dr. George C., ii, 263
 Shaw, Gardiner Howland, iii, 760
 Shaw, Justice Lemuel, ii, 227
 Shaw, Fr. John J., iii, 307, 308
 Shaw, Fr. Joseph Coolidge, S.J., ii, 357, 572; iii, 350
 Shea, John Gilmory, ii, 376; iii, 68
 Sheedy, Fr. Patrick H., iii, 309
 Sheerin, Fr. Thomas, S.J., ii, 546
 Sheffield, Mass., ii, 175
 Shelburne Falls, Mass., ii, 554
 Shepard, Miss, ii, 589-593 *passim*
 Shepherd, Margaret L., iii, 107-109, 120, 121, 124, 126, 135
 Sherborn, Mass., iii, 710
 Sheridan, Fr. Edward J., ii, 505, 541
 Sheridan, Fr. John A., iii, 714
 Sheridan, Patrick, iii, 272
 Sherman, Rev. Frederick F., iii, 408
 Shestokas, Rev. Joseph, iii, 236
 Shield's Artillery, ii, 700
 Shirley, Gov. William, i, 162-163, 167-168, 169, 174, 186-187, 189-191, 193, 196-200 *passim*
 Shirley, Mass., iii, 215
 Shrewsbury, Vt., ii, 104
 Shuman, A., iii, 402
 Shurtleff, Nathaniel, ii, 722
 Shute, Gov., i, 101, 104, 105-106, 112-113, 115-117, 131
 Shute, Rev. Mr., i, 371
 Sicard Deaf-Mute Society of Boston, iii, 370
Signal, The, ii, 653
 Sikora, Fr. Ladislaus A., iii, 741, 742
 Silva, Most Rev. Henry Joseph da, iii, 734
 Simeon, Fr. James, S.J., iii, 196
 Simeoni, Cardinal, iii, 89, 97, 177
 Simmons, William J., iii, 636
 Simon, Fr. Joseph, iii, 238
 Simplicia, Sister, iii, 377
 Sims, "Professor" Walter, iii, 144
 Sinn Fein Movement, iii, 610
 Sinnot, John, i, 597, 599-600
 Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, iii, 573-574, 658
 Sisters of Charity of Halifax, iii, 348-349
 Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, iii, 57, 328, 363, 369, 629
 Sisters of the Good Shepherd, iii, 19, 68, 373-375
 Sisters of Mary, iii, 184
 Sisters of Mercy, ii, 621, 640; iii, 18
 Sisters of Notre Dame, ii, 319, 615-618, 619-622, 688-690, 692; iii, 18, 272, 286, 301, 307, 322, 343, 346, 347, 378, 626, 643
 Sisters of Providence, iii, 184
 Sisters of St. Anne, iii, 57, 213, 349
 Sisters of St. Dominic, iii, 184, 413
 Sisters of St. Joseph, iii, 19, 259, 343, 346, 347, 368, 371, 574, 605, 622, 629, 637, 641, 642, 659, 664, 665, 667, 748
 Sisters of Sainte-Chrétienne, iii, 626
 Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic, iii, 57
 Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, iii, 19, 368, 371, 379
 Skinner, Henrietta Dana, iii, 409
 Slattery, Dr. John R., iii, 759
 Slattery, Fr. Lawrence W., iii, 691
 Slavery, ii, 412, 668, 704-707
 Smalley, Benjamin H., ii, 741
 Smalley, Mrs. Julia C., ii, 741
 Smalley, Laura, ii, 741
 Smith, Adolphus, ii, 415
 Smith, Alfred E., iii, 636
 Smith, Fr. Charles, ii, 518-519, 564
 Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Gardiner G., ii, 741
 Smith, Rev. Hugh M., iii, 317
 Smith, Rev. Ignatius, O.P., iii, 651
 Smith, Dr. J. V. C., ii, 712
 Smith, Fr. John, ii, 48, 78
 Smith, Fr. John B., iii, 451
 Smith, Seth W., ii, 563
 Smolnikar, Rev. Andreas Bernhard, O.S.B., ii, 144-145
 Smyth, Rev. Hugh P., iii, 251-253, 324-325, 326, 332, 429, 722
 Smyth, Fr. James, ii, 160, 162, 171, 285
 Social Education Congress, iii, 496
Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français, iii, 200
Société de l'Assomption, iii, 200
 Society of the Angel Guardian, iii, 359
 Society for the Benefit of the Penobscot Indians, i, 808; ii, 75-76
 Society for Christian Union and Progress, ii, 364
 Society of the Divine Word, iii, 637, 748
 Society of the Friends of Ireland, ii, 349
 Society of Jesus, i, 6-8, 13, 21, 67-68, 72-73, 78, 164, 185, 194, 409, 416-417, 645, 746, 783-784; ii, 7, 8, 10-11, 12, 187, 322, 324-329, 410, 427, 474-475, 486, 546, 547, 557, 608, 610; iii, 18, 120-121, 122, 197, 622, 637
 Society of Mary, iii, 207-209, 211, 212
 Society for the Nocturnal Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, iii, 384
 Society for the Propagation of the Faith, ii, 296, 426, 430; iii, 94, 337-338, 624, 663, 755-756
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, i, 78
 Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, ii, 73
 Society of St. John the Baptist, iii, 200
 Society of St. Sulpice, i, 364, 366, 482, 483, 518, 580, 599-602, 619, 691, 782-785; ii, 751; iii, 9, 10, 60, 529-531
 Society of St. Vincent de Paul, ii, 643; iii, 574, 606
 Societies, growth of Catholic, ii, 344-350, 430-431
 Sock Bason, Deacon, ii, 73-74, 76, 79
 Sodality of the Blessed Virgin, ii, 410, 430; iii, 383
 Somersworth, N.H., ii, 149
 Somerville, Mass., iii, 56, 212, 271-273, 692-694, 737
 Sons of Temperance, ii, 643; iii, 182
 Sougé, Rev. John Ambrose, i, 546-548
 South Berwick, Me., ii, 149
 South Boston, Mass., i, 721-722; ii, 417-

- 418, 490-493; iii, 235-236, 243-246, 682, 741, 743
 South End Community House, iii, 630
 Southack, Capt. Cyprian, i, 75
 Southampton, Earl of, i, 5
 Southbridge, Mass., ii, 542, 546, 721; iii, 42, 202
 Southwick, Daniel H., ii, 270, 356
 Sozzi, Fr. Paul, C.P.S., iii, 738
 Spalding, Archbishop, ii, 5; iii, 15, 20-21, 29-30, 36-39, 46
 Spalding, Bishop John Lancaster, ii, 5
 Spalding, Rev. James Field, iii, 408, 410
 Spalding, Leonard G., ii, 605
 Spanish American War, iii, 416-417
 Spellman, Archbishop Francis J., iii, 662; 698
 Spencer, Mass., ii, 178, 540, 542, 546
 Splaine, Msgr. M. J., iii, 601
 Splaine, Fr. Richard H., iii, 695-696
 Springfield, Mass., ii, 174, 175, 287, 288-290, 547-548, 620; iii, 42, 43, 44-45
 Stack, Fr. Robert P., iii, 275
 Stack, Fr. Thomas H., S.J., iii, 354
 Stamford, Conn., ii, 286
 Stamp Act, i, 238
 Stanislaus, Sister, ii, 16
 Stanley, Edward, ii, 647
 Stanton, Fr. James F., iii, 537
 Stanton, Michael, ii, 550
 Staples, Isaac, ii, 560, 561
 Star of the Sea Chapel, Squantum, iii, 712
 Star of the Sea Church, Beverly, iii, 291, 703; East Boston, 264, 265, 682-683; Marblehead, 289, 702
 State Board of Charity, iii, 419
 Stead, W. T., iii, 107
 Stearns, Charles, ii, 288-289
 Stearns, Frank Warren, iii, 760
 Stearns, Foster W., iii, 760
 Stearns, Sarah F., ii, 360
 Steinbacher, Fr., S.J., ii, 486
 Sterckx, Cardinal, ii, 751
 Stickney, Harriet Trumbull, iii, 410
 Stigmatine Fathers, iii, 637, 657, 738, 748, 749
 Stiles, Ezra, i, 221, 454
 Stillman, Rev. Samuel, i, 343
 Stock, Fr. Simon, i, 12-13
 Stockbridge, ii, 287, 550, 552
 Stone, Gen. Charles P., iii, 409
 Stone, James Kent, *see* Fidelis, Fr., C.P.
 Stoneham, Mass., ii, 509; iii, 283
 Stonington, Conn., ii, 171
 Stonor, Archbishop Edmund, iii, 470
 Storer, Dr. Horatio, ii, 638-639; iii, 409
 Stoughton, Lieut.-Gov., i, 79-80
 Stoughton, Don Juan, i, 507, 553, 673
 Stoughton, Mass., ii, 493; iii, 322
 Stow, Mass., ii, 292, 537
 Strain, Rev. James, ii, 272-273, 274, 292, 304, 305, 308, 414-416, 474, 516, 518, 548, 549; iii, 265
 Strain, Msgr. Patrick, ii, 519-520; iii, 265, 286, 287
 Stratford, Samuel, i, 385
 Strong, Gov., i, 763
 Strong, Rev. Joseph, i, 516, 668, 669
 Sudbury, Mass., ii, 537
 Sullivan, Rev. Denis F., iii, 287, 288, 696
 Sullivan, Rev. Denis J., iii, 253, 686
 Sullivan, James, i, 509, 561, 564, 565
 Sullivan, Fr. James F., ii, 492, 553
 Sullivan, John, i, 102, 677
 Sullivan, Fr. Timothy C., iii, 715
 Sulpicians, *see* Society of St. Sulpice
 Sumner, Charles, ii, 238, 406, 412, 710
 Sumner, John, i, 141
 Sunday Register, iii, 399
 Sunday School Messenger, iii, 400
 Sunderland, Mass., ii, 554
 Supple, Rev. James N., iii, 262-263
 Supple, Rev. Michael, iii, 262, 272
 Supple, Msgr. Patrick J., iii, 686
 Sutton, Mass., ii, 178
 Swampscott, Mass., iii, 288
 Swanton, Vt., ii, 104, 107, 147, 276, 571
 Synod (s), First Diocesan, ii, 306-307; iii, 26; Second, 19, 25-26; Third, 19, 26-27; Fourth, 57, 95-96; Fifth, 525; Sixth, 621
 Syresme, Fr. Jacques, S.J., i, 140, 144, 153, 164-165, 168-169
 Syrian parishes, iii, 189-197, 236-238, 744-745
 Syski, Fr. Alexander, iii, 645, 741, 742
 Taaffe, Rev. James H. D., O.P., ii, 529, 530; iii, 297-298, 299, 369
 Tabb, Fr. John Bannister, iii, 449
 Takuski, Fr. James, iii, 741
 Talbot, Bishop, i, 363, 412
 Talbot, Fr. George, iii, 213*n*.
 Talbot, Fr. Thomas, i, 481-482
 Talley, Alfred M., ii, 96, 101, 102, 333
 Tallon, Fr. Joseph P., ii, 501
 Tanguay, Fr. L. P., iii, 732
 Tappan, Dr. David, i, 510
 Tariffville, Conn., ii, 171
 Tattan, Fr. Henry M., iii, 717
 Taunton, Mass., ii, 84, 88, 163, 166, 282, 304, 503-504; iii, 45
 Taxes, ministerial, i, 539, 560-564
 Taxous, i, 39, 41, 42, 43, 55, 58, 147
 Taylor, Anson, ii, 92-94, 101, 102
 Taylor, Augustine Deodat, ii, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102
 Taylor, Charles, ii, 92-94, 101, 102
 Taylor, Charles H., iii, 87
 Taylor, Francis Horace, ii, 92-97, 101, 102, 332, 333
 Taylor, Henry, ii, 92, 95
 Taylor, Mary, ii, 92, 101
 Taylor, Mary Hartshorn, ii, 92, 102
 Taylor, Roxana, ii, 92
 Taylor, Solomon, ii, 92
 Taylor, Very Rev. William, i, 732, 755, 788, 789, 792-796, 807-811; iii, 25-27, 28-29, 48
 Teachers' Institute, iii, 526
 Teeling, Msgr. Arthur J., iii, 286, 287, 293, 369, 629
 Temperance movement, ii, 347-348, 643-646, 667-668
 Templars of Liberty, iii, 66
 Temple, Sir Thomas, i, 23

- Templeton, Mass., ii, 178, 543, 544
 Teresian Guild, Neponset, iii, 755
 Ternay, Adm. de, i, 329, 340
 Terremaugus, i, 54
 Tewksbury, Mass., iii, 706-707
 Thacher, Rev. Peter, i, 511
 Thaxter, Levi, ii, 216
 Thayer, Cornelius, i, 358
 Thayer, Cornelius II, i, 358, 434
 Thayer, Henry Adams, iii, 410
 Thayer, Rev. John, i, 358, 383, 412-413, 420-424, 425-440, 444-445, 447, 450, 454, 459-463, 476-477, 486-487, 495-499, 513-517, 524, 542-543, 602-603, 669, 677-683
 Thayer, John E., ii, 661
 Thayer, Mollie Dixon, iii, 760
 Thayer, Nathaniel, i, 358, 365, 772
 Thayer, Richard, i, 358-370
 Thayer, Sarah (Plaisted), i, 358
 Thayer, Zechariah, i, 358
 Theological Conferences, iii, 341
 Third Order of St. Teresa, iii, 375
 Thirty-Second Regiment, Massachusetts
 Veteran Volunteers, ii, 714
 Thomas, Fr. Francis L., iii, 699
 Thomaston, Me., i, 101; ii, 150, 564
 Thompsonville, Conn., ii, 171
 Thorndike, Miss, ii, 724
 Thorndike, Mass., ii, 174, 549, 554
 Three Rivers, Mass., ii, 550, 554
 Thursday Evening Club, ii, 406-407, 721
 Thurston, Wilder S., ii, 235-236
 Thury, Rev. Louis P., i, 24-25, 27-28, 42-44, 51, 55, 58-63 *passim*
 Ticknor, George, i, 649
 Tierney, Rev. John D., iii, 331
 Tierney, Fr. William E., iii, 715
 Tilden, Bryant P., i, 763
 Tilestone, John, i, 499
 Tinker, Mary Agnes, ii, 725; iii, 410
 Tinmouth, Vt., ii, 104, 147
 Tisserant, Rev. John S., i, 448, 585, 586, 600, 618, 752
 Toleration Act of 1649, ii, 4
 Toma, Fr. Ludovico, P.S.S.C., iii, 737
 Toohig, Fr. William F., iii, 685
 Tories, i, 242, 259, 264-265, 275, 302, 346
 Torrens, Mary, iii, 410
 Toucey, Isaac, ii, 715
 Touché, Fr., S.M., iii, 211
 Townsend, Mass., ii, 543; iii, 309
 Tractarians, ii, 736-737
 Tracy, Daniel, i, 720
 Tracy, Msgr. Joseph V., iii, 261, 338
 Train, Enoch, ii, 123
 Train and Company, ii, 443, 444
 Transcendentalism, ii, 354, 359
 Trappists, i, 655
 Trask, Mary, iii, 664
 Travis, Charles B., iii, 118-123
 Traynor, W. J. H., iii, 140, 141
 Tresca, Carlo W., iii, 569
 Trescott, Me., ii, 150, 566
 Triest, Canon Pierre J., iii, 359
 Trouvé, Rev. Claude, S.S., i, 48, 50
 Troy, Fr. James B., iii, 317
 Trusteeism, ii, 299-306, 307, 414-417, 756-758
 Tryon, Sarah Josephine, iii, 409
 Tucker, John C., ii, 251
 Tucker, Jonathan, ii, 67
 Tucker, Jonathan, Jr., ii, 356
 Tucker, Maria Deming, ii, 741
 Tucker, Col. Nathaniel, ii, 741
 Tuckerman, Sister Eulalia Mary, iii, 343-344, 410
 Tuckerman, Rev. Joseph, i, 729, 768; ii, 329, 637
 Tuckerman, Samuel P., ii, 722-723; iii, 343-344
 Tudor, William, i, 305, 764
 Tufts, Joseph, ii, 213
 Turfrey, George, i, 78
 Turner, Rev. Charles, i, 258
 Turner's Falls, Mass., iii, 42
 Turpin, Fr. Edward, ii, 543, 544, 545
 Twentieth Century Club, iii, 496
 Twenty-Eighth Regiment, Massachusetts
 Volunteer Infantry, ii, 714
 Twenty-Sixth Division, iii, 603-604
 Twomey, Fr. Eugene A., iii, 698
 Twomey, Fr. Mortimer E., iii, 274, 682
 Tyler, Abigail (Barber), ii, 44
 Tyler, Noah, ii, 44
 Tyler, Bishop William, i, 750; ii, 42, 44-45, 49, 89, 155, 161, 293, 294, 306, 402
 Ubaldi, Don Ubaldo, iii, 453
 Ukrainian parishes, iii, 238, 746
 Ullrich, Fr. Charles A., iii, 683
 Ullrich, Fr. William H., iii, 695
Union St.-Jean Baptiste d'Amérique, iii, 200
 Unitarianism, i, 769-771, 772; ii, 182, 183, 222, 354, 355
 United American Mechanics, iii, 151
United States Catholic Intelligencer, ii, 198, 334
United States Catholic Miscellany, i, 796; ii, 199, 332
 Upham, Charles W., ii, 581, 655
 Upton, Mass., ii, 536
 Urbanowicz, Fr. Casimir, iii, 743, 744
 Ursulines, i, 681-683, 723-727; ii, 14, 36-39, 205, 208, 470, 614; iii, 256; burning of Convent, ii, 210-239
 Utrecht, Treaty of, i, 91-93, 97-103
 Uxbridge, Mass., ii, 89, 178, 505, 538
 Vacation House, iii, 630
 Valnais, Joseph de, i, 343, 675
 Van Buren, Me., ii, 556
 Vandenberghe, Fr., O.M.I., iii, 203-206
 Vandenhende, Dr., ii, 760
 Vandevelde, Bishop, ii, 424
 Vannutelli, Cardinal Vincenzo, iii, 519, 520, 653
 Vaudreuil, Marquis de, i, 345
 Vaudreuil, Sieur de, i, 85, 108, 109, 116, 119
 Vénard (Blessed), Théophane, iii, 537
 Vergennes, Vt., i, 739; ii, 104, 107, 147
 Vermette, Fr. J. Stanislaus, iii, 732
 Vernou de Bonneuil, Marquis Jean de, i, 674
 Vetromile, Fr., S.J., ii, 563, 567

- Vézina, Rev. F. X., iii, 213-214
 Vieira de Bem, Fr. Francisco, iii, 219, 734
 Vigilante, Fr. Livius, S.J., ii, 546
 Vigneaux, Jacques Maurice, i, 501
 Villa Santa Caterina, iii, 468
 Villebon, Joseph, sieur de, i, 53, 56, 66, 75
 Villeneuve, Fr., ii, 737
 Villieu, S. de, i, 56, 57-58, 75, 81, 82
 Vinas, Rev. Stephen, S.M., iii, 209, 728
 Virmauskis, Fr. Francis A., iii, 743
 Visitation Nuns, ii, 236
- Wadleigh, Dexter E., ii, 477-478
 Wadsworth, Gen., i, 331
 Wakefield, Mass., ii, 525-526; iii, 284, 700-701, 740
 Walbach, Col., i, 758-759
 Waldo, Samuel, i, 153-155
 Waldoboro, Me., ii, 65, 150
 Waldron, Major, i, 39
 Walker, Gen. Francis A., iii, 116
 Wall, Thomas J., ii, 587, 589-594, 599-600
 Wallace, Fr. James, S.J., ii, 19
 Wallagras, Me., ii, 556
 Walley, Samuel, i, 720
 Walley, Thomas, Jr., i, 377, 655-658, 673
 Wallingford, Vt., ii, 104, 147
 Walnut Park Country Day School, iii, 642, 751
 Walpole, Mass., ii, 162, 488, 495, 506; iii, 317-318, 319-320
 Walsh, Fr. David, ii, 469; iii, 13
 Walsh, Hon. David I., iii, 582, 759
 Walsh, Rev. Francis J., iii, 700
 Walsh, Fr. Henry A., iii, 716
 Walsh, Bishop James Anthony, iii, 338, 536-540, 658
 Walsh, Fr. John, ii, 537, 539; iii, 311, 312
 Walsh, Msgr. Joseph C., iii, 660
 Walsh, Bishop Louis S., iii, 337, 496
 Walsh, Fr. Patrick H., iii, 722
 Walsh, Rev. Peter, ii, 169, 174, 175
 Walsh, Fr. Peter J., iii, 697
 Walsh, Rev. Simon, ii, 148, 150
 Walsh, Fr. Thomas, ii, 497
 Walsh, Fr. Thomas A., iii, 690, 708
 Walsh, William, ii, 37
 Walsh, Fr. William H., iii, 713
 Walter, Rev. William, i, 511
 Waltham, Mass., ii, 58, 160, 178, 272, 308, 414-417, 474, 516-517; iii, 215, 275, 696-697, 729, 738
Wanderer, The, ii, 337
 Wanton, Fr. Jean, i, 340
 War of 1812, i, 632, 652, 659
 Ward, Artemus, ii, 724
 Ward, John, i, 602, 644, 645, 646
 Ward, Mother Ignatius, ii, 640
 Wardwell, Bill, iii, 133
 Ware, Mass., ii, 174, 549, 554
 Wareham, Mass., ii, 89, 160, 162, 282, 284, 499; iii, 42, 45
 Warner, Dr. John C., iii, 409
 Warren, Dr. John C., ii, 406, 644
 Warren, Dr. Joseph, ii, 661
 Warren, Me., ii, 150
 Warren, Mass., ii, 178, 542, 554
 Washburn, Governor, ii, 584
- Washington, Gen. George, i, 283-285, 333, 518
 Washington Temperance Society, ii, 643
Watchman, The, iii, 108
 Waterbury, Conn., ii, 171
 Waterford, Mass., ii, 178
 Waters, Fr. Patrick J., iii, 682
 Watertown, Mass., ii, 273, 516-517; iii, 274-275, 696
 Waterville, Me., ii, 565
 Watson, Fr. John J., iii, 668
 Watson, Thomas E., iii, 583
 Watts, Lawrence B., ii, 270
 Wayland, ii, 537
 Wayrich, Fr., C.S.S.R., iii, 255
 Webster, Noah, i, 369, 454
 Webster, Sidney, ii, 600
 Webster, Mass., ii, 175, 178, 534, 541-542; iii, 42, 202
 Webster-Ashburton Treaty, ii, 279, 353, 556
 Weeks, J. W., i, 306
 Welch, Fr. Edward Holker, S.J., ii, 357; iii, 373
 Welch, Fr. Edward J., iii, 716
 Welch, Fr. Michael J., iii, 710
 Wellesley, Mass., iii, 715, 716
 West, Rev. Samuel, i, 511
 West Boylston, Mass., ii, 543, 545
 Westboro, Mass., ii, 178, 536, 547; iii, 42
 Westfield, Mass., ii, 172, 175, 287, 549
 Westford, Mass., iii, 308
 Westminster, Mass., ii, 292
 Weston College, iii, 637, 749
 Weston, Mass., ii, 537; iii, 697
 Weymouth, Mass., ii, 272, 498; iii, 324-326, 713
 Wheelock, Rev. Eleazar, i, 255, 256
 Whelan, Bishop, ii, 402
 Whelan, Rev. Charles (Fr. Maurice), i, 340
 Whelan, Dr. William, ii, 715
 Whigs, i, 242, 249, 259, 277; ii, 665, 666
 Whipple, Gen. Amiel, ii, 724
 White, Rev. Calvin, i, 752-755, 757; ii, 16, 170
 White, John, i, 78
 White, Michael, i, 600, 601, 645-646
 White Nuns, *see* Franciscan Missionaries of Mary
 Whitefield, Rev. George, i, 170
 Whitefield, Me., i, 735; ii, 31, 65, 150, 152
 Whitman, Mass., iii, 329, 330-331, 719
 Whittier, Harriet, iii, 409
 Whittier, John Greenleaf, ii, 237, 438
 Wholey, Fr. Denis J., iii, 277, 456
 Wiget, Fr., S.J., ii, 592, 594, 618, 668-669
 Wigglesworth, Dr., i, 218
 Wilberforce, William, ii, 646
 Wilbraham, Mass., ii, 174
 Wilbur, Benjamin, ii, 234-235
 Wiley, Rev. William, ii, 42, 43-44, 48, 143, 145, 146, 149, 165, 171, 272, 282, 285, 510-512; iii, 9
 Wilkinson, David, ii, 86, 181
 William III, King, i, 68, 82
 William Henry, Fort, i, 211
 Williams, John Joseph, Archbishop of Boston, ii, 267, 383, 469; Vicar-General, 433; friendship with Bishop Fitzpatrick, 760-

- 762; Bishop of Boston, 762; iii, 16-17; youth, 7-9; education, 10-12; early church offices, 12-15; advocates reduction of Diocese, 43-46; Archbishop, 47-48; and building of new Cathedral, 51-55; builds St. John's Seminary, 57-63; rumors of cardinalate, 96-99, 169, 170; Silver Jubilee, 137, 170, 186; "the Nestor of the American Church," 183; Golden Jubilee, 187-188; as administrator, 334-342; last years and death, 420-424, 497-498; character and personality, 424-430, 435-437, 500
- Williams, Jonathan, i, 341
- Williams, Michael, iii, 6, 7, 8
- Williamson, Rev. Adolphus, ii, 290, 291
- Williamstown, Mass., ii, 551
- Willis, Nathaniel, ii, 724
- Willis, Pauline, iii, 546
- Willis, Richard Storrs, ii, 724
- Wills, John W., iii, 153
- Wilmington, Mass., iii, 302
- Wilson, Henry, ii, 685
- Wilson, John, ii, 456
- Wilson, Rev. Dr. Richard A., ii, 278, 282, 503
- Wilson, Woodrow, iii, 597, 615
- Winchendon, Mass., ii, 543-545, 721
- Winchester, Mass., iii, 279-280
- Windsor, Vt., i, 739; ii, 277
- Winsor, Walter P., Jr., iii, 410
- Winthrop, Augusta Clinton, iii, 410
- Winthrop, Robert C., ii, 406, 412, 765-766
- Winthrop, Mass.; ii, 513, 520; iii, 263, 265, 690
- Witt, Charles T., iii, 149
- Wiwurna, i, 112-113, 146
- Woburn, Mass., ii, 273, 515, 516; iii, 279
- Wojtanowski, Rev. Francis, iii, 232, 740
- Wood, Archbishop, iii, 37, 47
- Wood, Dr. James Robie, iii, 409
- Woodley, Rev. Robert D., ii, 49, 51, 85-91, 94, 98, 161
- Woodstock, Vt., ii, 277
- Woonsocket, R.I., ii, 84, 88, 178, 285
- Wooster, Gen., i, 285
- Worcester, Mass., ii, 84, 89, 175, 176-178, 286, 290-291, 323-329, 418-419, 533-535; iii, 42, 202
- Working Boys' Home, iii, 57, 58, 364-367, 531-532, 534
- Working Girls' Home, *see* St. Helena's House
- Workingmen's Club, Portland, Me., iii, 473-474
- World War I, iii, 579, 585-587, 593-604
- World War II, iii, 677-679
- World's Columbian Exposition, iii, 178
- Wrentham, Mass., i, 535; ii, 494, 495, 506; iii, 321, 717
- Wydro, Fr. Damian, O.M.C., iii, 741
- Wynn, Fr. Andrew, C.S.S.R., iii, 422
- Xaverian Brothers, iii, 184, 272, 301, 307, 347, 528, 532, 637, 642, 748
- Yankee Division, *see* Twenty-Sixth Division
- Yazbek, Fr. Joseph, iii, 237-238
- Yellow fever, i, 549-551
- York, Duke of, i, 20, 21. *See* James II, King
- Young, Bishop Joshua Moody, ii, 356-357
- Young Catholic's Friend Society, ii, 345-346, 642-643
- Young Crusader, iii, 400
- Young Ladies' Charitable Association, iii, 380
- Young Ladies' School, Boston, ii, 619
- Young Men's Catholic Association, iii, 353, 355, 387-388, 573
- Young Men's Catholic Literary Union of Massachusetts, iii, 387
- Zaboglio, Fr. Francis, P.S.S.C., iii, 226
- Zaccaria, Fr., S.J., i, 361
- Zahar, Fr. Flavian, iii, 745
- Žilinskas, Rev. John, iii, 236
- Zion's Herald, ii, 185
- Zmijewski, Fr. Henry, iii, 742

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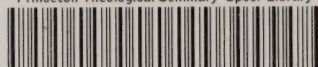
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